ENCYCLOPAEDIA
AETHIOPICA

Volume 5
Y – Z
Addenda
Index

ENCYCLOPAEDIA AETHIOPICA

Volume 5
Y – Z
Supplementa
Addenda and Corrigenda
Maps
Index

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Preface

This is a remarkable moment for Ethiopian studies. 11 years after the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* project was marked by the appearance of the first volume, and almost 20 years since the first idea of a comprehensive lexicon for Ethiopian studies was discussed within a small circle of scholars animated and stimulated by the visionary proposal of Siegbert Uhlig, the ambitious project has finally come to an end with the publication of its last fifth volume. Almost 20 years of efforts and continuous work have now arrived at a successful end.

As already remarked by reviewers of the previous volumes, the importance of this encyclopaedia is that of providing a scholarly standard upon which further and deeper research can grow and upgrade our knowledge, while acknowledging past research, through a balanced presentation of the most advanced state of the art in the field. From this point of view, the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, albeit from the perspective of a small field of studies, intends to flank similar works in Classical, Islamic, Egyptological, Coptic and Iranian Studies, just to quote some examples. As for these works, we can confidently say, that even scholars from other fields than Ethiopian studies will find a useful and in many cases even indispensable reference work in the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*.

The humanities and social sciences – from archaeology, history and prosopography, historical geography, ethnology and linguistics, to literature, art history and religion – remain the core of the thematic scope of the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*. Yet reliable basic data on the context – land and people, regional resources, flora and fauna as well as economic and environmental, social and political developments from prehistoric times to the second half of the 20th century are provided. Not rarely, extensive primary research had to be conducted for the articles to take their present shape.

Morevoer, for the broadness of the scope and the number of disciplines involved, this work remains a unicum within the research tools available for Sub-Saharan Africa.

The present volume is very different from what the readers have become used to. Its relatively minor share is dedicated to entries for the remaining letters of the alphabet (Y–Z, 169 articles). Some two hundred pages contain 229 entries that supplement articles originally planned for the previous volumes that were impossible to include at the time due to editorial reasons. These entry titles were referred to in the previous volumes with the endorsement "s. EAE vol. 5". Almost all of them have actually been realized as independent articles. In a few cases small rearrangements have been carried out and a cross-reference will lead to the new relevant article. A small set of new articles has also been included, which eventually appeared necessary in the course of the work, because of recent discoveries and researches, or emerging of new data.

The "Addenda and Corrigenda" intend to emend errors and omissions of the articles in the previous volumes and are based upon feedbacks from the authors and checks of the editorial team. They do not claim to be exhaustive.

The remaining part of the volume contains a set of tools that brings the useability of the entire encyclopaedia to a higher level. A series of tables and synopses provides information on basic historical facts. A set of maps cartographically displays geographical, climatological, environmental as well as archaeological, historical, linguistic, administrative, and political informations. The maps section also represents a fresh new contribution that results from extensive first-hand work carried out appositely for the redaction of this volume.

Last but not least, the Index provides targeted access to all 4,360 articles in the five volumes. This is the necessary tool to take full advantage of the mass of geographical, prosopographical, and historical information collected in the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*.

Not yet a systematic repertory, it can already be used as a good starting point for whatever research of this kind in the field. Its compilation and finalization took much working time and energy during the prepation of the present volume. Along with the maps section, the index is a complex scientific accomplishment in itself. It is the result of intensive methodological research and year-long efforts. Provided with a series of detailed qualifiers and structured entries, it matches the standard required by the best international areal lexica.

As in the previous volumes the active participation of young or emerging scholars in the authorship of the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* has to be emphasized. The lower number of articles in absolute terms, and the fact that the supplementary section has been marked by a large contribution of authors who were somehow overburdened in the previous volumes, gives account for the smaller range of authors (160) and respectively countries (21) involved in this volume.

As already mentioned, the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* provides a basic research tool for the students and scholars of Ethiopian Studies, more general African Studies and Oriental Studies. Its articles as well as bibliographies for further study offer precious synthetic overviews that make further research possible and many specialized areas more easily accessible. Moreover, the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* also has the great merit of contributing to demarcate (although for the first time, but definitely in a clearer way) the perimeter of Ethiopian Studies as a coherent field of studies at a crossroad of a wide and complex spectrum of disciplines. Finally, it has also become a point of reference for those involved in economics, politics, diplomacy and development work. It is among the frequently consulted publications in many University libraries, including those in Ethiopia. The positive feedback received from colleagues and users rewards the editorial team, co-editors, field specialists, and authors, for the often difficult tasks they have undertaken in order to successfully complete this collaborative enterprise.

Acknowledgements

Like the chief editor of the previous volumes of the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, among the many individuals who have generously contributed, I think that the first acknowledgement for the accomplishment of this complex, international, long-run project is duly reserved for the single authors. Without their confidence in this enterprise and continuous dedication, nothing would have been possible. Even for this volume, notwithstanding other main commitments, they took the effort to deliver their contributions timely enough for the necessary adjustments and corrections of the editorial team, for collecting feedback from reviewers and supplying the articles with maps and illustrations wherever needed: since the last volume this task has become more than crucial because further extension was impossible. Many had to work under a particular pressure – whether for personal or health reasons, or because they were asked to replace another author – in order to ensure that Volume 5, with its 398 articles, maps and index, could be completed. To all of them I would like to express my most heartfelt gratitude.

It is a due and particularly sad task to mention here that three of the co-editors of the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* have passed away in the course of 2013, and were not able to see the accomplishment of the work to which they actively contributed till the very last moment of their life. They are Paolo Marrassini (d. 10 January 2013), Gideon Goldenberg (d. 30 July 2013), and Donald Crummey (d. 16 August 2013). In the present volume it was unfortunately only possible to include a dedicated article for Paolo Marrassini. We will deeply miss all of them as masters, colleagues and friends.

Other authors who passed away already before the print of Volume 4 appear here as posthumous contributors for Volume 5: they are Sevir Chernetsov, Hussein Ahmed and Meseret Chekol Reta.

Several scholars have been advising us in the course of the work. Their help was of great value for the scholarly quality of the volume, and I would like to thank all those, too many to be listed here, who have been constructively responding to our queries.

Numerous institutions, archives and private persons have provided illustrative materials for the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* and have allowed us to use the information: they all are also to be most heartly thanked. In this respect, my special thanks go to Michael Gervers.

As for the other volumes, David Appleyard is responsible for the quality of the English used throughout the volume. Joe McIntyre has strongly supported him in this task. The standard in transliteration of Ethiopic terms was additionally checked by Maija Priess. To them I owe my most deepfelt gratitude.

Matthias Schulz was in charge of preparing the maps that appear in this volume in the article sections, and his skillful work deserves once more much appreciation.

The special maps section in Volume 5, almost entirely realized at the Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian Studies in Hamburg, was also made possible by the valuable cooperation between Matthias Schulz and Luisa Sernicola, who spent several periods of time in Hamburg intensively working on the maps together with the editorial team. The single responsibilities are detailed in the maps section as well as the acknowledgements for the support of various field specialists who offered advice finalizing the maps.

The main work load remained, however, on the shoulders of the gradually smaller group of members of the Hamburg editorial team at the Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian Studies, as the former Research Unit Ethiopian Studies has been renamed since 2009. Without their selfless commitment, patience, and mutual understanding, always essential in team work, the appearance of this volume would have been impossible. Their efforts went far beyond formal corrections; they took active part in all important decision-making processes and ensured that the high scientific level of the work could be maintained.

The work on the Index was entirely in the hands of the editorial team. Several members of the team have contributed to this complex undertaking that lingered for over ten years. The project was first launched by Dirk Bustorf and Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner in September 2003 and in successive stages other colleagues

joined in, including Alexander Meckelburg and Sophia Dege. The final and the most intricate phase of the work was carried out by Evgenia Sokolinskaia and Andreu Martínez, with a significant input from Alexander Meckelburg and Maria Bulakh.

Finally, all questions related to layout and preparation for the print were constantly and carefully handled by Thomas Rave.

In addition to the members of the editorial team listed on p. xi, I would like to express my deep gratitude to Angela M. Müller, who helped the work in many ways. I extend my gratitude to Janneke Langen-Hegemann, who worked as a student assistant, for her dedication and engagement.

My work as the editor-in-chief of the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* for Volume 5 started immediately after Volume 4 was finalized for the print. From that moment on I have felt the responsibility of keeping the standard and the quality of the work initiated by my illustrious predecessor and co-editor Siegbert Uhlig. This work will rightly remain tied to his name. I am extremely grateful to him that even during these last years of work on Volume 5 he has always been able to find time, energy and determination to support the work and productively contribute and advise on many crucial issues.

As expected for a project of long run and such a broad scope, the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* would have never succeeded without continuous and substantial financial support. The Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft is to be thanked first for having largely sponsored the project from its very beginning and for over 13 years on. Generous support was also provided by the Zeitstiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius. Special sponsoring was provided twice by the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung. Considerable help at different times was offered by the German Israeli Foundation. Yearly subsidy came from the Johanna und Fritz Buch Gedächtnisstiftung since the first steps of the project, which helped to overcome emergency situations. Long stays of authors working on the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* were allowed by the Sigrid Rausing Trust. The German Academic Exchange Service has repeatedly helped a lot with generous travel grants. The Stiftung Akademische Auslandsstelle at the University of Hamburg has also provided help to the project in a very difficult moment. The DeutschÄthiopischeStiftung has always supported the project from the background, supplying easy solutions for difficult questions.

Finally, the University of Hamburg has played an essential role, since it has provided the various "homes" where the project has found its accomodation in the course of time. Without its continuous support and constant readiness to help, the life of the editorial team and the whole project would have been much more difficult and uncertain in many senses.

Technical and editorial issues have found an ideal partner in the Harrassowitz Verlag and the Memminger printing press, who were always ready to indicate the most appropriate solutions. Thanks to them, the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* could maintain its high-quality appearance. A subsidy by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft has once again made it possible that the volume can be sold at its relatively modest constant price and largely disseminated.

Alessandro Bausi
Hamburg, 31 December 2013

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Notes for the User

The *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* uses several conventions that on the one hand standardize the appearance of the articles, and on the other hand facilitate their understanding by the readers. For the transcription and transliteration used in the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* s. the corresponding tables in the *Notes for the User* section in Volumes 1 and 2 as well as the article on *Transcriptions* in the present volume. A *Key to Detail Maps* can also be found in Volumes 1 and 2. The section devoted to *Abbreviation Rules* is reproduced in the current volume due to the fact that more bibliographic titles and general abbreviations have been incorporated.

Abbreviation Rules

The *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* works with different types of abbreviations. First and foremost, the main heading is always abbreviated throughout the entry, to one letter if it consists of one or more than two words, and to two letters, if of two words (e.g., "Yaᶜəqob" – "Y.", "Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob" –"Z.Y.", "Zäwde Gäbrä Śəllase" – "Z."). The subheadings and titles of subarticles are not abbreviated. If an entry title can have both singular and plural forms, both are abbreviated by the same syglum, the grammatical meaning being elicitable from the context (e.g., "C." in the article "Cowrie" stands for both "cowrie" and "cowries").

In order to keep the texts compact, a limited set of general abbreviations is used. The frequently used bibliographic references are also abbreviated. The clues are provided in tables on the following pages.

General Abbreviations

abbr.	abbreviation; abbreviated
A.D.	*Anno Domini*
Afr.	African
A.M.	*Anno Misericordiae*; *ᶜAmätä Məhrät* (year in Ethiopian calendar)
A.Mart.	*Anno Martyrum*
Amh.	Amharic
ANLin	Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Roma
annot.	annotated
anon.	anonymous
Arab.	Arabic; Arabian
art.	article
A.S.L.	above sea level
b.	born
B.A.	Bachelor of Arts
B.C.	Before Christ; Before Common Era
BFBS	British and Foreign Bible Society
bibl.	bibliography; bibliographical
BN	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
BritLib	British Library, London
BritMus	British Museum, London
B.Sc.	Bachelor of Sciences
B.S.L.	below sea level
C	Celsius
ca.	*circa*
cent.	century
cf.	confer
ch(s).	chapter(s)
cm	centimetre(s)
col(s).	column(s)
comm.	commented
Copt.	Coptic
cp.	compare
d.	died, dead
D.Sc.	Doctor of Sciences
ead.	*eadem* (the same, fem.)
ed(s).	editor(s); edition; edited
e.g.	*exempli gratia* (for instance)

Engl.	English
Eritr.	Eritrean
esp.	especially
et al.	*et alia* (and others)
etc.	*et cetera*
Eth.	Ethiopian; Ethiopic
f(f).*	(the) following
fasc.	fascicle
fem.	*femininum*
fig(s).	figurative(ly); figure(s)
fl.	flourished
Fr.	French
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
geogr.	geography; geographical
Germ.	German
Gr.	Greek
H.	*hiğrī* (year of Hiğra, i.e. Islamic calendar)
ha	hectar(s)
Har.	Harari
HMML	Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, USA
ibid.	*ibidem* (in the same place)
ICES	International Conference of Ethiopian Studies
id.	*idem* (the same, masc.)
i.e.	*id est* (that is [to say])
IES	Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa
iid.	*iidem* (the same, pl.)
ill.	illustration
incl.	including; inclusive(ly)
intr.	introduced; introduction
Ital.	Italian
IUO	Istituto Universitario Orientale (= Università degli studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")
km	kilometre(s)
Lat.	Latin
lit.	literature; literal(ly)
l(l).	line(s)
m	metre(s)
M.A.	Master of Arts; Magister Artium
masc.	*masculinum*
mf(s).	microfilm(s)
ml	millilitre(s)
mm	millimetre(s)
M.Sc.	Master of Sciences
ms(s).	manuscript(s)
n(n).	note; footnote
n.d.	no date
N.N.	*nomen nominandum*
no. (nos)	number(s)
n.p.	no place
obv.	obverse
op.cit.	*opus citatum*
orig.	original(ly)
p(p).	page(s)
p.a.	*per annum*
pers.	person(al) [grammatical]
Ph.D.	Doctor of Philosophy; Philosophiæ Doctor
pl. (pls)	plural; plate(s)
pol.	political; politics
pron.	pronoun
r	*recto*
r.	rule(d); reign(ed)
repr.	reprint(ed)
rev.	reverse
s.	see
ser., sér.	serie(s); série
sg.	singular
sp.	spelling; spelled
spec.	specifically; special
src.	source(s)
St.	Saint
sth.	something
s.v.	*sub voce*
suppl.	supplement(ary)
syn.	synonym(ous)
Syr.	Syriac; Syrian
Tgn.	Təgrəñña
Tgr.	Təgre
theol.	theology; theological
tr.	translation; translator; translated
trad.	traditional
v	*verso*
var(s).	variant(s); variation(s)
VatLib	Vatican Library; Biblioteca [Apostolica] Vaticana, Città del Vaticano
vol(s).	volumes
vs.	*versus*

* Wherever the abbreviation "ff." follows upon a page number only two following pages are meant

Bibliographic Abbreviations

AAP	*Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere*, Köln 1985–2002
Abbay	*Abbay. Documents pour servir à l'histoire de la civilisation éthiopienne*, Paris 1977–86/87
AbbCat	Antoine d'Abbadie, *Catalogue raisonné de manuscrits éthiopiens appartenant à Antoine d'Abbadie*, Paris 1859
AbbGeogr	Antoine d'Abbadie, *Géographie de l'Éthiopie, ce que j'ai entendu, faisant suite à ce que j'ai vu*, Paris 1890
AbbSéjour	Arnauld d'Abbadie, *Douze ans de séjour dans la Haute-Éthiopie* (*Abyssinie*), vol. 1, Paris 1868 [repr. Città del Vaticano 1980 (Studi e testi 286)]; vols. 2–4, ed. by Jeanne-Marie Allier, Città del Vaticano 1980, 1983, 1999 (Studi e testi 287, 304, 391)
AbPrince	Mordechai Abir, *Ethiopia*: *the Era of the Princes*. *The Challenge of Islam and the Re-unification of the Christian Empire, 1769–1855*, New York 1968
AbSea	Mordechai Abir, *Ethiopia and the Red Sea*: *the Rise and Decline of the Solomonic Dynasty and Muslim-European Rivalry in the Region*, London 1980
ABoll	*Analecta Bollandiana*, Bruxelles 1882ff.
AE	*Annales d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1955ff.
AeF	*Aethiopistische Forschungen*, Stuttgart – Wiesbaden 1977ff.
Aethiopica	*Aethiopica. International Journal of Ethiopian and Eritrean Studies*, Wiesbaden 1998ff.
AfrHorn	Walter Raunig – Steffen Wenig, *Afrikas Horn*: *Akten der Ersten Internationalen Littmann-Konferenz 2. bis 5. Mai 2002 in München*, Wiesbaden 2005 (Meroitica 22)
AfrZion	*African Zion*: *the Sacred Art of Ethiopia*, catalogue by Marilyn Heldman – Stuart C. Munro-Hay, essays by Donald Crummey et al., ed. by Roderick Grierson, New Haven – London 1993
AmhChurchD	Sergew Hable Sellassie (ed.), **የአማርኛ ፡ የቤተክርስቲያን ፡ መዝገበ ፡ ቃላት**. *Amharic Church Dictionary*, 6 vols., Heidelberg – Addis Ababa 1981–82 A.M. [1989–90 A.D.]
Annali IUO	*Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, Napoli 1940ff.
ArEvang	Gustav Arén, *Evangelical Pioneers in Ethiopia. Origins of the Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus,* Stockholm – Addis Abeba 1978 (Studia Missionalia Upsaliensia 32)
AsmGada	Asmarom Legesse, *Gada*: *Three Approaches to the Study of African Society*, New York 1973
AuÜ	*Afrika und Übersee*, Berlin 1910ff.
AWTarik	Asfa-Wossen Asserate, *Die Geschichte von Šawa* (*Äthiopien*) *1700–1865 nach dem Tārika Nagaśt des Belāttēn Gētā Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase*, Wiesbaden 1980 (SKK 53)
BaetDic	Joseph Baeteman, *Dictionnaire amarigna–français. Suivi d'un vocabulaire français–amarigna*, Dire-Daoua 1929
BartOrom	Lambert Bartels, *Oromo Religion*: *Myths and Rites of the Western Oromo of Ethiopia*: *an Attempt to Understand,* Berlin 1983 (Collectanea Instituti Anthropos 8)
BassDic	Francesco da Bassano, *Vocabolario tigray–italiano e repertorio italiano–tigray*, Roma 1918
BassÉt [I–II]	René Basset, Études sur l'histoire d'Éthiopie. Première Partie: Chronique éthiopienne, d'après un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, *JA* 7^{e} sér., 17, 1881, 315–434 [I]; 18, 1881, 93–183, 285–389 [II]; repr. Paris 1882
BassHist [I–II]	Šihābaddīn Aḥmad ibn ^{c}Abdalqādir, *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša. Histoire de la conquête de l'Abyssinie* (*XVI^{e} siècle*) *par Chihab Eddin Aḥmed ben ^{c}Abd el-Qāder, surnommé Arab-Faqih*, *Texte Arabe* [I]; *Traduction Française et notes* [II], ed., tr. by René Basset, 2 vols., Paris 1897 (Publications de l'École des lettres d'Alger 19, 20)
BauEr [I–III]	Alessandro Bausi, "Su alcuni manoscritti presso comunità monastiche dell'Eritrea" [I. Dabra Māryām], *RSE* 38, 1994 [1996] 13–69; [II. Dabra Bizan]", *ibid.* 39, 1995 [1997], 25–48; [III. Dabra Libānos – Dabra Abuna Beṣu^{c}a Amlāk], *ibid*. 41, 1997 [1998], 13–56
BauSen	Alessandro Bausi (ed., tr.), *Il Sēnodos etiopico. Canoni pseudoapostolici: Canoni dopo l'Ascensione, Canoni di Simone Cananeo, Canoni Apostolici, Lettera di Pietro*, Lovanii 1995 (CSCO 552, 553 [SAe 101, 102])

BeckHunt-Alm	Charles Fraser Beckingham – George Wynn Brereton Huntingford (ed., tr.), *Some Records of Ethiopia, 1593–1646; being extracts from the History of High Ethiopia or Abassia by Manoel de Almeida, together with Bahrey's History of the Galla*, London 1954 (Hakluyt Society Works, ser. 2, vol. 107); repr. Nendeln, Liechtenstein 1967
BeckHunt-Alvar	Charles Fraser Beckingham – George Wynn Brereton Huntingford (eds.), *The Prester John of the Indies. A True Relation of the Lands of the Prester John; being the Narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Ethiopia in 1520, written by Father Francisco Alvarez*, tr. by Lord Stanley of Alderley (1881), Cambridge 1961 (Hakluyt Society Works, ser. 2, vols. 114, 115)
BecRASO I–XV	Camillo Beccari (ed.), *Rerum Aethiopicarum scriptores occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX*, I: *Notizia e saggi di opere e documenti inediti riguardanti la storia di Etiopia durante i secoli XVI, XVII e XVIII*, Romae 1903; II: *P. Petri Paez S.I. Historia Aethiopiae,* Liber I.II, Romae 1905; III: *P. Petri Paez S.I. Historia Aethiopiae*, Liber III, Romae 1906; IV: *P. Emmanuelis Barradas S.I. Tractatus tres historico-geographici*, Romae 1906; V: *P. Emmanuelis d'Almeida S.I. Historia Aethiopiae,* Liber I–IV, Romae 1907; VI: *P. Emmanuelis d'Almeida S.I. Historia Aethiopiae,* Liber V–VIII, Romae 1907; VII: *P. Emmanuelis d'Almeida S.I. Historia Aethiopiae,* Liber IX et X, Romae 1908; VIII: *Patriarchae Alph. Mendez S.I. Expeditionis Aethiopicae Liber I et II*, Romae 1908; IX: *Patriarchae Alph. Mendez S.I. Expeditionis Aethiopicae Liber III et IV*, Romae 1909; X: *Relationes et Epistolae variorum*, Pars Prima, Liber I, Romae 1910; XI: *Relationes et Epistolae variorum*, Pars Prima, Liber II, Romae 1911; XII: *Relationes et Epistolae variorum*, Pars Prima, Liber III, Romae 1912; XIII: *Relationes et Epistolae variorum*, Pars Prima, Liber IV, Romae 1913; XIV: *Relationes et Epistolae variorum*, Pars Secunda, Liber Unicus, Romae 1914; XV: *Index analyticus totius operis*, Romae 1917
BegCron	Francesco Béguinot, *La Cronaca abbreviata d'Abissinia, nuova versione dall'etiopico e commento*, Roma 1901
BendLang	Marvin Lionel Bender et al., *Language in Ethiopia*, London 1976
BendNonS-Lang	Marvin Lionel Bender et al., *The Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*, East Lansing, MI 1976
BerTarik	Bərhanä Mäsqäl Täsfamaryam, **ታሪክ ፡ ገዳማት ፡ ዘምድረ ፡ ኣግኣዚት ፡ ኤርትራ ፡ ወስርዓተ ፡ ብሕትውና ፡ ንኑም ፡ ወዋልድባ ፡ ካብ ፡ ጥንቲ ፡ ክሳብ ፡ ሕጂ** (*Tarik gädamat zämədrä agᵓazit Erətra wäsərᶜatä bəḥtəwənna nənum wäwaldəbba kab ṭənti kəsab ḥəğği*, 'The History of the Cloisters of the Country of *Agᵓazit* of Eritrea, and the Customs of the Asceticism of the "Nənum" [lit. 'Let us Sleep'] and Waldəbba, from the Origins til Nowadays'), Aśmära ^{2}1996 A.M. [2003/04 A.D.]
BerkAdwa	George Fitz–Hardinge Berkeley, *The Campaign of Adowa and the Rise of Menelik,* Westminster 1902; London ^{2}1935; New York ^{3}1969
BezKebr	Carl Bezold (ed.), *Kebra Nagast*: *Die Herrlichkeit der Könige*, München 1905 (Abhandlungen der königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, I Klasse, Band XXIII, Abhandlung I)
BeyRodRép	Robert Beylot – Maxime Rodinson, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits éthiopiens*, Paris – Turnhout 1995 (Documents, études et répertoires 46)
BHO	[Paulus Peeters (ed.)], *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis*, Bruxelles 1910 (Subsidia hagiographica 10)
BHTOrom	Paul Trevor William Baxter – Jan Hultin – Alessandro Triulzi (eds.), *Being and Becoming Oromo*: *Historical and Anthropological Enquiries*, Uppsala – Lawrenceville, NJ 1996
BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Leiden 1943ff.
BlunChr	Herbert Weld Blundell (ed., tr.), *The Royal Chronicle of Abyssinia, 1769–1840*, Cambridge 1922
BrakKirche	Heinzgerd Brakmann, Τὸ παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔργον θεῖον. *Die Einwurzelung der Kirche im spätantiken Reich von Aksum,* Bonn 1994
BrHad	Ulrich Braukämper, *Geschichte der Hadiya Süd-Äthiopiens*: *von den Anfängen bis zur Revolution 1974*, Wiesbaden 1980 (SKK 50)
BrHad [Eng]	Ulrich Braukämper, *A History of the Hadiyya in Southern Ethiopia.* Translated from German by Geraldine Krause, Wiesbaden 2012 (AeF 77)
BrKam	Ulrich Braukämper, *Die Kambata. Geschichte und Gesellschaft eines südäthiopischen Bauernvolkes*, Wiesbaden 1983 (SKK 65)
BruNile	James Bruce of Kinnaird, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile in the Years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772 and 1773*, 5 vols., Edinburgh 1790
BSO[A]S	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental* [*and African*] *Studies*, London 1917ff.
BTafA	Bairu Tafla (ed., tr.), *Aṣma Giyorgis and His Work*: *History of the Gāllā and the Kingdom of Šawā*, Stuttgart 1987 (AeF 18)
BTafY	Bairu Tafla (ed., tr.), *A Chronicle of Emperor Yohannes IV* (*1872–89*), Wiesbaden 1977 (AeF 1)

BudHist	Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge, *A History of Ethiopia* (*Nubia & Abyssinia*), *according to the Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of Egypt and Nubia, and the Ethiopian Chronicles*, 2 vols., London 1928; repr. Oosterhout 1966
BudSaint	Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge (ed.), *The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, 4 vols., Cambridge 1928; repr. Hildesheim – New York 1976
BZHist	Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855–1974,* London – Athens – Addis Ababa 1991
CANT	Maurits Geerard (ed.), *Clavis Apocryphorum Novi Testamenti*, Turnhout 1992 (Corpus Christianorum)
CAVT	Jean-Claude Haelewyck, *Clavis Apocryphorum Veteris Testamenti*, Turnhout 1998 (Corpus Christianorum)
CE	Aziz S. Atiya (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, 8 vols., New York 1991
CecZeila	Antonio Cecchi, *Da Zeila alle frontiere del Caffa*, 3 vols., Roma 1886–87
CentAddis	Ahmed Zekaria – Bahru Zewde – Taddese Beyene (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Centenary of Addis Ababa*: *November 24–25, 1986*, Addis Ababa 1987
CentAdwa	Abdussamad Husain Ahmed – Richard Pankhurst (eds.), *Adwa*: *Victory Centenary Conference*, *26 February – 2 March 1996*, Addis Ababa 1998
CerDLib [I–III]	Enrico Cerulli, "Gli abbati di Dabra Libānos, capi del monachismo etiopico, secondo la «lista rimata» (sec. XIV–XVIII)", *Orientalia* nova ser. 12, 1943, 226–53 [I]; *ibid.* 13, 1944, 137–82 [II]; "Gli abbati di Dabra Libānos, capi del monachismo etiopico, secondo le liste recenti (sec. XVIII–XX)", *ibid.* 14, 1945, 143–71 [III]
CerEt	Enrico Cerulli, *Etiopia occidentale. Dallo Scioa alla frontiera del Sudan. Note del viaggio 1927–28*, 2 vols., Roma 1930, 1933 (Collezione di opere e di monografie a cura del Ministero delle Colonie 6, 16)
CerFolk	Enrico Cerulli, *The Folk-Literature of the Galla of Southern Abyssinia*, Cambridge, MA 1922 (Harvard African Studies 3)
CerIslam	Enrico Cerulli, *L'Islam di ieri e di oggi,* Roma 1971 (Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto per l'Oriente 64)
CerLett	Enrico Cerulli, *La letteratura etiopica*, Milano ^{3}1968 (Le letterature del mondo 30)
CerMaria	Enrico Cerulli, *Il libro etiopico dei Miracoli di Maria e le sue fonti nelle letterature del Medio Evo latino*, Roma 1943 (Reale Università di Roma. Studi orientali, pubblicati a cura della Scuola orientale 1)
CerPal	Enrico Cerulli, *Etiopi in Palestina. Storia della comunità etiopica di Gerusalemme*, 2 vols., Roma 1943, 1947 (Collezione scientifica e documentaria a cura del Ministero dell'Africa italiana 12, 14)
CerPeople	Ernesta Cerulli, *Peoples of South-West Ethiopia and its Borderland*, London 1956 (Ethnographic Survey of Africa, North Eastern Africa 3)
CerSom I–III	Enrico Cerulli, *Somalia*: *scritti vari editi e inediti*, vol. 1: *Storia della Somalia*; *L'Islām in Somalia*; *Il libro degli Zengi*, vol. 2: *Diritto. Etnografia. Linguistica. Come viveva una tribù Hawiyya*, vol. 3: *La poesia dei somali. La tribù somala. Lingua somala in caratteri arabi ed altri saggi*, Roma 1957, 1959, 1964
CerStud I–IV	Enrico Cerulli, *Studi Etiopici*, vol. 1: *La lingua e la storia di Harar*, vol. 2: *La lingua e la storia dei Sidamo*, vol. 3: *Il Linguaggio dei Giangerò ed alcune lingue Sidama dell'Omo* (*Basketo, Ciara, Zaissè*), vol. 4: *La Lingua Caffina*, Roma 1936, 1936, 1938 [repr. 1963], 1951
ChAbb	Marius Chaîne, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection Antoine d'Abbadie. Supplément au Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de H. Zotenberg* (*1877-1912*), Paris 1912
ChMonV	Marius Chaîne, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection Mondon-Vidailhet*, Paris 1913
ChojPaint	Stanisław Chojnacki, *Major Themes in Ethiopian Painting*: *Indigenous Developments, the Influence of Foreign Models and their Adaptation from the 13th to the 19th Century*, Wiesbaden 1983 (AeF 10)
ChRep	Marius Chaîne, Répertoire des Salam et Malke'e contenus dans les manuscrits éthiopiens des bibliothèques d'Europe, *ROC* 2ème sér., 8 [18], 1913, 183–203, 337–57
ChTana	Robert Ernest Cheesman, *Lake Tana and the Blue Nile, an Abyssinian Quest*, London 1936; repr. London 1968
CIH	*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*. IV: *Inscriptiones Himyariticas et Sabaeas continens*, 3 vols., Paris 1889–1932
ClapHS	Christopher Clapham, *Haile Selassie's Government*, London 1969
ColSyn VI–XIV	Gérard Colin, *Le synaxaire éthiopien. Mois de Maskaram*, Turnhout 1986 (PO 43, fasc. 3) [VI]; *Mois de Ṭeqemt*, Turnhout 1987 (PO 44, fasc. 1) [VII]; *Mois de Ḫedār*, Turnhout 1988 (PO 44, fasc. 3) [VIII]; *Mois de Ṭerr*, Turnhout 1990 (PO 45, fasc. 1) [IX]; *Mois de Yakkātit*, Turnhout 1992 (PO 45, fasc. 3) [X]; *Mois de Maggābit*, Turnhout 1994 (PO 46, fasc. 3) [XI]; *Mois de Miyāzyā*, Turnhout 1995 (PO 46, fasc. 4) [XII]; *Mois de Genbot*, Turnhout 1997 (PO 47, fasc. 3) [XIII]; *Index généraux, annexes*, Turnhout 1999 (PO 48, fasc. 3) [XIV]

ConzGal	William El. Conzelman (ed., tr.), *Chronique de Galâwdêwos* (*Claudius*): *Roi d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1895 (Bibliothèque de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, Sciences philologiques et historiques 104)
CPG I–V, Suppl.	Mauritius Geerard (ed., tr.), *Clavis patrum Graecorum, qua optimas quaeque scriptorum patrum Graecorum recensiones a primaevis saeculis usque ad octavum commode recluduntur*, vol. 1: *Patres antenicaeni*, Turnhout 1983 [I]; vol. 2: *Ab Athanasio ad Chrysostomum*, Turnhout 1974 [II]; vol. 3: *A Cyrillo Alexandrino ad Iohannem Damascenum*, Turnhout 1979 [III]; vol. 4: *Concilia. Catenae*, Turnhout 1980 [IV]; vol. 5: *Indices, initia, concordantiae*, Turnhout 1987 [V] (Corpus Christianorum); Jacques Noret – Maurits Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum. Supplementum*, Brepols 1998 (Corpus Christianorum) [Suppl.]
CRAbb [I–IV]	Carlo Conti Rossini, Notice sur les manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection d'Abbadie, *JA* 10^{e} sér., 19, 1912, 551–78 [I]; 20, 1912, 5–72, 449–94 [II]; 11^{e} sér., 2, 1913, 5–64 [III]; 6, 1915, 189–238, 445–93 [IV]; repr. Paris 1914
CrawItin	Osbert Guy Stanhope Crawford, *Ethiopian Itineraries, circa 1400–1524; Including those Collected by Alessandro Zorzi at Venice in the Years 1519–24*, Cambridge 1958 (Works of the Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser., 109)
CRAxum [I–II]	Carlo Conti Rossini (ed., tr.), *Documenta ad illustrandam historiam*, I: *Liber Axumae*, 2 vols., Parisiis – Lipsiae 1909–10 (CSCO Aeth. Ser. Altera 8), repr. Louvain 1961–62 (CSCO 54, 58 [SAe 24, 27])
CRDLib	Carlo Conti Rossini, "L'Evangelo d'oro di Dabra Libānos", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 10, 1901, 177–219
CRHist	Carlo Conti Rossini (ed., tr.), *Historia Regis Sarsa Dengel* (*Malak Sagad*). *Accedit Historia gentis Galla,* curante [et interprete] I. Guidi, Parisiis – Lipsiae 1907 (CSCO Aeth. Series Altera 3), repr. Louvain 1961–62 (CSCO 20, 21 [SAe 3, 4])
CRList	Carlo Conti Rossini, "Les listes des rois d'Aksoum", *JA* 10^{e} sér., 14, 1909, 263–320
CRNuov	Carlo Conti Rossini, "Nuovi documenti per la storia d'Abissinia nel secolo XIX", *RRALm* ser. 8^{a}, 2, 1947, 357–416
CRReal	Carlo Conti Rossini, "La cronaca reale abissina dall'anno 1800 all'anno 1840", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 26, 1916 [1917], 779–922
CRRicBerhan	Carlo Conti Rossini – Lanfranco Ricci (eds., trs.), *Il libro della luce del negus Zar'a Yāʿqob* (*Maṣḥafa Berhān*), Louvain 1964–65 (CSCO 250–51, 261–62 [SAe 47–48, 51–52])
CRStor	Carlo Conti Rossini, *Storia d'Etiopia*, I: *Dalle origini all'avvento della dinastia salomonide*, Milano 1928 (Africa italiana 3)
CRStud	Carlo Conti Rossini (ed.), *Studi etiopici,* Roma 1945
CrumLand	Donald Crummey, *Land and Society in the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia*: *from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Century*, Oxford 2000
CrumMis	Donald Crummey, *Priests and Politicians. Protestant and Catholic Missions in Orthodox Ethiopia, 1830–1868*, Oxford 1972
CSA 1984	Office of the Population and Housing Census Commission [Central Statistical Authority] (ed.), *Ethiopia 1984. Population and Housing Census*: *Preliminary Report*, vol. 1, 1, Addis Ababa, September 1984
CSA 1996	Central Statistical Authority (ed.), *The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia*: *Results for Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region*, vol. 1, Addis Ababa 1996
CSA 1998	Central Statistical Authority (ed.), *The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1998
CSA 2000	Central Statistical Authority (ed.), *Statistical Abstract 1999*, Addis Ababa 2000
CSA 2004	Central Statistical Authority (ed.), *Statistical Abstract 2003*, Addis Ababa 2004
CSA 2008	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Population Census Commission [Central Statistical Authority] (ed.), *Summary and Statistical Report of the 2007 Population and Housing Census. Population Size by Age and Sex*, Addis Ababa 2008
CSA 2009	Central Statistics Agency, Population Census Commission, *The 2007 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia*, vol. 1: *Statistical Report at National Level*, Addis Ababa 2009
CSCO	*Corpus scriptorum Christianorum orientalium*, Parisiis – Romae – Lipsiae – Louvain 1903ff.
CSO 1971	Central Statistical Office, *Ethiopia. Statistical Abstract 1970,* Addis Ababa 1971
DAE I–IV	Enno Littmann — Theodor von Lüpke (eds.), *Deutsche Aksum-Expedition,* I: *Reisebericht der Expedition. Topographie und Geschichte Aksums*, Berlin 1913 [I]; Daniel Krencker — Theodor von Lüpke (eds.), *Deutsche Aksum-Expedition,* II: *Ältere Denkmäler Nordabessiniens. Mit einem Anhang von* Robert Zahn, Berlin 1913 [II]; Theodor von Lüpke — Enno Littmann — Daniel Krencker (eds.), *Deutsche Aksum-Expedition,* III: *Profan- und Kultbauten Nordabessiniens aus älterer und neuerer Zeit*, Berlin 1913 [III]; Enno Littmann (ed.), *Deutsche Aksum-Expedition,* IV: *Sabäische, griechische und altabessinische Inschriften*, Berlin 1913 [IV]

DaiMarEr	Giotto Dainelli – Olinto Marinelli, *Risultati scientifici di un viaggio nella Colonia Eritrea*, Firenze 1912
DerDomTh	Marie-Laure Derat, *La formation du domaine royal éthiopien sous la dynastie salomonienne* (*1270–1527*), Ph.D. thesis, Université de Paris I 1998
DerDom	Marie-Laure Derat, *Le domaine des rois éthiopien* (*1270–1527*): *espace, pouvoire et monachisme*, Paris 2003 (Publications de la Sorbonne, Histoire ancienne et médiévale 72)
DicEthBio	Belaynesh Michael – Stanisław Chojnacki – Richard Pankhurst (eds.), *The Dictionary of Ethiopian Biography*, I: *From Early Times to the End of the Zagwé Dynasty c. 1270 A.D.*, Addis Ababa 1975
DillmBerl	August Dillmann, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, III: *Verzeichniss der abessinischen Handschriften*, Berlin 1878
DillmBodl	Augustus Dillmann, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae Oxoniensis*, VII: *Codices aethiopici*, Oxonii 1848
DillmChr	Augustus Dillmann, *Chrestomathia Aethiopica*, Lipsiae 1866 [repr. in: Ernst Hammerschmidt (ed.), *Anthologia Aethiopica*, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 1988]
DillmLex	Augustus Dillmann, *Lexicon linguae Aethiopicae*, Lipsiae 1865; repr. New York 1955; Osnabrück 1970
DillmLond	Augustus Dillmann, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium qui in Museo Britannico asservantur,* Pars tertia*, codices Aethiopicos amplectens*, Londini 1847
DillmZarY	August Dillmann, Über die Regierung, insbesondere die Kirchenordnung des Königs Zar'a Jacob", *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, *Philosophisch-historische Classe* 15, 1884, 1–79
DombrChr	Franz Amadeus Dombrowski, *Ṭānāsee 106*: *eine Chronik der Herrscher Äthiopiens*, 2 vols., Wiesbaden 1983 (AeF 12a, 12b)
DonEnbAnq	Emeri Johannes van Donzel (ed., tr.), ^{c}*Ĕnbāqom. Anqaṣa Amin* (*La Porte de la Foi*): *Apologie éthiopienne du Christianisme contre l'Islam à partir du Coran*: *Introduction, texte, critique, traduction*, Leiden 1969
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DTWDic	Dästa Täklä Wäld, **ዐዲስ ፡ ያማርኛ ፡ መዝገበ ፡ ቃላት ፡ በካህናትና ፡ በሃገረ ፡ ሰብ ፡ ቋንቋ** (^{c}*Addis yamarəñña mäzgäbä qalat bäkahənatənna bähagärä säb q^{w}anq^{w}a*, 'A New Dictionary of Amharic, in the Language of the Clergy and the Peasants'), Addis Abäba 1962 A.M. [1970 A.D.]
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EI^{2}	*The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden ^{2}1960ff.
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GerKir [Eng]	GEORG GERSTER, *Churches in Rock*: *Early Christian Art in Ethiopia*, London 1970
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GrafLit	GEORG GRAF, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 5 vols., Città del Vaticano 1944–53 (Studi e testi 118, 133, 146, 147, 172)
GraggDic	GENE B. GRAGG, *Oromo Dictionary*, East Lansing, MI 1982
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GréSyn IV–V	SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT (ed., tr.), *Le synaxaire éthiopien. Les mois de Taḥschasch, Ṭer et Yakatit*: *Le mois de Taḥschasch*, Paris 1927 (PO 15, fasc. 5) [IV]; *Le mois de Taḥšaš* (*fin*), *traduit par* GENEVIÈVE NOLLET, Paris 1945 (PO 26, fasc. 1) [V]
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GSMen	*ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz* GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE, ታሪክ ፡ ዘመን ፡ ዘዳግማዊ ፡ ምኒልክ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ ዘኢትዮጵያ (*Tarikä zämän zädagmawi Mənilək nəguśä nägäśt zäʾityopya*, 'Chronicle of Mənilək II, King of Kings of Ethiopia'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.]
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Guida	CONSOCIAZIONE TURISTICA ITALIANA (ed.), *Africa Orientale Italiana*, Milano 1938 (Guida d'Italia della Consociazione Turistica Italiana)
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HuntGal	GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, *The Galla of Ethiopia. The Kingdoms of Kafa and Janjero*, London 1955 (Ethnological Survey of North-East Africa 2)
HuntGeogr	GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, *The Historical Geography of Ethiopia. From the First Century AD to 1704*, ed. by RICHARD PANKHURST, London 1989 (Union Académique Internationale. Fontes historiae Africanae, ser. varia 4)
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HusIslam	HUSSEIN AHMED, *Islam in Nineteenth-Century Wallo, Ethiopia*: *Revival, Reform and Reaction*, Leiden 2001 (Social, Economic, and Political Studies of the Middle East and Asia 74)

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JAH	*The Journal of African History*, Cambridge 1960ff.
JES	*Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Addis Ababa 1963ff.
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KinBibl	Kinefe-Rigb Zelleke, "Bibliography of the Ethiopic Hagiographical Traditions", *JES* 13, 2, 1975, 57–102
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KurMoa	Stanislas Kur (ed., tr.), *Actes de Iyasus Mo'a, abbé du couvent de St-Etienne de Ḥayq*, Louvain 1965 (CSCO 259, 260 [SAe 49, 50])
KWKDic	Kidanä Wäld Kəfle, **መጽሐፈ ፡ ሰዋስው ፡ ወግስ ፡ ወመዝገበ ፡ ቃላት ፡ ሐዲስ ። ንባቡ ፡ በግዕዝ ፡ ፍችው ፡ ባማርኛ** (*Mäṣḥafä säwasəw wägəss wämäzgäbä qalat ḥaddis. Nəbabu bägə^{c}əz fəččəw bamarəñña*, 'A Book of Grammar and Verb, and a New Dictionary. Gə^{c}əz Entries, Amharic Definitions'), Addis Abäba 1948 A.M. [1955/56 A.D.]
LefAbyss	Charlemagne Theophile Lefebvre, *Voyage en Abyssinie exécuté pendant les années 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843 …*, 6 vols., Paris [1845–51]
LesCDic	Wolf Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge^{c}ez* (*Classical Ethiopic*): *Ge^{c}ez – English/English – Ge^{c}ez with an Index of the Semitic Roots*, Wiesbaden 1987
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LusStud	Gianfrancesco Lusini, *Studi sul monachesimo eustaziano* (*secoli XIV–XV*), Napoli 1993 (StAfEt 3)

MahHorse	*Blattén Géta* MAHTÄMÄ-SELLASÉ WÄLDÄ-MÄSQÄL, "A Study of the Ethiopian Culture of Horse-Names", *JES* 7, 2, 1969, 195–303; first printed as ቼ ፡ በለው (*Če bäläw*), Addis Abäba 1961 A.M. [1968/69 A.D.]
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MaqIlmam[^{2}]	AḤMAD IBN ᶜALĪ AL-MAQRĪZĪ, *Kitāb al-Ilmām bi-aḫbār man bi-arḍ al-Ḥabaša min mulūk al-Islām. Historia regum Islamiticorum in Abyssinia*, ed. by FRIEDRICH THEODOR RINCK, Leiden 1790; *Kitāb al-Ilmām bi-aḫbār …*, ed. by ǦIRǦĪ ZAYDĀN, Cairo ^{2}1895
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MiscAethKur	MIECZYSŁAW LUBAŃSKI et al. (eds.), *Miscellanea Aethiopica Reverendissimo Domino Stanislao Kur septuagenario professori illustrissimo viro amplissimo ac doctissimo oblata*, Warszawa 2000 (= *Warszawskie Studia Teologiczne* 12, 2, 1999)
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MonVidMus	FRANÇOIS MARIE CASIMIR MONDON-VIDAILHET, La musique éthiopienne, in: ALBERT LAVIGNAC (ed.), *Encyclopédie de la musique et Dictionnaire du conservatoire*, Paris 1922, vol. 5, 1, 3179–96
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MRALm	*Memorie della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Roma 1898ff. [after 1947: *Memorie della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei …*]
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NadEr	SIEGFRIED FREDERICK NADEL, *The Races and Tribes of Eritrea*, Asmara 1944
NÆ	*Nubica et Æthiopica. Internationales Jahrbuch für koptische, meroitisch-nubische, äthiopische und verwandte Studien*, Warszawa 1987ff.
NEASt	*Northeast African Studies*, East Lansing, MI 1979ff.
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OrChr	*Oriens Christianus*, Leipzig – Roma – Wiesbaden 1901ff.
OrChrA	*Orientalia Christiana analecta*, Roma 1923ff.
OrChrP	*Orientalia Christiana periodica*, Roma 1935ff.
PankBord	RICHARD PANKHURST, *The Ethiopian Borderlands*: *Essays in Regional History from Ancient Times to the End of the 18th Century*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1997
PankEcon	RICHARD PANKHURST, *Economic History of Ethiopia, 1800–1935*, Addis Ababa 1968

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PerChron	Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira, *Chronica de Susenyos, rei de Ethiopia*, 2 vols., Lisboa 1892–1900
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PollEr	Alberto Pollera, *Le popolazioni indigene dell'Eritrea*, Bologna 1935 (Manuali coloniali 2)
PrRosDic	Chris Prouty – Eugene Rosenfeld, *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia and Eritrea*, Metuchen, NJ ^{2}1994
QSE	*Quaderni di Studi Etiopici*, Asmara 1980–87
RaiCer	Osvaldo Raineri, *Inventario dei manoscritti Cerulli etiopici*, Città del Vaticano 2004 (Studi e testi 420; Cataloghi sommari e inventari dei fondi manoscritti 8)
RANLmor	*Rendiconti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Roma 1947ff.
RasTheo	Hormuzd Rassam, *Narrative of the British Mission to Theodore, King of Abyssinia*, 2 vols., London 1869
RevSem	*Revue sémitique d'épigraphie et d'histoire ancienne*, Paris 1893–1914
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ROC	*Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, Paris 1896–1946; repr. New York 1966
RRALm	*Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Roma 1892ff. [after 1947: *RANLmor*]
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S.L.L.E. linguistic reports	*Survey of Little-known Languages of Ethiopia. Linguistic Reports*, Addis Ababa 1992–95
SAe	*Scriptores Aethiopici* (within CSCO)
SawHist	SAWĪRUS IBN AL-MUQAFFA^{c} [et al.], *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church, Known as the History of the Holy Church,* tr. by ^{c}AZIZ SURYAL ATIYA – YASSA ^{c}ABD AL-MASĪḤ – OSWALD HUGH EWART BURMESTER, Cairo 1948–59; – tr. by ANTOINE KHATER – OSWALD HUGH EWART BURMESTER, Cairo ^{2}1968–70
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SKK	*Studien zur Kulturkunde*, Stuttgart – Wiesbaden 1933ff.
SNR	*Sudan Notes and Records*, Khartoum 1918ff.
StAfEt	*Studi Africanistici. Serie Etiopica*, Napoli 1992ff.
StrANL	STEFAN STRELCYN, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de l'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Fonds Conti Rossini et Fonds Caetani 209, 375, 376, 377, 378*, Roma 1976 (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei: Indici e sussidi bibliografici della biblioteca 9)
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WagHand	Ewald Wagner, *Afrikanische Handschriften*, Teil 2: *Islamische Handschriften aus Äthiopien*, Stuttgart 1997 (VOHD 24, 2)
WagHar	Ewald Wagner, *Harar*: *Annotierte Bibliographie zum Schrifttum über die Stadt und den Islam in Südostäthiopien*, Wiesbaden 2003 (AeF 61)
WälYoh	Witold Witakowski – Laura Łykowska (eds.), Wälättä Yoḥanna. *Ethiopian Studies in Honour of Joanna Mantel-Niećko on the Occasion of the 50th Year of Her Work at the Institute of Oriental Studies, Warsaw University*, Warszawa 2006 (= *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 59, 1)
WenDAE I	Steffen Wenig (ed.), *In kaiserlichem Auftrag*: *Die Deutsche Aksum-Expedition 1906 unter Enno Littmann*, vol. 1: *Die Akteure und die wissenschaftlichen Unternehmungen der DAE in Eritrea*, Aichwald 2006 (Forschungen zur Archäologie Außereuropäischer Kulturen 3.1)
WrBriMus	William Wright, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum acquired since the Year 1847*, London 1877

YaqMist I–II	YAQOB BEYENE, *Giyorgis di Saglā: il libro del Mistero* (*Maṣḥafa Mesṭir*), Louvain 1990 (CSCO 515, 516 [SAe 89, 90]) [I]; Louvain 1993 (CSCO 532, 533 [SAe 97, 98]) [II]
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete*, Leipzig 1886–1938
ZanBibl I–II	SILVIO ZANUTTO, *Bibliografia etiopica in continuazione alla "Bibliografia etiopica" di G. Fumagalli. Primo contributo*: *Bibliografia*, Roma ^{2}1936 [I]; *Secondo contributo*: *manoscritti etiopici*, Roma 1932 [II]
ZanLitTheod	*däbtära* ZÄNNÄB, *The Chronicle of King Theodore of Abyssinia*, Part I: *Amharic Text*, ed. by ENNO LITTMANN, Princeton 1902
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig – Wiesbaden – Stuttgart 1847ff.
ZerÉth	ADRIEN ZERVOS, *L'empire d'Éthiopie. Le miroir de Éthiopie moderne*, Alexandria 1936
ZewYohan	ZEWDE GABRE-SELLASSIE, *Yohannes IV of Ethiopia*: *a Political Biography,* Oxford 1975
ZotBNat	HERMAN ZOTENBERG, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens* (*Gheez et Amharique*) *de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1877
ZRErtra	ZÄWDE RÄTTA, **የኤርትራ ፡ ጉዳይ** 1941–1963 (*Yäʾerətra gudday* 1941–1963, 'The Eritrean Question 1941–1963'), Addis Abäba 2002
ZSem	*Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete*, [Leipzig] 1922–35

Biblical Abbreviations

O.T.	**Old Testament**
Gen	Genesis
Ex	Exodus
Lev	Leviticus
Num	Numbers
Deut	Deuteronomy
Josh	Joshua
Judg	Judges
Ruth	Ruth
1 Sam	1 Samuel
2 Sam	2 Samuel
1 Kgs	1 Kings
2 Kgs	2 Kings
1 Chr	1 Chronicles
2 Chr	2 Chronicles
Ezra	Ezra
Tob	Tobit
Jdt	Judith
Neh	Nehemiah [= 2 Ezra]
3 Ezra	Apocryphal Book of Ezra
4 Ezra	Apocalypse of Ezra
Esth	Esther
1 Mac	1 Maccabees
2 Mac	2 Maccabees
Job	Job
Ps	Psalms
Prov	Proverbs
Ecc	Ecclesiastes
Song	Song of Songs
Wis	Wisdom
Sir	Sirach
Ba	Baruch
Is	Isaiah
Jer	Jeremiah
Lam	Lamentations
Ezek	Ezekiel
Dan	Daniel
Hos	Hosea
Joel	Joel
Am	Amos
Obad	Obadiah
Jon	Jonah
Mic	Micah
Nah	Nahum
Hab	Habakkuk
Zeph	Zephaniah
Hag	Haggai
Zech	Zechariah
Mal	Malachi
En	Enoch
Jub	Jubilees

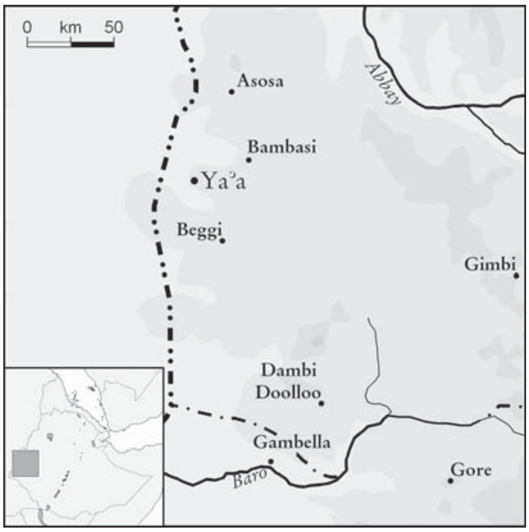
N.T.	**New Testament**
Mt	Matthew
Mk	Mark
Lk	Luke
Jn	John
Acts	Acts
Rom	Romans
1 Cor	1 Corinthians
2 Cor	2 Corinthians
Gal	Galatians
Eph	Ephesians
Phil	Philippians
Col	Colossians
1 Thes	1 Thessalonians
2 Thes	2 Thessalonians
1 Tim	1 Timothy
2 Tim	2 Timothy
Tit	Titus
Phlm	Philemon
Heb	Hebrews
Jas	James
1 Pet	1 Peter
2 Pet	2 Peter
1 Jn	1 John
2 Jn	2 John
3 Jn	3 John
Jude	Jude
Rev	Revelation

Y

Yaᵓa

Y. (from Orom. *yaaᵓa,* ‘place were ceremonies are held) is a Muslim ↗pilgrimage centre located in Tongo *wäräda* in Beni Šangul-Gumuz Regional State. It is a village formed around the mausoleum of *al-fakī* Aḥmad ᶜUmar (b. 1891, d. 2 April 1953 [17 *Rağab* 1372 H.]), a Tiğānī *šayḫ* from Bornu, Nigeria. The residents of Y. are Tiğānī followers (↗Islamic brotherhoods), consisting of Oromo migrants from ↗Wälläga, ↗Ǧimma and ↗Illubabor, and their descendants. Y. is also the name of a *qäbäle* of the Tongo *wäräda*.

Al-fakī Aḥmad ᶜUmar, leaving Bornu to make the pilgrimage to ↗Mecca at the age of 19, entered Ethiopia via Khartoum, allegedly led by a divine message. His ethnic origins are unknown, but he is vaguely considered to have been a “Fellata”, i.e. Fulbe. At ↗Asosa, ↗Beni Šangul, *al-fakī* Aḥmad ᶜUmar served under *däğğazmač* Muḥammad ᶜAbdurraḥmān (the son of Tor al-Ġurī). Around 1920, *al-fakī* Aḥmad ᶜUmar migrated south to ↗Qälləm *awrağğa* in western ↗Wälläga. At Finčo, Aḥmad ᶜUmar became known as *abbaa qoričča* (Orom. ‘healer’), and was granted land at Ripa (10 km east of ↗Dambi Dolloo) by the governor of ↗Qälləm *awrağğa*, *däğğazmač* ↗Bərru Wäldä Gäbrəᵓel. He was also granted land at Minko (5 km east of Ripa), where he established his *maasaraa* (Orom. ‘residence of a highly venerated person’). While living in Minko, Aḥmad ᶜUmar was recognized as a ↗*walī*. Furthermore, many local Oromo, who followed their autochthonous ↗religion, or were partly Christianized, started venerating him and converted to ↗Islam. He was reverentially called *šeekota* Dambi (i.e. grand *šayḫ* of Dambi Dolloo), his fame spreading as far as ↗Ǧimma.



During the Italian occupation (↗Africa Orientale Italiana), Aḥmad ᶜUmar efficiently acted as mediator between the Italian colonizers and the local Oromo. After the Italian occupation, he had admirers from all over western Oromoland. In 1942/43 *al-fakī* Aḥmad ᶜUmar retreated to Kusaye, where he stayed for five years. He then moved to Ǧimma area where most of his descendants live today. He settled near Afallo (Geeraa *wäräda*) for about three years.

In 1951 Aḥmad ᶜUmar accomplished the *ḥağğ*, accompanied by his Ethiopian followers. At Mecca, he is said to have received a divine message to go to Y., an uninhabited piece of land owned by *qäññazmač* Muḥammad wad al-Amīn. Leaving his followers in Mecca, he promised to return after a farewell visit to his relatives in Bornu. In 1952 he reappeared in Asosa, and accompanied by his chief servant, *ḥāğğ* Adam Abbaa Dikko (alias “Abbaa Qoro”), he settled at Y., after having received permission from *qäññazmač* Muḥammad wad al-Amīn. The land was sparsely inhabited by ↗Mao, ↗Komo and ↗Berta (especially Fadaši, cp. ↗Fadasi, s. EAE vol. 5), and a group of Oromo followers migrated in order to construct his last *maasaraa;* they eventually became the first residents of Y.

After *al-fakī* Aḥmad ᶜUmar’s death, *ḥāğğ* Adam took the initiative in developing an irrigation system in and around the village. The communalistic way of life of the community *al-fakī* Aḥmad had founded gradually deteriorated after 1991, but the residents of Y. still hold the hospitality of pilgrims as obligatory. The *ziyāra* to Y. is conducted on Muslim holidays, such as the ↗*Mawlid*, the *Miᶜrāğ* and *ᶜArafa* (↗*Aräfa*).

Mosque of Yaʾa; photo 2010, courtesy of Alexander Meckelburg

Src.: YASUO MATSUNAMI, *Pilgrimage to Yaʾa*: *Feasting the Consumers of the Sacred*, colour film 2006, 26 minutes.
Lit.: JABO SIRAJE, *Yaʾa Pilgrimage Center, Wallagga*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1988; MINAKO ISHIHARA, "The Life History of a Muslim Holyman, Al-Faki Ahmad Umar", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 2, 391–402 (Lit.); ID. – YASUO MATSUNAMI, "On the Filming of 'Pilgrimage to Yaʾa'", in: *PICES* 16, 277–91 (Lit.).

Minako Ishihara

Yabello

Y. (**ያቤሎ**, Orom. sp. Yaaballoo, Yaabello, also Oobda) is a market town and administrative centre in the Boorana region (administrative name until 1991: ↗Boräna) in southern Ethiopia, situated on the main road connecting Kenya and ↗Moyale with the Ethiopian highlands. According to the 2005 Census, the town has a population of 18,478. The majority of the inhabitants are ↗Boorana, the rest belong to other ↗Oromo groups, ↗Amhara, ↗Burǧi, ↗Konso, ↗Somali, ↗Gabra, ↗Gurage and ↗Waata.

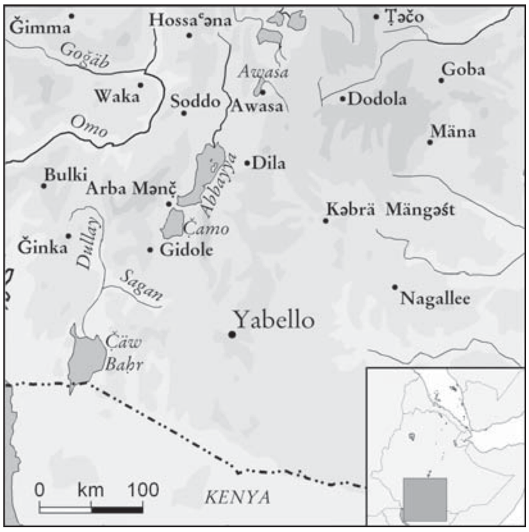
The original name of Y. was Gaddiisa Oobda ('shadow of Oobda'), after a man known in local tradition by the name of Oobda as well as a mountain near the town. Folk etymology renders Y. as *yaaʾa ballo* ('place of the big *yaaʾa*', cp. Leus – Salvadori 2006: 669). During the *yaaʾa* 'ceremonial assembly' the Boorana leaders of the same ↗*gadaa* grade (↗*abbaa gadaa* and *adulaa*) had to live in the same camp (*olla yaaʾa*, '*yaaʾa* hamlet'), and, according to oral tradition, such a place existed in Y. in the past. Leus and Salvadori (ibid.) suggest that Y. was chosen for this purpose because of its good wells. Though the wells are not of superior quality, they certainly contributed to the attractiveness of the place. Some of the wells were improved only in recent times, e.g., those of Eela Garbii (ibid.) were renovated by the Protestant mission.

The formation of Y. town is linked with the establishment of Ethiopian rule over the Boorana in 1897. Between 1904 and 1912, a tax office was established in Y. With the traditional conflict between the Boorana and ↗Guǧǧi escalating around the same time – and ever more ↗fire-arms being imported into southern Ethiopia – a police station and an army camp were also established at Y. Until 1944 Y. served as an administrative centre, but then Areeroo (↗Arero) assumed this function.

People from Konso started to migrate to and farm around Y. in the 1940s. In the late 1940s the livestock market was started. In 1947, the master plan of Y. was signed by Awwäqä Yəgläṭu, later (1957–68) the governor of Boorana, and by *däǧǧazmač* Alula Bäqqälä, an officer residing in Addis Abäba (Jaatanii Diidaa 2007: 12f.). Since 1950 Y. town grew when Boorana and other ethnic groups, such as Amhara, Konso and others, gradually settled there. Y. then became one of the main markets of the Boorana region.

Today, market is still held in Y. on Tuesdays and Saturdays. Important local products sold there are butter, milk, yoghurt, *soodda* and *mogaado* (two types of ↗salt from the Booqee salt lake), while maize, sugar, coffee, tobacco,

New mosque of Yabello; photo 2005, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt


Ğimma
Hossaʿəna
Ṭəčo
Gog̃äb
Awasa
Goba
Waka
Soddo
Awasa
•Dodola
Omo
Mäna
Abbayya
•Dila
Bulki
Arba Mənč
Kəbrä Mängəśt
Çamo
Ğinka
Dullay
• Gidole
Sagan
Nagallee
Yabello
Çäw
Baḥr
0 km 100
KENYA

and cloth etc. are major products brought from other regions.

Since 2002 Y. has served as administrative centre of Y. *wäräda* as well as of Boorana zone, Oromiyaa Regional State (Leus – Salvadori 2006: 669). The town received this status, after ↗Nagallee, until then the capital of the Boorana *awrağğa*, had become part of the new Guğği zone.

Src.: OROMIYAA FINANCE OFFICE, *Census of Boorana Zone*, Yabello 2005 (ms.).

Lit.: JAATANII DIIDAA, "Seena Magaalaa Yaaballoo" ('The History of the Town of Yaaballoo'), in: GIRMAA MULUGEETAA – SALAMOON ALAMUU (eds.), *Baazaarii Horsiisee Bulaa Boorana – Boorana Pastoral Development Bazar Bulletin* [Yaaballoo], *Amajjii* 1999 [January 2007], 12f.; CHIKAGE OBA, "The Forming of Town in Pastoral Society and its Meaning. The Case of Borana in South Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 16 [*online*], 273–81; TON LEUS – CYNTHIA SALVADORI, *Aadaa Boraanaa*: *a Dictionary of Borana Culture*, Addis Ababa 2006, 669.

Chikage Ôba-Smidt

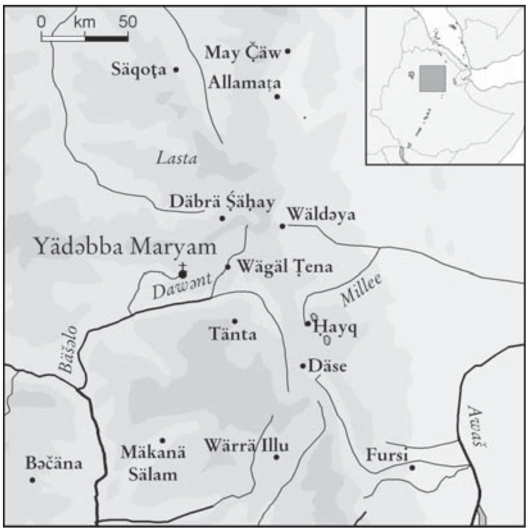
Yädəbba Maryam

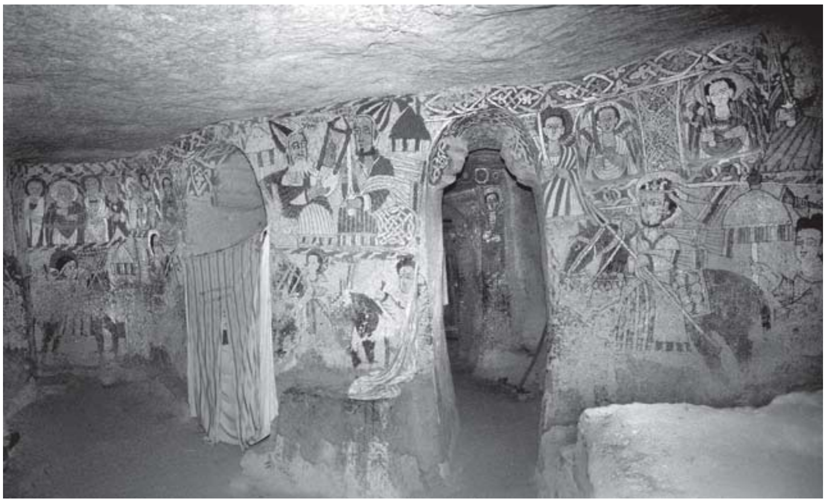
Y.M. (**የድብ ፡ ማርያም**, 'St. Mary of the Bears') is a church complex in northern ↗Wällo (north-west of ↗Däse), ↗rock-hewn but also using natural caves. According to a local tradition, the place was discovered and adapted for the Christian cult by *abunä* ↗Muse, the successor of *abba* ↗Sälama (hence its alternative name Däbrä Abunä Muse).

The main church dedicated to St. ↗Mary is called "St. Mary of the Bears", an allusion to the legend in which *abba* Muse is said to have "taken over" the cave from a bear. It is arranged in a large cave-like oval room (ca. 11.4 m x 7.5 m, 3.4 m high) accessible from two entrances cut into the face of the rock (the central one is presently blocked). Above the entrances there are three open windows. The eastern part of the room is raised and screened by four large pillars connected by arches. Large engaged pillars protrude from the western wall. A podium is constructed in front of the eastern part of the room and along the southern and western walls. A wooden pole and panels visible on the podium may be parts of an old chancel. Steps between the pillars lead to a space preceding three chapels which are also used as sanctuaries (↗*mäqdäs*). In one of them, believed to have served as praying place for *abba* Muse, there is a monolithic altar below a shallow cupola. The other two are dedicated to the Archangel Gabriel and to St. ↗Täklä Haymanot, respectively.

Steps in the north and south of the central room lead to adjacent parts of the complex. On the northern side there is a passage and several small rooms, one of them dedicated to the Archangel Michael. To the south, a corridor leads to the second, smaller church (5.5 m x 4.5 m, 2.4 m high) of St. George, which has its own entrance from outside. Two arched openings are cut into the interior eastern wall to the right and to the left of a thick pillar leading to an ambulatory and to a chapel which also serves as the *mäqdäs.* In both churches pillars are decorated with false brackets crudely cut only inside the subarches. The architecture of the complex has not been properly studied.

The complex is extensively decorated with wall ↗paintings dating to the 16th cent. Their


0 km 50
May Çäw
Säqoṭa
Allamaṭa
Lasta
Däbrä Śäḥay
Wäldəya
Yädəbba Maryam
Wägäl Ṭena
Dawənt
Millee
Tänta
Ḥayq
Bäšəlo
•Däse
Awaš
Bəčäna
Mäkanä
Sälam
Wärrä Illu
Fursi



Church complex at Yädəbba Maryam in Dawənt, wall-painting, 16th cent., chapel of St. George; photo 2004, courtesy of Michael Gervers

stylistic features and iconography closely resemble the murals in ↗Gʷəḥ Yəmʾata. Holy figures, frequently accompanied by inscriptions and sometimes by invocations (e.g., Bəʾəse Sälam, Habtä Maryam and Tənśaʾe Wäld), are depicted in small and large groups on the walls, pillars and ceilings. An ornament composed of interlaces and floral motifs frames the compositions and decorates the inside of the arches. The paintings in the smaller church were never finished.

Only some of the depicted subjects have been identified. In the church of St. Mary one finds the Ancient of Days in a *mandorla* supported by the symbols of the Four Evangelists and accompanied by the Twenty-Four Priests of Heaven; ↗John the Baptist; Archangel Afnin; Abraham and Isaac; Mary with Child (holding a bird) flanked by Michael and Gabriel; the apostles; ↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus and an *abba* Samuʾel; two pairs of ↗equestrian saints: ↗Qirqos and Victor and ↗George and Theodore (playing an ancient game, in which noble riders used lances to catch and keep a ring). On the southern wall, two ↗devils and another infernal creature are perhaps the remnants of a larger composition depicting Hell or the Last Judgement. In the northern corridor there are rows of unidentified saints. In the chapel of *abba* Muse, two figures are still visible behind the altar; the one holding a chalice may be St. Stephen. The archangels, ↗angels and cherubs are represented on the ceiling of the chapels; on the walls are biblical figures and martyrs, some of whom are rarely depicted: Adam, Noah, James the Brother of the Lord, and St. Mamas riding a lion. Also exceptional for 16th-cent. murals are the ↗Trinity and Mary *orans.*

In the church of St. George, beside nine figures (possibly the "↗Nine Saints"), there are representations of King ↗David facing ↗Solomon, several archangels and the ↗Zagʷe kings: ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos and ↗Lalibäla are on horseback, the latter followed by courtiers, two of them playing trumpets. Four standing figures without haloes (one holding a sword) may represent other members of the dynasty. By analogy with the paintings in the church of Mary, two unidentified figures playing a horse game are probably two other equestrian saints. St. George and *abba* ↗Nob with an attendant are also depicted on horseback. The entry to the sanctuary is guarded by two angels with raised swords; on the ceiling inside one finds five archangels arranged in a circle and saints including *abba* Muse accompanied by *abba* Mäṭaᶜ (↗Libanos).

The church preserves an iron staff cross, a 15th-cent. shafted cross, and a manuscript of the Acts of Muse with historical notes in Gəᶜəz and Amharic.

Lit.: Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, "Islamic Elements in Ethiopian Pictorial Tradition. A Preliminary Survey", in: Alessandro Gori – Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti (eds.) *L'Islam in Etiopia. Bilanci e Prospettive,* Roma 2010 (*Civiltà del Mediterraneo* 16–17), 109–31, here 116 fig. 10; Irmgard Bidder, *Lalibela. Monolithkirchen in Äthiopien*, Köln 1958, 39, 132 and 103–06, figs. 63–68; David Buxton, *The Abyssinians*, New York 1970, 145f., fig. 35, pl. 84f.; ChojPaint 122f., 127f., 133, 338, fig. 51a–c; Stanisław Chojnacki, "Peinture pariétale, icônes, manuscrits, croix et autres objets liturgiques", in: Walter Raunig (ed.), *L'Art en Éthiopie,* Paris 2005, 171–249, here 187, 190, figs. 151f.; Ernst Hammerschmidt – Otto Jäger, *Illuminierte äthiopische Handschriften*, Wiesbaden 1968, figs. 7f.; KinBibl 85; Beatrice Playne, *St. George for Ethiopia*, London 1954, 189f., pl. before p. 192d; Roger Sauter, "Où en est notre connaissance des églises rupestres d'Éthiopie?", *AE* 5, 1963, 235–92, here 273; Stephen Wright, "Notes on Some Cave Churches in the Province of Wallo", *ibid.* 2, 1957, 7–13, here 10f.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Yaᶜəbikä Ǝgziʾ

Y.Ǝ. (የዕቢከ ፡ እግዚእ) was a local lord in ↗Təgray during the first half of the 14th cent.; the centre of his power was located in ↗Amba Śännayti.

The main source on Y.Ǝ. is an additional note in the "Golden Gospel" (↗*Wängelä wärq*) of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šəmäzana. In this document, written probably in 1318/19 A.D., *mäkʷännən* Y.Ǝ. is said to have donated a ↗*gʷəlt*-land to Däbrä Libanos (CRDLib 200f., no. 17). Apparently, by that time Y.Ǝ. had extended his realm, accumulated power and bore a number of titles: in the document he styles himself as governor (*śəyyum*) of Däbrä Maᶜṣo, Zäreda and Ǝntərta (thought to be the same as ↗Ǝndärta, but cp. Conti Rossini's comment, CRDLib 195, suggesting rather an area in ↗ᶜAgamä or ↗Akkälä Guzay). According to the same land charter (CRDLib no. 17), Y.Ǝ. donated the land on his own authority, there being no mention of the reigning monarch (↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I). In doing this, he probably continued the policy of his predecessor Täsfanä Ǝgziʾ (cp. his charter dated to 1305, CRDLib 199, no. 15); but Y.Ǝ. ran into confrontation with the King. Perhaps Y.Ǝ. refused to submit to ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon or even contested his throne (TadTChurch 73). However, Y.Ǝ. was defeated, as deduced from a contemporary note in the "Gospel of ↗Iyäsus Moʾa", from ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos (ms. EMML no. 1832; s. Taddesse Tamrat 1970: 95f., esp. n. 43) and a later document in the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Aksum* (CRAxum no. 29, issued by *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl).

The Acts of ↗ᶜAbiyä Ǝgziʾ are another source that recounts the story of the rebellion; the name of Y.Ǝ. is not explicitly mentioned, but the anonymous governor of Amba Śännayti, who incited the chief of ↗Tämben to rebel against the king, must definitely be Y.Ǝ. (cp. Conti Rossini 1948: 419ff.). It seems that Y.Ǝ. was defeated by 1322, since the office of Ǝntərta was occupied by a different person by the same year (Queen Bəlen Saba; cp. CRDLib 31f., no. 20). Y.Ǝ.'s fate after his defeat is not known. He may have been buried at ↗Däbrä Mäᶜar in Gärᶜalta, as deduced from a document included in the "Golden Gospel" of Däbrä Mäᶜar (Heldman – Devens in VarAeth 98, n. 78). It is not clear who the descendants of Y.Ǝ. were, and if his lineage retained power, at least in Amba Śännayti.

The most important reference to Y.Ǝ. is found in the colophon to the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*, according to which Y.Ǝ. authorized the translation of the book by Yəsḥaq, *nəburä əd* of Aksum, after it had been "found" in ↗Nazre[t] (BezKebr 172 [text]). This information became a cornerstone for contemporary representations of the history of early Solomonic Ethiopia. It seems very likely that the *Kəbrä nägäśt* was not initially meant as an ideological device for the kings of the line of ↗Yəkunno Amlak (from ↗Amhara, s. EAE vol. 5). Rather, it emerged in the 14th cent., in northern Ethiopia; being linked to the old local nobility and opposing the hegemony of the southerners' dynasty, Y.Ǝ. used the *Kəbrä nägäśt* to support his own claim to power. When the revolt of Y.Ǝ. was suppressed by ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon, the *Kəbrä nägäśt* was "taken over" by the victor, and adopted to strengthen the quest for power of the Solomonic dynasty (but the subscription with the name of Y.Ǝ. was not purged from the work).

Src.: BezKebr 172f. (text) = 138 (tr.); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Aethiopica (IIª serie)", *RSO* 10, 1923, 481–520, here 506ff. [§41 "Sull'autore e sulla data del *Kebra Nagast*]; ID., "Note di agiografia etiopica (ᶜAbiya Egziʾ, ʾArkalēdes e Gabra-Iyasus)", *ibid.* 17, 1938, 409–53, here 419–21; CRAxum 30f. (text) = 36 (tr.) [no. 29]; CRDLib 195, 199 [no. 15], 200f. [no. 17], 29–32 [no. 20]; ms. EMML no. 1832.

Lit.: SEVIR B. CHERNETSOV, *Ėfiopskaja feodalnaja monarhija v XIII–XVI vv.* ('The Ethiopian Feudal Monarchy in the 13th–16th cent.'), Moscow 1982, 36–41; MARYLIN E. HELDMAN – MONICA S. DEVENS, "The Four Gospels of Däbrä Mäʿar: Colophon and Note of Donation", in: *VarAeth* 77–99; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "The Abbots of Däbrä-Hayq 1248–1535", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 87–117, here 95f.; TadTChurch 73ff., 251.

Denis Nosnitsin

Yaᶜəqob

Abunä Y. (ያዕቆብ, fl. around 1340), a 14th-cent. metropolitan of Ethiopia, is known from the Ethiopian hagiographic literature concerning the "Cycle of the Holy Monks in Conflict against the King", which includes five texts: *Gädlä* ↗*Bäṣälotä Mikaʾel* of Däbrä Gol (Amhara); *Gädlä* ↗*Filəppos* of Däbrä ᶜAsbo (↗Däbrä Libanos of ↗Šäwa); *Gädlä* ↗*Anorewos* of Däbrä Ṣəgaga (Šäwa); *Gädlä* ↗*Aron* of Däbrä Daret (Bägemdər); *Gädlä* ↗*Samuʾel* of Däbrä Wägäg (Šäwa).

Y. arrived in Ethiopia in 1337 and, together with some of the leaders of the local monasticism, devoted himself to evangelizing the non-Christian regions of ↗Šäwa, ↗Fäṭägar, ↗Wäǧ, ↗Damot, ↗Ǝnnarya and ↗Ifat. He elected twelve monks, led by Filəppos, to be sent into the regions to evangelize the people. According to the *Gädlä Samuʾel*, Y. and a group of monks were in conflict with *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I (↗Säyfä Arᶜad in other hagiographies) because the king had married the wife of his father. In consequence the metropolitan was flogged and sent back to Egypt while the monks were exiled (Kur 1968: 9–11 [text] = 7–9 [tr.]). *Gädlä Anorewos* relates that King Säyfä Arᵓad promised to marry only one wife and to pardon the exiled monks. Instead he married one of his father's wives. Anorewos, after protesting, was beaten and exiled. In the *Gädlä Anorewos*, *Gädlä Aron* and *Gädlä Filəppos* it is said that the monks who did not agree with the royal positions were sent as punishment to the "pagan land". This exile, however, became an opportunity for them to spread Christianity in these regions.

Y. is mentioned in a note dated 524 A.M. during the reign of ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon (r. 1339/40), in the colophon of a manuscript from the monastery of Ḥayq (Taddesse Tamrat 1970: 98 nn. 56–57; Munro-Hay 2005: 12).

Src.: IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Le liste dei metropoliti d'Abissinia", *Bessarione* 5, 1, 1899, 1–17, here 8; STANISLAS KUR, Actes *de Samuel de Dabra Wagag*, Louvain 1968 (CSCO 287, 288 [SAe 57, 58]); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*, I. *Acta s Baṣalota Mikāᵓēl et s. Anorewos* (*seu Acta Santi Honorii*), Louvain 1961 (CSCO 28, 29 [SAe 11, 12]); BORIS TURAIEV, *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*, II. *Acta s. Aaronis et s. Philippi*, Louvain 1908 (CSCO 30, 31 [SAe 13, 14]), 114–19, 174–79, 201–05 (tr.); ID., *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*, I. *Acta s. Eustathii*, Louvain 1906 (CSCO 32 [SAe 15]), 28–29; ZotBNat 263.

Lit.: SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "Yāᶜqob", in: *CE* vol. 4, 1011; CerDLib I, 239f.; MHAlex II, 12–17; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "The Abbots of Däbrä-Hayq 1248–1535", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 87–117, here 98–100.

Antonella Brita

Yaᶜəqob

Aṣe Y. (**ያዕቆብ**, regnal name Mälkəᵓa Sägäd; b. 1587, d. 1607) ruled Ethiopia from 1597 to 1603 and from 1605 to 1607. Having failed to have a son with his wife ↗Maryam Śəna, *aṣe* ↗Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl promised the crown to his nephew ↗Zädəngəl. However, in the interim, one of Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl's mistresses – a woman from Səmen named Ḥarägo – bore him a son, the future *aṣe* Y. (Perruchon 1896: 358, 361; Páez 2008: 599f.; BecRASO III, 207f.). In 1596, the Empress and her power-hungry sons-in-law – *ras* ↗Atnatewos, the governor of Goǧǧam, and ↗Kəflä Waḥəd, the governor of Təgray – persuaded the dying sovereign to bequeath the throne to the young Y. During Y.'s adolescence, the administration was entirely in the hands of Atnatewos, who presided over a steady decline in Ethiopia's fortunes (PerChron 48 [text]; BecRASO XI, 220). According to the Jesuit ↗Páez, Atnatewos persuaded the nobility that the time had come to mint coins, which should have featured the crowned image and the name of Y. (cf. Páez 2008: 137; BecRASO II, 109).

At the age of 15, Y. began to rule the empire on his own and immediately took steps to curtail the influence of his brothers-in-law. Atnatewos consequently rebelled and Y. managed to have him incarcerated. Thereafter, an aggrieved captain, ↗Zäśəllase, convinced Atnatewos and Kəflä Waḥəd that Y.'s exiled cousin, Zädəngəl, would make for a more tractable monarch. In September 1603, while Y. was at his court in Qoga, Zädəngəl was brought to the capital and proclaimed emperor. At the same time, Y.'s rivals accused him of un-Christian behaviour (PerChron 63 [text]; Páez 2008: 708f.; BecRASO III, 379; XI, 322) and had him exiled to the neighbouring kingdom of ↗Ǝnnarya (Páez 2008: 76; BecRASO II, 20; XI, 220f.).

In the meantime, Zädəngəl proved to be less pliant than his benefactors had hoped. Suspicious of the powerful lords, the new monarch had them removed from his council. In response, Zäśəllase and Atnatewos denounced Zädəngəl on the grounds of his inclination towards ↗Catholicism and launched an insurrection, with the approval of *abunä* ↗Ṗeṭros. Soon after, Zädəngəl was killed by Zäśəllase, giving rise to a vacuum in leadership. One of the leading contenders to the throne was ↗Susənyos, who was anointed emperor on 13 December 1604. However, the following June, Y. appeared in Dämbəya and soon received the backing of his powerful brothers-in-law. Y. sought to come to terms with his rival (PerChron 52–56 [text]), but Susənyos would settle for no less than the crown (ibid. 74–78 [text]).

Throughout the next year, Y. attempted to forge ties with the few ↗Jesuit missionaries in the country with the objective of garnering their support in his power struggle against Susənyos. Y. even promised to embrace the Catholic faith in return for a contingent of Portuguese soldiers from India that never materialized (Páez 2008: 644–51; BecRASO III, 281–91; XI, 247f.).

Y.'s efforts to coerce Susənyos into submission ended in complete failure. In February 1606, Susənyos defeated the numerically-superior forces of Zäśəllase, who was subsequently removed from his position as Y.'s chief minister. Towards the end of that year, the ex-chief minister defected to the enemy camp. On 10 March 1607, the combined forces of Susənyos and Zäśəllase defeated the rival army, and Y. was slain on the field of combat (PerChron 83–94 [text]; Páez 2008: 651–54; BecRASO III, 293–97; XI, 249f.).

The only extant chronicle on the short reign of Y. is a very brief manuscript (Perruchon 1896; Páez 2008: 599; BecRASO III, 207).

Src.: BecRASO II, 20, 109; III, 207f., 379, 281–97; XI, 220, 247–50, 322; PEDRO PÁEZ, *História da Etiópia*, ed. by ISABEL BOAVIDA – HERVÉ PENNEC – MANUEL JOÃO RAMOS, Lisboa 2008, 76, 137, 599f., 644–54, 708f.; PerChron vol. 1, 48f., 53–56, 61ff., 68, 71–95, 98, 100, 111ff., 188 (text) = vol. 2, 39f., 43ff., 48f., 53, 56–74, 76, 78, 87f., 144 (tr.); JULES PERRUCHON, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie. Règnes de Yaᶜqob et Za-Dengel (1597–1607)", *RevSem* 4, 1896, 355–63.

Lit.: GIRMA BESHAH – MERID WOLDE AREGAY, *The Question of the Union of the Churches in Luso-Ethiopian Relations* (*1500–1632*), Lisboa 1964, 69–74.

Leonardo Cohen

Yaᶜəqob

Y. (**ያዕቆብ**; d. 1609) was the name assumed by one of the early 17th-cent. pretenders to the throne.

In 1608, Y. rebelled against the recently-crowned *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, claiming to be the emperor *aṣe* ↗Yaᶜəqob, who had been deposed (and possibly killed) a year earlier. The rebellion arose first in Təgray, where Y. declared himself to the monks of ↗Däbrä Bizän. He gained a popular following and was able, because of wider conditions of unrest in the province, where "many Bands of Robbers ranged about" (Tellez 1710: 182f.), to sustain his rebellion for up to a year, despite repeated attempts to capture him by the governors of Təgray. However, in 1609, betrayed by some of his followers he was killed and beheaded (ibid. 187; DombrChr 190; BecRASO XI, 263).

The mystery around the deposition and death of *aṣe* Yaᶜəqob gave rise to more similar claims. Over a century later, in 1724, a rebel arose against *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa, who declared to be the son of *aṣe* Yaᶜəqob by the name of Ḥəzqəyas (GuiIohan 308; BegCron 111; DombrChr 278). He was executed, but in 1739, yet another pretender arose, calling himself Bäkaffa (who had died in 1730), and, again, claiming descent from *aṣe* Yaᶜəqob (GuiIyas 86f. [text] = 93 [tr.]).

Social and political instability created the conditions in which rebels might arise. Attachment to an enduring myth, in this case the suppressed legitimacy of *aṣe* Yaᶜəqob, provided a symbolic tool, by which to rally support across the social spectrum. Similar processes occurred in other contemporary monarchies, such as Russia during the Time of the Troubles, when not fewer than three false Dimitris arose, Dimitri having been the son of the last legitimate tsar, murdered by the usurping Boris Godunov.

Src.: BassÉt II, 121, 127; BecRASO XI, 170, 253f., 263; BegCron 42, 111; DombrChr 189f., 278; GuiIohan 308; GuiIyas 86f. (text) = 93 (tr.); BALTHAZAR TELLEZ, *The Travels of the Jesuits in Ethiopia*, London 1710, 182–87.

Lit.: ANDRZEJ BARTNICKI – JOANNA MANTEL-NIEĆKO, "The Role and Significance of the Religious Conflicts and People's Movements in the Political Life of Ethiopia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", *RSE* 24 (1969–70), 5–39; FRANZ AMADEUS DOMBROWSKI, "Observations on Crown-Pretendership in 17th Century Russia and Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 7, 233–41, here 236.

Donald Crummey

Yaᶜəqob

Abeto Y. (**ያዕቆብ**; b. ca. 1527/28, d. 1556/57) was the fourth and youngest son of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl and *ətege* ↗Säblä Wängel. Unlike his older brothers ↗Gälawdewos and ↗Minas, Y. never ascended the Solomonic throne, nor is there any evidence that he played a substantial political role during his lifetime. On account of his offspring, however, real or alleged, he holds an important place as a nodal figure in Ethiopian dynastic history. Through his son ↗Fasil Gärram ('F. the Meek') Y. is the grandfather of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos. By extension, Y. thus is the forefather of all subsequent Gondärine monarchs. The House of ↗Šäwa, which nationally came to power with ↗Mənilək II in 1889, equally based its claim to Solomonic descent on a lineage going back to Y.

This Šäwan claim however is not easily substantiated. It has its roots in traditions from ↗Mänz, the region of origin of the Šäwan kings, that claim Y., whose childhood falls into the years of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's *ǧihād* against the Christian Kingdom, was left behind in Mänz while the rest of the royal family fled ever further north before the advancing *muǧāhidūn*. These traditions, however, are intrinsically problematic and find no corroboration in contemporary sources. A remark by ↗Castanhoso even suggests that, in mid-1541, Y. was with his mother on ↗Däbrä Damo.

About Y.'s liaisons and offspring the sources are not fully clear and unanimous. An early 19th-cent. genealogy of *ras* ↗Ḫaylä Mikaᵓel Əšäte and *däǧǧazmač* ↗Goššu Zäwde identifies a Gondärine noblewoman named Nəgəśtä Azeb as Fasil(ädäs)

Gärram's mother (Kropp 1989: 178ff.). The *Tarikä nägäśt* by *blatten geta* ↗Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase adds that Nəgəśtä Azeb was Y.'s lawful wife and that the couple had two more sons as well as a daughter, namely Śəgwä (or Śägwä) Qal (through whom the House of Šäwa traces its origin back to Y.), Täzkarä Dəngəl (hypochoristically Täzkaro), and Wälättä Maryam (AWTarik 25f., 36, 66ff.). From among this supposed additional offspring, only Täzkaro, whom the *baḥər nägaš* ↗Yəsḥaq in the early 1560s briefly and unsuccessfully installed as a counter-monarch against *aṣe* ↗Minas, is attested in contemporary sources (KrLebD 56–60 [text]). A few years later Yəsḥaq then challenged *aṣe* ↗Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl by proclaiming the boy Marqos emperor; according to Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl's chronicle Marqos was another son of Y. (CRHist 18, 80 [text]). Again this maneuver failed to produce the desired results. Nevertheless this repeatedly demonstrated proximity between Yəsḥaq and Y.'s sons lends credibility to the notice in a marginal Portuguese source (the *Décadas* of de ↗Barros and do ↗Couto; cp. PankBord 236) that a daughter of Y. – Wälättä Maryam? – was married to Yəsḥaq's son Täklä Mikaᵓel. As for Marqos, while his historicity and genealogy cannot be in doubt, surprisingly he is not mentioned in Ḫəruy's work. Finally there are traditions about Y. marrying a ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel woman called "Wesenabi" (Quirin 1992: 76, 243 [n. 186]).

Src.: AWTarik 23–26, 36, 66ff.; BeckHuntAlvar 247; BTafA 150–53, 989f.; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "L'homélie en l'honneur de l'archange Raguel (Dersāna Rāgu'ēl)", *AE* 2, 1957, 91–122; CRHist 18, 80 (text) = 22, 91 (tr.); FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA (ed., tr.), **ዜና ፡ ሚናስ ።** *Historia de Minás, ᵓAdmás Sagad, Rei de Ethiopia*, Lisboa 1888, 25, 29–32 (text) = 44, 47–50 (tr.); KrLebD 50, 56–60 (text) = 51, 56–60 (tr.); MANFRED KROPP, *Die äthiopischen Königschroniken in der Sammlung des Däǧǧazmač Ḫaylu. Entstehung und handschriftliche Überlieferung des Werks*, Frankfurt am Main et al. 1989, 175–80 (Heidelberger Orientalistische Studien 13); JULES PERRUCHON, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie: le règne des Galâwdêwos (Claudius) ou Asnâf-Sagad", *RevSem* 2, 1894, 155–66 (text), 163 = 263–70 (tr.), 267; EDUARD RÜPPELL, *Reise in Abyssinien*, vol. 2, Frankfurt am Main 1840, 359; TSTarik III, 20; RICHARD STEPHEN WHITEWAY (tr.), *The Portuguese Expedition to Abyssinia in 1541–1543, as Narrated by Castanhoso …*, London 1902 [repr. Nendeln, Liechtenstein 1967], 13f.

Lit.: IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Leggende storiche di Abissinia", *RSO* 1, 1907, 5–30, 15; LevWax 30f., 289f. (nn. 23, 24); PankBord 236; PerChron I, vii; JAMES QUIRIN, *The Evolution of the Ethiopian Jews. A History of the Beta Israel (Falasha) to 1920*, Philadelphia, PA 1992, 75f., 243 (nn. 186–87).

Michael Kleiner

Yaᶜəqob Gäbrä Iyäsus

Y. (**ያዕቆብ ፡ ገብረ ፡ ኢየሱስ**, It. Ghebre Jesus Jacob; b. 11 April 1889, Ḥebo, d. 22 January 1969, Asmära) was an Eritrean Catholic priest and theologian who contributed to the study of the ↗Təgrəñña language.

Y.'s parents were *ato* Gäbrä Iyäsus Gäbrä Mädḫən and *wäyzäro* Śəllas Č̣äggär (later, as a nun, Ǝnnate Śəllas). Y.'s grandfather, *qäšši* Gäbrä Mädḫən, was an Orthodox priest from a noble family of Gʷälᶜa, ᶜAgamä, related to Emperor Yoḥannəs IV and *däǧǧazmač* Säbagadis, who was converted to ↗Catholicism by Giustino de ↗Jacobis and moved to Ḥebo to carry out his priestly duties.

Y. received a Catholic education at Aḵrur and Kärän. After he was ordained priest by bishop Camillo Carrara on 30 April 1913, he worked in the parishes of Bäraqit, Gindaᶜ, Aḵrur, and ↗Sägänäyti. In 1918 Y. replaced *abba* ↗Jérôme as translator and advisor to Carrara. He was also in charge of censorship for the publications printed at the Francescana Printing Press.

In 1921, Y. was appointed the parish priest of Kidanä Məḥrät Church in Asmära. He had the church building renovated and established several *maḫbär* confraternities, in addition to teaching Gəᶜəz, Amharic and Təgrəñña at the Italian school Vittorio Emanuele.

When ↗Kidanä Maryam Kaśa was consecrated as the first native Eritrean Catholic bishop, on 3 August 1930 Y. was elected as one of the five vicars forane, with responsibility for the ↗Ḥamasen region. From October 1934 to 1942 Y. served as the parish priest of Sägänäyti and vicar forane for the ↗Akkälä Guzay region. Among the greatest achievements of his tenure was the construction of Qəddus Mikaᵓel church in Sägänäyti. In 1942 Y. was assigned to Maᶜräba, where he had more time to study and to write. From 1946 to 1950 he taught at the newly instituted Comboni school in Asmära.

On 7 November 1950, Pope Pius XII appointed Y. Apostolic Administrator of Eritrea. He was nominated bishop of Eritrea on 8 February 1951, and consecrated together with *abba* ↗Ḫaylä Maryam Kaḥsay by Cardinal Eugène ↗Tisserant at the Vatican on 1st May 1951. On 26 October 1951 Y. became Apostolic Exarch of Eritrea.

The combination of old conflicts that Y. inherited and his own personality, seen by many as domineering and partial, made his position gradually untenable. After extensive consultations, on 13 February 1956, the representative of the Holy See Lodovicus Mathias announced the (temporary) nominations of *abba* ↗ Abraha François as vicar delegate for the Exarchate and *abba* Täsfagiyorgis Təġar for the Kärän area, thus practically splitting the Exarchate into two (Mekonnen Amanuel 1996: 44). Y. was forced to resign. From 1957 to 1967 he stayed at the Collegio Damasceno in Rome as "ordaining bishop". He spent his last two years in Asmära and was buried in Ḥebo on 25 January 1969.

Y. is remembered as a gifted man of learning and as a prolific writer. He published a lot, but many more texts are believed to remain unedited (cf., e.g., ErDizBio 172; esp. *Bərhan* July 1951: 7, 1969: 2, mentioning 11 published and 32 unpublished works).

Src.: YAᶜƎQOB GÄBRÄ IYÄSUS, **መጽሐፍ ፡ ሰዋስው** (*Mäṣḥaf säwasəw*, 'Book of Grammar'), Asmära 1923 A.M. [1930 A.D.] and ^{2}1926 A.M. [1934 A.D.], repr. 1940 A.M. [1948 A.D.]; ID., **ዝናን ፡ ተረትን ፡ ምስላ ፡ ናይ ፡ ቀዳሞት** (*Zənnan tärätən məssəla nay qäddamot*, 'Epic, Tales and Proverbs of the Elders'), Asmära 1941 A.M. [1948/49 A.D.]; ID., **ሐዋርያዊ ፡ መልእኽትን ፡ ናይ ፡ ኢዮቤል ፡ ጸሎታትን** (*Ḥawaryawi mälᵓəktən nay iyobel ṣälotatən,* 'Pastoral Message and Prayers for the Jubilee'), Asmära 1943 A.M. [1951 A.D.]; ID., **ሰዋስው ፡ ጽድቅ ፡ ዘካህን** (*Säwasəw ṣədq zäkahən,* 'Ladder, or Sanctity of the Priest'), Roma 1952 A.M. [1959 A.D.]; ID., **ኅጽር ፡ ዝበለ ፡ ስብከት ፡ ወንጌል** (*Ḫəṣṣər zəbälä səbkät wängel,* 'A Concise Gospel Preaching'), Asmära 1912 A.M. [1919 A.D.]; ID., **ንኡስ ፡ ትምህርተ ፡ ክርስቶስ** (*Nəᵓus təmhərtä krəstos*, 'Small Catechism'), Asmära 1944 A.M. [1952 A.D.]; ID., **ዐቢይ ፡ ትምህርተ ፡ ክርስቶስ** (*ᶜAbiyy təmhərtä krəstos*, 'Large Catechism'), Asmära n.d.; ID., **ዕቅበተ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ መዳልወ ፡ ሰዓታት ፡ ወዕለታት** (*ᶜƎqbätä gize zäwəᵓətu mädaləwä säᶜatat wäᶜəlätat*, 'Keeping Time, that is the Scales of Hours and Days'), Asmära 1938 A.M. [1946 A.D.]; ID., **ጸሎት ፡ ታስዕቲ ፡ ናብ ፡ ብጹዕ ፡ አባ ፡ ገብረሚካኤል ፡ ሰማዕት** (*Ṣälot tasᶜəti nab bəṣuᶜ abba Gäbrämikaᵓel sämaᶜt*, 'Prayers for the Novena of Blessed Gäbrä Mikaᵓel'), n.p. n.d.; ID., **ጥንታዊ ፡ ወግዕን ፡ ሥነ ፡ ሥርዓትን ፡ ናይ ፡ ሕዝቢ ፡ ኢትዮጵያ** (*Ṭəntawi wägᶜən śənä śərᶜatən nay ḥəzbi Ityoṗya*, 'Old Tradition and Behaviour of the People of Ethiopia'), Asmära 1964 A.M. [1972 A.D.] and ^{2}1977 A.D. (as op. cit. **ባህልና ፡ ክዝከር**, *bahəlna kəzəkkär*, 'That Our Tradition May be Remembered'); Diocesan Archives of Asmara; interview with *abunä* Zäkkaryas Yoḥannəs, bishop emeritus of Asmära (14 August 2006); *Bərhan* [monthly], *Gənbot* 1943 A.M. [May 1951 A.D.], 1; *ibid. Ḥamle* 1943 A.M. [July 1951], 1–7; *ibid. Yäkkatit* 1961 A.M. [February 1969], 1–3; LODOVICUS MATHIAS, *Al Clero e ai Fedeli dell'Esarcato*, Asmara 1956.

Lit.: *abba* AGOSṬINOS-TÄDLÂ, *La Lingua Abissina*, Asmära 1994, 427, 442, 480, 500; ErDizBio 172; *abba* MEKONNEN AMANUEL, "Il clero diocesano eritreo dal sec. XIX ai nostri tempi", in: *1894 – 9/12 – 1994. Proceedings of the Symposium on the First Centenary of the Capuchin Presence in Eritrea*, Asmära 1996, 38–47; GIUSEPPE MOJOLI, *La Chiesa in Etiopia*: *note e ricordi di un nunzio*, Roma 1973, 77, 82, 84, 100, 137, 139ff., 182; SACRA CONGREGAZIONE PER LE CHIESE ORIENTALI (ed.), *Oriente Cattolico. Cenni storici e statistiche*, Città del Vaticano ^{4}1974, 113; TEDROS ABREHA, "Remembering Abuna Yaʿəqob Gäbräyäsus (1889–1969)", *Aethiopica* 11, 2008, 206–10.

Tedros Abraha

Yaᶜəqob: Gädlä Yaᶜəqob

The G.Y. (**ገድለ ፡ ያዕቆብ**, 'Contending of Jacob' or 'Testament of Jacob') is the third of the "Testaments of the three Patriarchs", after *Gädlä ↗ Yəsḥaq* and *Gädlä ↗ Abrəham*. It is modelled on the Biblical narrative of the death of Jacob (Gen 48–50), and is closer to the Biblical-apocryphal genre of "Testament" than the other two Testaments.

The Archangel Michael is sent to notify Jacob of his approaching death. He is ready to die, having been able to see his son Joseph once again after he came down to Egypt (Gen 46: 30). Michael or another angel, closely resembling Isaac, reveals to Jacob that he is his guardian angel and that he had already saved him from Laban and from his brother Esau. Jacob calls for his son Joseph and instructs him about his burial (Gen 49). The narrator continues with Ephraim and Manasse's blessing, followed by a short version of Jacob's blessing his twelve sons. After that, like Isaac, Jacob is taken to the next world. He is first taken on a tour through hell, and then to heaven with all its bliss. Back in his bed, Jacob dies. The Lord comes down and takes his soul to heaven in a holy chariot, cherubim and seraphim singing before it. After relating Gen 50: 1–14, the narrator encourages the reader to keep the memorial day of Jacob, which is the same for all three Patriarchs, 28 *Näḥase*.

The G.Y. is extant only in Coptic (Bohairic), Arabic (a literal translation of the Coptic Version) and ↗ Gəᶜəz (Haelewyck 1998: 56–61; Heide 2012a: 29–34). Like the *Gädlä Yəsḥaq*, it was composed not earlier than the 4th cent. A.D. (Heide 2012a: 37–50; 2012b; for the origin of G.Y. s. the entry on *Gädlä Yəsḥaq*). The specific introduction to the Bohairic, Arabic and Ethiopic versions of the *Testament of Abraham* (*Gädlä Abrəham*), which points to the commemoration day of the patriarchs on 28 *Näḥase*, is reflected in the text of G.Y. 7: 22–28 (Heide 2000: 277, 303).

Besides retelling the biblical text, the G.Y., like the *Gädlä Yəsḥaq*, emphasizes asceticism and good works in strict observance of the feast of the patriarchs.

Three Gəᶜəz versions of the G.Y. exist:

1) a literal translation from the Arabic, extant in two manuscripts from ↗ Gundä Gunde (Gundä Gunde 67, 18th cent. and 142, 15th cent.). A third

fragmental manuscript (not mentioned in Heide 2000) from the Vatican library (Et. 279) has four folia with the G.Y. which were originally part of Gundä Gunde 142 (Heide 2012a: 32f.). Another Ethiopic manuscript from the 15th cent., EMML no. 1496 (EMML IV, 630ff.), is a textual witness to the same type of text (Heide 2012a: 12–17, 32ff.). In addition, the text is known from mss. EMML nos. 8812 and 7040 (18th–19th cent.), and probably also from further manuscripts (cp. Erho 2012). The text transmitted in these manuscripts is also reflected in the popular edition (Täklä Mikaᵓel 1986; Heide 2000: 9–14, 38–44);

2) the "Fälaša-Version", evidently based on the aforementioned text-type and extant in at least six late manuscripts from the 18th–20th cent. (Tel Aviv, Sourasky Central Library, Faïtlovitch 9, 10, 12, 13; Cambridge, University Library, Or. 1878; EMML no. 7703bis; s. Heide 2012a: 18–25, 34; Erho 2012);
3) a free translation from Arabic, preserved in only one manuscript, BN Éth. 134, 15th cent. (ZotBNat 200–03; Heide 2000: 9, 30ff.).

Another 15th-cent. manuscript from ↗Däbrä Ṣəyon in Gärᶜalta has been reported (Caquot 1988).

Src.: ms. BN Éth. 134 (ZotBNat 200–03); Cambridge Or. 1878 (EDWARD ULLENDORFF – STEVEN WRIGHT, *Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library*, Cambridge 1961, 64); EMML nos. 1496 (EMML IV, 630ff.), 7040, 8812, 7703bis, probably also 7083, 7699, 7875, 8223 and 8317 (TED M. ERHO, "New Ethiopic Witnesses to Some Old Testament Pseudepigrapha", *BSOAS* 76, 2013, 75–97); Gundä Gunde 67 (HMML GG-016), 142; Tel Aviv Faitlovitch 9, 10, 12, 13; VatLib Et. 279 (ARNAULD VAN LANTSCHOOT, "Inventaire sommaire des mss. vaticans éthiopiens 261–299", in: *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda*, vol. 1, Città del Vaticano 1962 [Studi e testi 219], 453–512, here 483); ERNST ANDERSSON-AKMAR (tr.), "Jakob's Vermächtnis", *Sphinx, revue critique embrassant le domaine entier de l'égyptologie* 7, 1903, 129–43; PAUL-RICHARD BERGER (tr.), *Die Testamente Isaaks und Jakobs. Übersetzung und Kommentar*, Siegen 2000; MAURICE GAGUINE (ed., tr.), *The Falasha Version of the Testaments of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob*, Ph.D. thesis, Manchester 1965; IGNAZIO GUIDI (ed.), "Il Testamento di Isacco e il Testamento di Giacobbe", *RRALm* ser. 5a, 9, 1900, 223–64; MARTIN HEIDE (ed., tr.), *Die Testamente Isaaks und Jakobs – Edition und Übersetzung der arabischen und äthiopischen Versionen*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 56; Lit.); ID., *Das Testament Abrahams. Edition und Übersetzung der arabischen und äthiopischen Versionen*, Wiesbaden 2012a (AeF 76; Lit.); *abba* TÄKLÄ MIKAᵓEL (ed., tr.), **የአብርሃም ፡ ገድል ፤ የይስሐቅ ፡ ገድል ፤ የያዕቆብ ፡ ገድል ፤ የሣራ ፡ ገድል** (**ድርሳነ ፡ ኤፍሬም**) (*Yäᵓabrəham gädl, yäyəsḥaq gädl, yäyaᶜəqob gädl, yäśara gädl* [*dərsanä Efrem*], 'The Contending of Abraham, the Contending of Isaac, the Contending of James, the Contending of Sarah [Homily on Ephraem]'), Addis Abäba 1979 A.M. [1986 A.D.].

Lit.: CAVT 56–61; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "Une homélie éthiopienne attribuée à Saint Mari Éphrem sur le séjour d'Abraham et Sara in Égypte", in: PATRICK CRAMER (ed.), *Mélanges Antoine Guillaumont: contributions à l'étude des christianismes orientaux* …, Genève 1988 (Cahiers d'orientalisme 20), 173–85; MATHIAS DELCOR, *Le Testament d'Abraham,* Leiden 1973 (Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha 2, with translations); MARTIN HEIDE, "The Tradition and Transmission of the Ethiopic Testaments of the Three Patriarchs", in: *AfrHorn* 190–98; ID., "The Coptic, Arabic and Ethiopic Versions of the *Testament of Abraham* and the Emergence of the *Testaments of Isaac and Jacob*", in: JAMES HAMILTON CHARLESWORTH – LEE MARTIN MCDONALD (eds.), *"Non-Canonical" Religious Texts in Early Judaism and Early Christianity*, London 2012b, 61–72; WILLIAM FRANKLIN STINESPRING, "Testament of Jacob", in: JAMES HAMILTON CHARLESWORTH (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* vol. 1, New York 1983, 913–18.

Martin Heide

Yafqərännä Ǝgziᵓ

Y.Ǝ. (**ያፍቅረን ፡ እግዚእ**; b. ca 1309, d. 1372 or 1376), was a 14th-cent. saint of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church. He is commemorated in the ↗*Sənkəssar* on 19 *Ṭər* (ColSyn IX, 136–41).

The main source of information on the life of Y.Ǝ. is the *Gädlä Yafqərännä Ǝgziᵓ* published by Wajnberg 1917 (1936) from the manuscript BN d'Abbadie 56. The *gädl* gives a comprehensive impression of the 14th-cent. situation of ↗monasticism around Lake ↗Ṭana, as well as the spread of Christianity accelerated by the respective rulers.

Y.Ǝ. was born around the year after the arrival of *abunä* ↗Yoḥannəs as patriarch, in Hamla, a village in the Hagäray district of ↗Təgray. His father was Gäbrä Iyäsus, his mother Ofomya. He was ordained monk by Adḫani in Təgray (although other traditions claim that he was a disciple of ↗Mädḫaninä Ǝgziᵓ). Through both of them Y.Ǝ. would stand in the direct monastic genealogy of *abunä* Täklä Haymanot (Getatchew Haile 1982–83: 9, 14 [text] = 24, 28 [tr.]). The question has been raised whether Adḫani and Mädḫaninä Ǝgziᵓ are one and the same person (Wajnberg 1936: 8, 17; Conti Rossini 1937: 414; Bosc-Tiessé 2008: 53), nevertheless both are named as disciples of Täklä Haymanot (Getatchew Haile 1982–83: 9, 14 [text] = 24, 28 [tr.]). Y.Ǝ. was ordained deacon by *abunä* ↗Yaᶜəqob.

According to the *gädl*, after contemplating pilgrimage to ↗Jerusalem, during the first years of ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I's reign Y.Ǝ. joined the community of ↗Ṭana Qirqos in Lake Ṭana, which was led by a monk named Arganon. At this time the activities of the monastery were still controlled by the ruler of Goǧǧam, Žan Ḵəmər or Ṣärä

Qəməs, whose permission was required to admit the young monk. During the coming years greater royal control was exerted over the area, but when Y.Ǝ. attempted to settle in the area on the southern shore of the lake in the district of Bäd, the local ruler, *nägaśi* Wədəm, opposed this attempt at Christian expansion. In fact, Y.Ǝ. is said to have made attempts to settle at several different locations in the Lake Ṭana region, with a period of extreme ascetism on the island of ↗Gälila (where he spent three years) and the island of ↗Daga Ǝsṭifanos. Eventually, Y.Ǝ. founded the communities of Məṣle (Fasiladäs) and Gʷəgʷəben. Nothing remains of Gʷəgʷəben, though the memory of Y.Ǝ.'s settlement there was still alive in the 1920s and 1930s, when Robert Ernest ↗Cheesman travelled the region, and was told about the former church on top of the hill of Gʷəgʷəben (ChTana 170f.).

According to his Acts, Y.Ǝ. established himself as an influential figure both within and beyond monastic circles. His powers were reflected not only in the rewards which were granted to those who obeyed him, but also in the punishments which those who ignored him incurred. Y.Ǝ. split the clergy of Məṣle over the consecration of women as nuns. Still centuries later, his rule was obeyed. The author of the *Gädlä Wälättä Ṗeṭros* (↗Wälättä Ṗeṭros) reports that according to the rule of Y.Ǝ. no female creature should set foot on the monastery island (Wajnberg 1917: 11; Ricci 1970: 62f.). The acts of Zena Marqos report on a meeting between Zäkaryas of Däbrä Gälila and Y.Ǝ. (Cerulli 1962: 197).

Among the more interesting episodes recounted in Y.Ǝ.'s Acts is the story of ↗Qozmos, an extreme ascetic from Təgray who lived in a separate cell and refused all cooked food, including Eucharist. Qozmos left the monastic environment and joined those who practised the "religion of the Jews" (*haymanotä ↗Ayhud*) in Səmen and ↗Ṣällämt. Qozmos became the leader of a group of rebels against *aṣe* ↗Dawit II (Conti Rossini 1920: 571f. [text] = 574 [tr.]).

According to his *Gädl* Y.Ǝ. had several disciples, such as *əččäge* ↗Yoḥannəs Käma and Gərlos, founder of Məṣraḥa Maryam and teacher of ↗Zärʾa Buruk (Wajnberg 1936: 50f.). Gərlos is depicted together with Y.Ǝ. on a cruciform icon made by ↗Fəre Ṣəyon, who was himself a monk at Gʷəgʷəben (Heldman 1994: 49ff.). A figurine of Y.Ǝ. can be found on Məṣle island (Bosc-Tiessé 2000: 220).

In addition to the *gädl*, there are unpublished ↗*mälkəʾ* and hymns commemorating Y.Ǝ. (KinBibl 95; ms. EMML no. 2096, BN d'Abbadie 183; *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*ʿArke*, IES, ms. 34).

Src.: ms. BN d'Abbadie 56, 183; ms. EMML VI, 2096; ms. IES 34; BassÉt 10 (text) = 99 (tr.); BégCron 7; ColSyn IX, 136–41; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Appunti di storia e letteratura falascià", *RSO* 8, 1920, 563–609; Getatchew Haile, "The Monastic Genealogy of the Line of Takla Haymanot of Shoa", *RSE* 29, 1982–83, 7–38, here 9, 14 (text) = 24, 28 (tr.); Lanfranco Ricci (tr.), *Vita di Walatta Ṗiēṭros*, Louvain 1970, 62f. (CSCO 316, [SAe 61]); Id. (tr.), *Miracoli di Zarʾa Buruk*, Louvain 1979 (CSCO 409 [SAe 72]), 32f., 84; Boris Turaiev, "Nekotorye žitija abissinikih svjatyh" ('Some Lives of Ethiopian Saints'), *Vizantijskij vremennik* 13, 1906, 2–35; Isaac Wajnberg (ed., tr.), *Das Leben des Hl. Jāfqerena ʾEgzīʾ*, Weimar 1917 (2nd ed., Roma 1936, OrChrA 106).

Lit.: AfrZion 183f.; Claire Bosc-Tiessé, "L'histoire et l'art des églises du Lac Tana", *AE* 16, 2000, 207–70, here 218ff.; Ead., *Les îles de la mémoire*: *fabrique des images et écriture de l'histoire dans les églises du Lac Ṭana, Éthiopie, XVIIe–XVIIIe siècle*, Paris 2008, 45f., 52f., 58, 68, 122, 172, 419; Enrico Cerulli, "Gli *Atti di Zēnā Mārqos*, monaco etiope del sec. XIV", in: *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda*, Città del Vaticano 1962 (Studi e testi 219–229), 191–212, here 197; ChTana 170f.; Carlo Conti Rossini, "L'agiografia etiopica e gli atti del santo Yâfqeranna-Egziʾ (secolo XIV)", *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere e Arti* 96, 2, 1937, 402–33; Marilyn E. Heldman, *The Marian Icons of the Painter Frē Ṣeyon*, Wiesbaden 1994 (Orientalia Biblica et Christiana 6), 25f., 49, 193, fig. 25; Friedrich Heyer, *Die Heiligen der äthiopischen Erde*, Erlangen 1997 (Oikonomia 37), 90ff.; KapMon, s. index; KinBibl 95–96 (no. 167); Rudolf Kriss – Hubert Kriss-Heinrich, *Volkskundliche Anteile in Kult und Legende äthiopischer Heiliger*, Wiesbaden 1975, 85–89; Osvaldo Rainieri, "Yafqerenna Egziʾ", in: *EncSan* vol. 2, 1383–84; Taddesse Tamrat, "A Short Note on the Traditions of Pagan Resistance to the Ethiopian Church (14th and 15th Centuries)", *JES* 10, 1, 1972, 137–50, here 141–45; TadChurch 191ff., 195, 197, 199, 201, TurIz 253, 277f.

Steven Kaplan

Yagba Ṣəyon

Aṣe Y.Ṣ. (**ያግባ ፡ ጽዮን**, also Yagbaṣəyon, Agbəʾa or Yagbəʾa Ṣəyon; regnal name Solomon; r. 1285–94) succeeded *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak, being probably his eldest son. Before ascending the throne, he may have been a governor in North Ethiopia, since he is mentioned as ↗*maʾəkälä baḥər* in a note included in the "Golden Gospels" of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Ham (CRDLib 194, no. 10). A land charter issued by *aṣe* Y.Ṣ. for ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos is found in the "Gospel Book of ↗Iyäsus Moʾa"; the document is dated 1293/94, and it recounts the victory of Y.Ṣ. (here called "Yagba Ṣəyon") over a certain Yəʿqäbännä, probably a rebel or pretender to the throne (EMML no. 1832, fol. 338v; Taddesse Tamrat 1970: 92;

TadTChurch 72; Taddesse Tamrat in PICES 4, 502; DerDom 140). The manuscript furnishes more notes in which Y.Ṣ. is mentioned as benefactor of the monastery (EMML no. 1832, fols. 25v, 26r; s. also Taddesse Tamrat 1970: 91). Y.Ṣ. is also mentioned in the royal genealogy attached to the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* (BezKebr 173).

Arabic sources (s. Cuoq 1981: 109–12) speak of letters to the *sulṭān* of Egypt al-Manṣūr Sayfaddīn Qalāwūn (cp. ↗Mamluks) sent by an unnamed Ethiopian king (one letter is dated to 1290, the time of Y.Ṣ.), in which the latter asks for a new metropolitan (↗*Pappas*) to be sent from Egypt, and complains about "Syrian metropolitans" who cannot be tolerated in Ethiopia anymore (Wiet 1938: 120ff.). Thus Y.Ṣ. probably continued the efforts of his father Yəkunno Amlak in obtaining a metropolitan from Egypt, but did not score a success. So far, however, only speculations about the ecclesiastic situation of that period are possible: whether two metropolitans, one Egyptian and one Syrian, were in Ethiopia at the same time (Hammerschmidt in GerKir 43); or whether *abunä* ↗Qerəllos was indeed succeeded by a Syrian hierarch (Jacobite or Melchite, cp. TedEthPrel 1009). As to the "Syrian metropolitans", Y.Ṣ. seems to have banned them from any authority. No other sources contain hints that would help to reconstruct these events.

The form of the name as appears in the early sources possibly reveals the influence of a colloquial language (↗Amharic?). In the more recent period, some of the *literati* might feel the necessity to dissimilate the King's name from *yagba*, (formally, the subjunctive of *agäbba*, its major meaning in Amharic being, among others, "to marry"). Therefore, in most of the later Ethiopian sources the King's name appears in a "normalised" Gəᶜəz spelling as Agbəᵓa Ṣəyon ("He has returned the Zion") or, less frequently, Yagbəᵓa Ṣəyon (lit. "May he return the Zion!").

Some information on Y.Ṣ. appears in an unusual historiographic discourse included in the Vita of *abunä* Märqorewos which tells of a religious controversy (reminiscent of that of the ↗Stephanites) that emerged during the reign of the King (here Agbəᵓa Ṣəyon) when some of his subjects rejected prostrating themselves in front of the Cross and sacred images (of St. Mary). Soon they repented under the pressure from the King (Conti Rossini 1904: 12ff. [text]).

The "Short chronicles" mention only the name of the King or list his sons: Ṣənfä Arᶜəd, Ḥəzbä Asgäd, Qədmä Asgäd, Žan Asgäd, Säbᵓa Asgäd. They are said to have reigned five years all in all (BassÉt 10 [Yagbəᵓa Ṣəyon]; BegCron 5; DombrChr 153 [Agbəᵓa Ṣəyon]) and have had no children to succeed them (s. Kropp 1981). Some later traditions speak of five brothers of Yəkunno Amlak who reigned together, while one of them, in the context of a fierce succession struggle, established the "royal prison" on ↗Amba Gəšän (cp. Taddesse Tamrat in PICES 4, 503). Thereafter ↗Wədəm Räᶜad, another son of Yəkunno Amlak and a brother of Y.Ṣ., ascended to the throne in 1299.

Src.: BassÉt 10 (text) = 98 (tr.), and 232f., n. 66; BegCron 5; BezKebr 173 (text) = 138 (tr.); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*, I. *Acta Marqorewos*, Louvain 1904 (CSCO 33, 34 [SAe 16, 17]), 12ff. (text) = 12ff. (tr.); CRDLib 194, no. 17; DombrChr 34 (text) = 153, 155 n. 38 (tr.); EMML no. 1832; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "Liste des rois d'Axoum d après le ms. Éthiopien no. 3", *ROC* 17, 1912, 217–19.

Lit.: SEVIR B. CHERNETSOV, *Ėfiopskaja feodalnaja monarhija v XIII–XVI vv*. ('The Ethiopian Feudal Monarchy in the 13th–16th cent.'), Moscow 1982, 16f., 41; JOSEPH CUOQ, *L'Islam en Éthiopie*, *des origines au XVIe siecle*, Paris 1981, 109–12; DerDom 140, s. index; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, "Die äthiopisch-orthodoxe Kirche", in: GerKir 42–50, here 43; MANFRED KROPP, "*Ṭäf Wəᵓətu* und *Ṭäf Naččäw* in den äthiopischen Chroniken", *JSS* 26, 2, 1981, 267–71; TadTChurch s. index; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "The Abbots of Däbrä-Hayq 1248–1535", *JES* 8, 1970, 87–117; ID., "Problems of Royal Succession in Fifteenth Century Ethiopia: a Presentation of the Documents", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 501–35, here 502f., 512f.; TedEthPrel 1009–10; GASTON WIET, "Les relations Egypto-Abyssines sous les sultans mamlouks", *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 4, 1938, 115–40.

Denis Nosnitsin

Yagbəᵓa Ṣəyon ↗Yagba Ṣəyon

Yäǧǧu

Yäǧǧu history before the 18th century

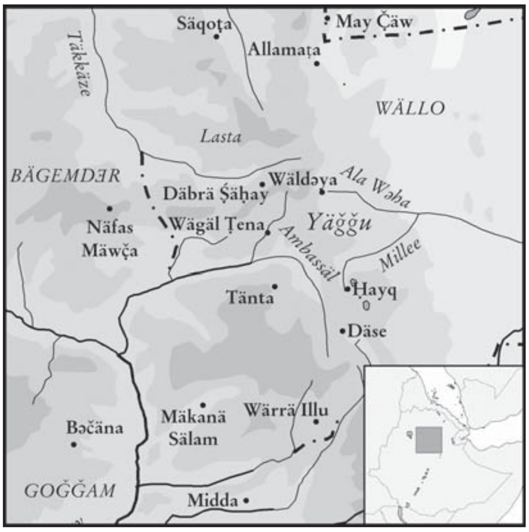
Y. (የጁ) is a historical region in northern ↗Wällo. Despite variability of administrative boundaries and partitioning that eventually led to the disappearance of Y. as a formal entity in federal Ethiopia, it still corresponds to a strong regional identity which can be approximately delineated. Its southern boundary with South Wällo is delimitated by the upper course of the River ↗Millee and its northern limit with the ↗Rayya region of Southern Təgray is marked by the River Ala Wəha (also Aloha). In the west and north-west, Y. forms a rather flat plain which extends to a mountain wall, on top of which are the highlands of ↗Ambassäl and ↗Lasta. It stretches out to the east in a series of steep hills and valleys reaching the lower foot of the escarpment bordering on the ↗ᶜAfar country.

Y. is thus a strip of land mostly situated within the moderate ↗*wäyna däga* ecological zone (1,500–2,000 m A.S.L.), with good climatic conditions and regular rainfall, as reflected by a popular Amharic saying, *Yäğğu əgziʾabəḥer mähal əğğu*, 'Y. is the palm of God's hand'. The territory, however, can be occasionally hit by severe droughts, as in 1973 and 1984 (cp. ↗Famine).

This territorial setting corresponds approximately to the extension of the ancient territory of ↗Angot, which was predominantly Christian. The presence of ancient Islamic settlements on the eastern fringe is a hypothesis that would need archaeological confirmation. According to local oral traditions (collected by Molla Tikuye 1994), one of the ancient native populations in the area before the 16th cent. was called Bäqoče. A population called al-ᶜIğğu is identified in the ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* (BassHist 291) as originating from the district of Qäwat in ↗Yəfat. They had their own language, distinct from the languages of the neighbouring ↗Amhara and Muslims. The majority embraced ↗Islam but some were Christians. A number of al-ᶜIğğu men were made to join the war of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ") against Amhara (s. Merid Wolde Aregay 1971). The question whether these groups could be northern extensions of the pre-16th cent. Argobba clans who were settled in similar regions in eastern Wällo and eastern Šäwa, or whether they were semi-nomads linked ethnically with the ᶜAfar, like the ↗Dobaᶜa, who lived in neighbouring areas north of Y., remains open. After the end of the 16th cent., Y. was dramatically transformed by the settlement of Oromo migrants who progressively intermingled with native societies. The name of Y. is sometimes mentioned as a group of Oromo settlers, but this seems to be wrong. The Oromo groups who reached Y. belonged principally to the Märäwa and ↗Wəčale clans and sub-clans of the ↗Baarentuu moiety. Apart from these vague indications, there are still a lot of gaps in our knowledge of the local history of Y. prior to the rise of the so-called Y. dynasty.

Yäğğu dynasty (18th–19th cent.)

The Y. dynasty was the ruling family in Gondär, acting as regent or king-makers during the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt* period. It is most frequently designated in the sources as Wärräsek, Wärrä Šekočč or Wärrä Šehočč, from Oromo *warra* 'household' and the Amharic plural form of the Arabic ↗*šayḫ*, meaning thus the 'house of the *šayḫ*s'. This name reflects the group's mixed character: Oromo, Amhara (or Argobba?) and Islamic. The alternative etymology proposed by *aläqa* ↗Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam (1987: 81), *wärrä-ših*, 'house of thousands', seems to be a later reconstruction in order to blot out the Islamic connotation.



Historical traditions trace the origins of the Y. dynasty back to a certain *šayḫ* ᶜUmar who allegedly migrated from Arabia and settled in the region of Märsa at the time of the "Grañ" wars (Molla Tikuye 1994; GueCopMen 198; Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam 1987: 81). The indications concerning this initial phase are more mythical than historical. The most likely hypothesis is that this family of Muslim dignitaries settled in the area and accumulated power between the 17th and the 18th cent. while Oromo migrants were in the course of sedentarization in the area. This family played a role in the process of Islamization of the region.

Some generations (sources diverge between two and six) after the founding figure, the next outstanding member of this dynasty was Abbəyye "Abba Getəyye" of Märsa, a petty lord and/or a religious authority who has remained very famous regionally as a saintly figure. His son, ↗Gʷangul "Abba Seru", is the first to be mentioned in written sources, appearing in the Chronicle of ↗Iyoʾas and in the account of ↗Bruce, whether as an ally or an opponent of *ras* ↗Mikaʾel Səḫul. Gʷangul had three wives, one Muslim, two Christian, who were daughters of landlords of the neighbouring territories of Ambassäl and Lasta. The only descendants of Gʷangul were born from Gälläbu, the daughter of *ras* ↗Fares of Lasta and Säläwa. This gave them landrights in Lasta and led them to play a role in the competition between landlords that broke out during the reign of Iyoʾas.

Being of mixed Oromo-Amhara ethnic (like *aṣe* Iyoʾas and his kin) and Muslim-Christian religious background, the descendants of Gʷangul had a very ambiguous position that allowed them to shift easily from one side to the other. This flexibility helped their ascension to the highest offices into the dismantled Christian kingdom. The installation of the dynasty of Y. in Gondär started with ↗Ali Gʷangul, later known as *ras* Ali I or *ras* Ali the Great. He began his career under the care of *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis I, who made him *əndärase* of Bägemdər in 1784. But, after a few months, he led the coalition of lords who overthrew Täklä Giyorgis. Two years later, he managed to be recognized by the other lords as their overlord, ruling in the name of the king with the title of ↗*ras bitwäddäd*. He ruled until his death in 1788. Ali was succeeded by his brother ↗Aligaz, who was, however, defeated by the lords of Lasta (↗Ḫaylu Wänd Bäwäsän) in 1791. In 1802, it was the turn of the nephew of Ali and Aligaz, the son of their sister Käfäy, ↗Gugsa, to take over the office of *ras*. He exerted this responsibility during 23 years until 1825, which was a period of fewer conflicts. After his death, Gugsa was succeeded, consecutively, by his three sons who ruled during short periods (↗Yəmam, 1825–28, ↗Marəyye, 1828–31 and ↗Dori, 1831). The continuation of the dynasty was ensured by the young ↗Ali [II] Alula, Gugsa's grandson. He was tutored by his mother, *ətege* ↗Mänän Libän, the daughter of *imām* ↗Libän of the ↗Mammädočč dynasty of ↗Wärrä Himäno. His rule, and the success story of the Y. dynasty, came to an end when he was defeated in the Battle of ↗Ayšal in June 1853 by *däǧǧazmač* Kaśa Ḫaylu of Qʷara (later *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II).

At the peak of their power, the dynasty of the Y. leaders in Gondär became progressively separated from Y. itself. They tried to keep control of their homeland, and for this reason they needed to control the provinces of Lasta, Wadla, Dälanta and Däwənt, lying between Bägemdər and Y. However, there were internal divisions between two branches: those who exerted power in Gondär were Christianized and allied with neighbouring Christian powers, whereas those in Y. remained faithful to Islam and claimed autonomy against the interests of their Gondärine relatives. This was particularly the case with Goǧǧi, son of Aligaz, who rebelled against the rule of *ras* Gugsa.

Starting from the reign of Tewodros (who had married into the Y. dynasty), Y. progressively lost its influence, but some aristocrats from this area remained closely associated, through marital bonds, with most leading families. The chronology of events in Y. between 1855 and 1889 is not well established. Under Tewodros, Y. was governed by a certain Ali Bərru, who had rebelled against *ras* Ali II. In November 1868 ↗Täklä Giyorgis II crushed the rebellion of Fares Ali. ↗Yoḥannəs IV forced the submission of Ali Bərru, who was still in charge, in 1872. In 1875, Yoḥannəs quelled the rebellion of ↗Amäde Libän "Abba Waṭäw". Later during his reign, Y., or a part of it, was ruled by *däǧǧazmač* Zägäyyä Bərru, who had strained relations with the Emperor because of a disagreement over the delimitation of Y. boundaries. In the same period, ↗Mənilək, who shared with Yoḥannəs some authority in Y., appointed his close ally and future brother-in-law (through ↗Ṭaytu Bəṭul), *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wäle Bəṭul over this territory, or part of it. Wäle's and Ṭaytu's father, ↗Bəṭul Ḫaylä Maryam, had governed Səmen under Ali II and descended from the Wärräsek dynasty through his mother Ḫirut Gugsa, *ras* Gugsa's daughter. Wäle's nomination to the head of Y. provoked a dispute with *däǧǧazmač* Zägäyyä Bərru, who died in a battle not precisely dated. In compensation, Zägäyyä Bərru's son, Gʷangul Zägäyyä, was named ↗*wag šum*. The latter was the second husband of the later *ətege* ↗Zäwditu. Wäle was promoted *ras* with the addition of Lasta under his authority, before getting in 1900 the governorship of Təgray.

Yäǧǧu in the 20th century

During the 20th cent., Y. progressively disappeared from the political map of the contemporary state of Ethiopia, being swallowed into the extended definition of Wällo as a province. High-ranking members of the Wärräsek were stripped of all power they had, probably as a consequence of their failed attempts to take over royal power, first in 1910 when *ras* Gugsa Wäle, the son of *ras* Wäle, took part in a rebellion against the nomination of *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu as heir to the throne, then in 1928, when the same Gugsa, husband of *ətege* Zäwditu since 1900, rebelled against the seizure of power by *nəguś* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I). The extension of Y. shrank to its narrow historical nucleus, as an *awraǧǧa*, with Wäldiya as its capital.

Today, Y. does not exist as a territorial unit. Its location corresponds to the *wäräda* of Ḥabru and Gubba Lafto in North Wällo zone.

Src.: AbbSéjour; BlunChr; GueCopMen s. index.
Lit.: AbPrince; LOREN F. BLIESE, *External Conversion in Yedju. A Description of Religion Mobility in Wollo Province, Ethiopia*, Austin, 1972; DOMENICO BRIELLI, "Ricordi storici dei Uollo (con note di C. Conti Rossini)", in: *CRStud* 97–100; BZHist s. index; DONALD CRUMMEY, "Family and Property among the Amhara Nobility", *JAH* 24, 1983, 207–20; CrumLand s. index; MERID WOLDE AREGAY, *Southern Ethiopia and the Christian Kingdom, 1508–1708, with Special Reference to the Galla Migrations and their Consequences*, Ph.D. thesis, SOAS London 1971; MOLLA TIKUYE, "The Rise and Fall of the Yajju Dynasty (1784–1980)", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 1, 197–216; SHIFERAW BEKELE, "Reflections on the Power Elite of the Wärä Seh Mäsfenate", *AE* 15, 1990, 157–79; JOSEPH TUBIANA, "Les combats rituels au Yedjou (Abyssinie)", *Comptes rendus sommaires des séances de l'Institut français d'anthropologie* 5, 1951, 72–79; *aläqa* TAYYÄ GÄBRÄ MARYAM, *History of the People of Ethiopia*, tr. by GROVER HUDSON – TEKESTE NEGASH, Uppsala 1987, 81–89; ZewYohan 31, 44f., 89.

Eloi Ficquet

Yäǧoka

Y. (**የጆካ**, also Ǧoka) is the name of the place in Yäbaze, ↗Čaha, where the highest council of the *Säbat bet* ↗*Gurage* holds its gatherings; the council itself carries the same name. Y. is the assembly of all political and religious representatives of the Gurage region. It is basically composed of the clan chiefs of the *Säbat bet Gurage*. This includes the representatives of the main cults of the traditional ↗religion of the Gurage (cp. also ↗Dämʷamʷit, ↗Božžä, ↗Waq) and in the 20th cent. also the *šayḫ* of ↗Abret (s. EAE vol. 5), whose presence gives a religious value to the political or legal decisions of the council. In addition, any influential or respected person from the *Säbat bet* can participate.

The Y. meetings are unscheduled, and occur according to demand. The debates are punctuated by ritual practices. Final decisions have to be approved unanimously by all participants. Otherwise, a new session is scheduled. The composition, procedures and full competences of Y. have been described by William A. ↗Shack (ShGurage 157–65) and Gabreyesus Hailemariam (1991: 35–59).

According to oral tradition, the name Y. is derived from the Gurage expression *y*(*ä*)-*äǧ wäka* ('the hand has pierced'), referring to the form of the branches of the ↗tree under which the assembly is held, resembling the arm of a man planting his spear (alternative etymologies: 'that has hit or pierced', from *äǧ yoka* [Dənbäru Alämu et al. 1994/95: 113] or from *ǧok*[*k*]*a*, 'matter discussed [at the meeting]', probably related to Orom. *ǧekka*, 'opinion, remark', s. Leslau 1979: 315). This tree is situated in Yäbaze, and informants insist on the fact that this village was chosen as the main assembly ground because it constitutes the geographical centre of Gurage, and not because of political domination of *Säbat bet Gurage* by the Čaha. The tree belongs to the sacred shrine of Čaha's Waq spirit. Partly burnt by lightning, it is also associated with Božžä, the deity of thunder and social order. Additionally, oral tradition mentions that it was chosen to be the home of *ṭur*, the spirit or principle of justice (Shack 1996). Thus, the assembly tree of Y. symbolizes the close relationship between spiritual forces, human politics and law. Moreover, this association shows that, like the Waq and Božžä cults, the Y. institution cuts across segmental groupings, based on lineage and clan principles.

The Y. assembly fulfilled different functions in the course of its history. The analysis of oral sources shows that this institution was set up during the 19th cent., before the conquest of Gurageland by the Christian empire (Gabreyesus Hailemariam 1991: 138; oral information). At that time, the confederation of clans known as *Aməst bet Gurage* (Amh. *Amməst bet Gurage*, 'Five Houses of Gurage', i.e. Čaha-Gumär, Äža [↗Əža], Inor [↗Ənnämor], Mʷäḫər [↗Muḫər] and Gʸäta [Geta]) tried to organize themselves in a unitary way. This led to the creation of the central position of a "governor", that rapidly collapsed, and to the establishment of the central institution of Y. In the early period of its existence, the Y. covered a double political function: it regulated the political relations between the different "houses" (notably in decisions of land repartition), and organized collective campaigns directed against neighbouring people. In parallel, the Y. acted as a legislative body that harmonized common 'rules' and 'laws' (*qič̣č̣a* or rather *qʸəč̣a*) of daily life for the entire *Aməst bet*, and later the *Säbat bet* population.

The political activities of Y. disappeared with the establishment of the Ethiopian Imperial rule in the Gurage region and beyond, during the first part of the 20th cent. Nevertheless, it has continued to work as a legislative and judicial organ until today in order to enact new laws, thus adapting *qʸəč̣a* to contemporary life. It still functions as a "supreme court" in cases of disputes, ranging from torts to crimes, which cannot be solved in the sphere of kinship, of the clan, or of the "house". Informants stressed the fact that Y. renders judgements and imposes sentences in addition to those rendered and imposed within the national judicial system. The role of Y. in cases of homicide is particularly relevant, because it can prevent revenge, formerly considered an obligation of Gurage life. The Y. seeks to determine the voluntary or involuntary aspect of the crime, and it fixes the fine (*yädäm waga*, 'blood price') in function (ShGurage 164ff., 196ff.). The fines ranged to a maximal amount of 500 *bərr* in 1962 and grew to 30,000 *bərr* in 1986 (Dənbäru Alämu et al. 1994/95: 118ff.).

An example for a Y. meeting is described in the short novel *Shinega's Village* by Sahle Sellasie Wolde Mariam ([tr. by Leslau] 1964; cp. also Leslau 1966: 10ff., 94–101.

Src.: interviews with Yəreda Wälu, Gunšəre and Ǝndəbər, 15 October 2004; Č̣amora Nəguse, Dəmbär, 16 October 2004; WOLF LESLAU, *Ethiopians Speak. Studies in Cultural Background*, Part 2: *Chaha*, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA 1966, 10ff. (text) = 94–101 (transcription and tr.); ID., *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage* (*Ethiopic*), vol. 3: *Etymological Section*, Wiesbaden 1979, 315; SAHLE SELLASIE WOLDE MARIAM, *Shinega's Village*: *Scenes of Ethiopian Life*, tr. from Čaha by WOLF LESLAU, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA 1964.

Lit.: BAHRU ZEWDE, "Systems of Local Governance in Gurage: the Yejoka Qicha and Gordena Sera", in: ID. – SIEGFRIED PAUSEWANG (eds.), *Ethiopia*: *the Challenge of Democracy from Below*, Uppsala – Addis Ababa 2002, 17–28; DƎNBÄRU ALÄMU et al., **ጎጎት ። የጉራጌ ፡ ብሔረሰብ ፡ ታሪክ ፣ ባህልና ፡ ቋንቋ** (*Gogot. Yägurage bəḥeräsäb tarik, bahələnna qʷanqʷa*, 'Gogot. The History, Culture and Language of the Gurage People'), Wälqiṭe 1987 A.M. [1994/95 A.D.], 113–24; GABREYESUS HAILEMARIAM, *The Guragué and their Culture*, New York – Los Angeles, CA 1991, 39–59 et passim; ShGurage 57, 105, 118ff., 125, 130ff., 159–66, 178, 192, 196ff.; WILLIAM A. SHACK, "On Guragé Judicial Structure and African Political Theory", *JES* 5, 2, 1967, 89–101; ID., "Guilt and Innocence: Oathing, Evidence, and the Judicial Process among the Gurage", *Journal of African Studies* 3, 3, 1976, 297–309; ID., "The Good of Justice in Gurage Myth", in: GROVER HUDSON (ed.), *Essays on Gurage Language and Culture, Culture*: *Dedicated to Wolf Leslau on the Occasion of his 90th Birthday, November 14th, 1996*, Wiesbaden 1996, 229–39; TÄKLE WÄLDÄ GIORGIS, **ጉራጌ ፡ ማን ፡ ነው**? (*Gurage man näw*?, 'Who are the Gurage?'), Addis Abäba 1997 A.M. [2004 A.D.], 25–39.

Arnaud Kruczynski

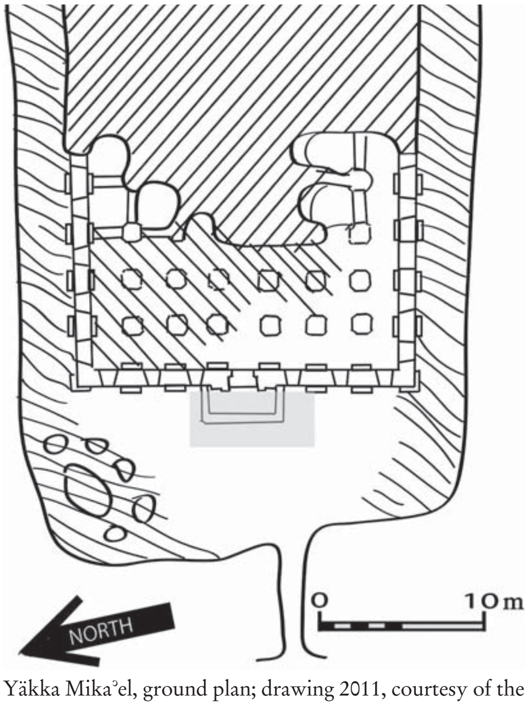
Yaḥyā b. Naṣrallāh ↗Fatḥ Madīnat Ḥarar

Yäkka Mikaᵓel

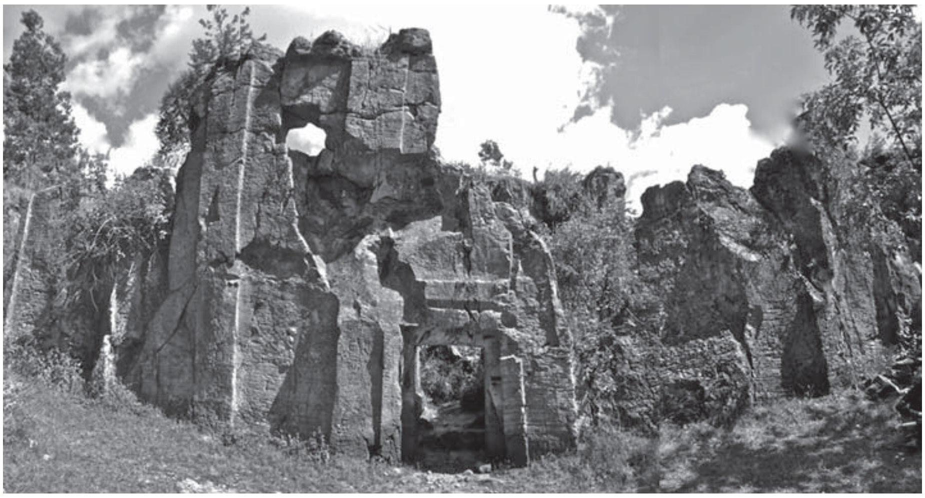
The church of Y.M. (**የካ ፡ ሚካኤል**, more commonly Waša Mikaᵓel) is an extraordinary example of ↗rock-hewn architecture found 6 km north-east of Addis Abäba (9°2'34''N, 38°48'25''E). Although this structure was never brought to completion, the ambition expressed within its unfinished proportions indicates that the undertaking was one of substantial purpose. While conforming largely to conventions of northern prototypes of Təgray (Wəqro Qirqos [↗Dängolo], ↗Ṣ́əraᶜ Abrəha wä-Aṣbəḥa) and Wällo (Bilbäla Qirqos, ↗Ǝšätän Maryam), Y.M. is remarkable for its southerly placement – within Ethiopia's tradition of monolithic church architecture the sole more-southerly placed comparable example is ↗Adadi Maryam (s. EAE vol. 5). Local traditions credit the legendary kings ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa with the foundation of the church. Another tradition (recorded by De Castro 1915: 209–13) dates the construction to the time of ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob in the 15th cent., a more plausible hypothesis (s. Sauter 1957: 35), despite proposals that claim greater antiquity – into the age of the ↗Zagʷe (Monneret de Villard 1941).

Y.M. was first recorded by ↗Rochet d'Héricourt in 1842, who referred to the then badly damaged structure as a grotto situated in a locality called Yäkka (Malécot 1972: 51–63). The name of Mikaᵓel (presently associated with the residing ↗*tabot* of St. Michael) is first mentioned in a report issued by the French Ministry of Colonies in the late 19th cent. (Vignéras 1897: 163–66). In the early 20th cent., De Castro again notes the structure's dilapidated state (De Castro 1915: 209–13).

Though unfinished and deteriorating Y.M. is nevertheless a monument of significance. The missionary A.F. Matthew, who visited the structure in



Yäkka Mikaᵓel, ground plan; drawing 2011, courtesy of the author



Yäkka Mikaᵓel, west façade (exterior); photo 2011, courtesy of the author

1934, suggested that the ruins' highest value is that it offers understanding of the method of monolithic construction (Matthew 1969). According to Sauter (1966:15–36), Y.M. is one of Ethiopia's most prodigious examples of rock-hewn architecture (cp. also Strachan – Pankhurst, in preparation).

With a width (west wall) of just under 20 m (19.38 m), by nearly 8 m in height (7.62 m), the completed Y.M. structure would have been one of Ethiopia's largest hypogean churches. Eight elegantly tapering 78 cm wide x 15 cm deep pilasters divide the frontal façade into seven vertical sections. These correspond to three interior aisles and a central nave, originally fitted with high set window apertures. Voluminous octagonal pillars, ca. 400 cm in circumference, divide the structure's format into five rows. However, as work halted prematurely, the plan's unfulfilled ambition is indeterminable. Likewise, as no undertaking to detach the building's eastern portion is evident, the resulting arrangement is by definition semi-monolithic. Consequently the adjoining trenches form a U-shape, featuring a rectangular courtyard to the west. The depth and length of the north and south trenches are unverifiable due to silt inundation.

As in examples of hypogean architecture found further north, attributes of Aksumite style are also revived within the Y.M. example. These are pronounced in the structure's linear gesture, which converges inward and upward towards an imaginary vanishing point, as well as within the various trompe-l'œil components such as pillars, pilasters, arches, beams and cornices, artfully sculpted from the continuous stone to mimic what would, in conventional architecture, be added-on elements of wood or stone.

At first glance an approximately two-metre high freestanding stone slab, located in the north-west corner of the courtyard, appears to be a stele. Upon closer examination however this object bears neither inscription nor marks left by tools, suggesting that it might instead be a remnant from the adjoining bedrock, left standing simply as the result of natural occurrence. An equally feasible theory is that the entity may have had an initial purpose, but that like the church itself, it too simply remains unfinished. A crude arrangement of smaller stones encircling it suggests that at some point during the site's post-abandonment it may have become incorporated informally – possibly as a funerary totem. Without comprehensive examination however, all speculation remains inconclusive.

Src.: Lincoln De Castro, *Nella terra dei Negus*, vol. 2, Milano 1915, 209–13; Pierre Marie Robert du Bourg de Bozas, *Mission scientifique Du Bourg de Bozas*: *de la mer Rouge à l'Atlantique, à travers l'Afrique tropicale* (*octobre 1900–mai 1903*), Paris 1906, 216f.; Georges Malécot, *Les voyageurs français et les relations entre la France et l'Abyssinie de 1835 à 1870,* Paris 1972, 51–63; Ugo Monneret de Villard, "La chiesa monolitica di Yakkā Mikāᵓēl", *RSE* 1, 3, 1941, 226–33; Charles-Xavier Rochet d'Hericourt, *Second voyage sur les deux rives de la mer Rouge, dans le pays des Adels et le royaume de Choa*, Paris 1846; Sylvian Vignéras, *Une mission française en Abyssinie*, Paris 1897, 163–66.

Lit.: Francis Anfray, "Des églises et des grottes rupestres", *AE* 13, 1985, 7–34; Id., "Autour du vieil Entotto", *ibid*. 14, 1987, 7–12; David R. Buxton, "The Christian Antiquities of Northern Ethiopia", *Archaeologia* 92, 1947, 1–42, here 33, pl. xIIab; Id., *Travels in Ethiopia*, London 1949, 196; Josef Jelen, "Adadi Maryam a Yekka Michael", *Nový Orient* 58, 6, 2003, 280–83; Austin Frederick Matthew, "The Monolithic Church of Yekka", *JES* 7, 2, 1969, 89–98; Richard Pankhurst, "The Unfinished Church of Yekka Mikaᵓel", *Capitol* (Newspaper), Addis Ababa April 2012; David Phillipson, *Ancient Churches of Ethiopia*, New Haven, CT 2009, 119ff.; Roger Sauter, "L'église monolithe de Yekka-Mikaël", *AE* 2, 1956, 15–36; Id., "Où en est notre connaissance des églises rupestres d'Éthiopie?" *ibid.* 5, 1963, 235–92, here 279; Bruce Strachan, "Shoa's Forgotten Rock Treasures", *Friends of the Institute for Ethiopian Studies Bulletin*, September 2011; Id., "Rock of Ages", *Cornerstone*, *Journal of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings* 33, 1, London 2012, 70–74; Id. – Richard Pankhurst, "The Monolithic Church in Yeka – Heritage Site in Danger" (in preparation).

Bruce Strachan

Yäkkatit ↗Calendar

Yäm

Yäm language

Y. (self-designation Yämsa, also Yem, Yemma, Ǧanǧäro and variants) is an ↗Afro-Asiatic language belonging to the ↗Omotic (or West ↗Cushitic, according to a few scholars, cf. Lamberti 1994) branch, spoken by a few thousand speakers in the former Ǧanǧäro (Yengar[u]) kingdom (↗Käfa province). It is closely related to the ↗Ometo and the ↗Gonga languages as well as to ↗Benč̣. Nevertheless, as the "Northern Group" of Omotic it has a relatively isolated position within its family. This classification is justified by the fact that Y. shares all its case endings of the noun inflexion, the demonstrative forms, the most part of its verb morphology and most of its lexicon with the rest of Omotic, and it is thus related with the rest of its family by recurrent sound correspondences. Also typically Omotic are the forms of the personal pronouns, of the possessives and most of the basic numerals.

Historically, three distinct lexical registers existed in Y. (CerStud III, 61; VSAe III, 272f.): beside Common Y., a specific idiom was employed to address the royals and still another in conversation with dignitaries. Today, the three have largely merged (but s. Wedekind 1986), and the description provided concerns Common Y. (Lamberti 1993: 26ff.).

Y. is a tone language with a low-, mid- and high-tone level (cf. Lamberti 1993: 56 and Wedekind 1990: 78). Tone functions as gender marker in nouns, pronouns and some verbal forms (masc. have high tone, fem. low tone) and differentiates nouns from verbal forms (e.g., *futú* 'sweep!' vs. *futù* 'broom', cf. Lamberti 1993: 56f. for more examples). There are also several lexical minimal pairs that are differentiated only by tone. Word stress is free. It may coincide with the tone (final vowel, as, e.g., in high-tonal nouns). In verbs, stress usually lies on the verb stem, though sometimes, especially if they terminate in high tone, the ending can be also stressed.

Y. has ten vowel phonemes: *i*, *e*, *a*, *o* and *u* and their long counterparts. It has a devoiced low-tonal -*ə* which mostly alternates with -Ø; its phonemic status is not clear. Diphthongs are rare.

The consonant phonemes of Y. are: stops *b*/*p*, *d*/*t*, *g*/*k* and glottal ʾ; affricates *ǧ* and *č*; fricatives (*f*), *z*/*s* and *š*; nasals *m*, *n*, *ñ* and *ŋ*; ejectives *p̣*, *ṭ*, *ṛ* (often realized as retroflex *ɽ* in intervocalic position), *č̣* and *q*; liquids *r* and *l*; preglottal *ʼy*; glides *w* and *y*. Voiceless stops are realized aspirated before palatal vowels. It is unclear whether *p*(ʰ) and *f* are allophones or distinct phonemes. The glottal *p̣*, *ṭ*, *q* and *č̣* developed from the fusion of a stop with a laryngeal, or entered the language through loans. The Proto-Omotic ("Old Cushitic") ejectives either resulted in ʾ (and later eventually disappeared) or were in the course of time deglottalized (cf. Lamberti 1993: 33f.). Such other sounds (reported, e.g., in CerStud III) as *h* (and variants), *ʦ*, *ṣ*, *ḍ*, glottalized *mm̮* may have entered Y. through recent loans or be particular to a specific dialect. Gemination is seldom phonologically relevant and mostly appears in loans.

The usual syllable structures are C[onsonant]V[owel] and CVC. Most word stems are biconsonantal, but also triconsonantal stems (of the type CVCVC-, CVCC- or CVS[onorant]C-) are present. Within the sentence, most words end in a vowel often consisting of a suffixed morpheme. All (short) vowel phonemes can also occur in word-final position, regardless of the grammatical gender.

Y. has a morphologically complex noun system. Nouns and pronouns distinguish two genders (but cp. CerStud III, 52), fem. (default) and masc., marked by tone (s. above). The opposition is also reflected in the verbal inflexion of the 3rd pers. sg. (cp., e.g., *bár zagifé*, 'he does it', vs. *bàr zagifà*, 'she does it').

Nouns are marked for definiteness/indefiniteness by the definite article -*s* suffixed to the noun stem. Case endings are added after the stem, which results in two declensions, definite (with the article) and indefinite (cf. Lamberti 1993: 72).

Y. has eleven cases, marked by the respective case morpheme suffixed to the noun stem governing the whole noun phrase: Nominative (Absolutive and Subject case; marked by Ø in indef. vs. -*s*(*i*) in def.), Object (-Ø or -*ni* vs. -*si*-*n* [masc.]/ -*so*-*n* [fem.]), Genitive (-*ni* vs. -*sa*/-*so*), Dative (expressing also benefactive and instrumental functions; -*ni*-*k* vs. -*si*-*k*), Comitative (-*nee*-*n* vs. -*si*-*nee*-*n*), Directive (-*ni*-*ki* vs. -*s*-*ki*), Inessive (-*ssi* vs. -*s*-*si*), Locative (-*ta* vs. -*s*-*ta*), Ablative (-*ni*-*ki*-

n vs. *-s-ki-n*), Exitive (*-ssi-n* vs. *-s-si-n*) and Vocative (*-now*). Besides, the morpheme *-ta-n* (*-s-ta-n*) serves to mark the "comparative case" (s. Lamberti 1993:79 for examples). The morpheme *-r*, which almost exclusively occurs in combination with the personal pronouns, expresses belonging (e.g., *taa-r-u wa*, 'it belongs to me').

There is no marker for plural in nouns. To express plurality, nouns are used in sg., or a particular construction with the noun in Gen. + *kiyo/kito* can be employed (e.g., *asú* 'person', *asú-nì kiyó/asú-nì kitó* 'persons', *asú-sà kiyó/asú- sà kitó* 'the persons').

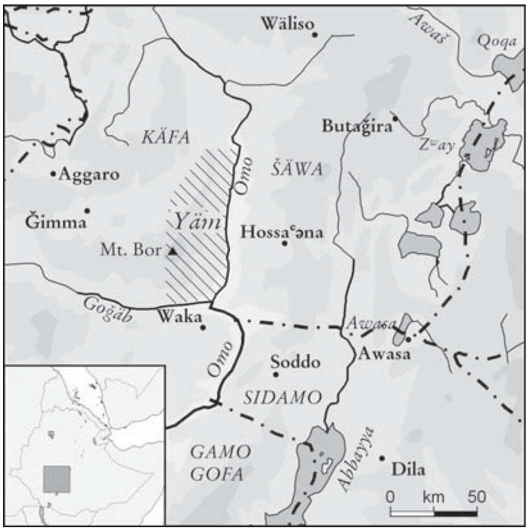
The personal pronouns are: 1st pers. sg. *ta*, 2nd pers. sg. *ne*, 3rd pers. sg. masc./fem. *bár/bàr*, 1st pers. pl. *inno*, 2nd pers. pl. *nitto*, 3rd pers. pl. *basso*, polite direct sg. *ni*, pl. *niino*, polite indirect *bas*.

The possessives can be expressed by personal pronouns in Gen. (*ta, ne, basa/bari, inno, niito, basso; ni, niino*) or by possessive suffixes which developed from the respective old personal pronouns (e.g., 1st pers. sg. *-na-* < Old Omotic **an-*, vs. *ta* in today's Y.; s. Lamberti 1993:95–98 for examples). The demonstratives are: this: *ʾán/ʾàn* (masc./fem.), that: *yés/yès, ʾák/ʾàk, ʾá/ʾà* (masc./fem.). The interrogatives are *ʾoo*(*n*-) 'who', *ʾaw* 'what', *ʾaw-ni boorʾa* 'why', *ʾay-ta* 'where', *ʾay* 'to where', *ʾay-n* 'from where', *ʾaage* 'when', *ʾakka/marʾo* 'how', *ʾawnefa* 'how much', *ʾappun* 'how many', *ʾaaffa* 'which'. The interrogatives usually take the same case endings as nouns.

In the Y. verbal system, the Proto-Omotic flexion has been almost completely replaced by relatively recent innovations. The inflexion is exclusively based on suffixes (and eventually on tones). The most frequent derived stems are causative/transitive *-s-/-is*(*s*)- and also rarely *-t-* (cf. *ʾim* 'give' vs. *ʾim-s-* 'make someone give') and benefactive/intransitive/passive *-t-* and more rarely -(*V*)*st-* (cf. *ʾim-t-* 'to be given'). Iteratives are formed by means of the total reduplication of the verbal form or of the verbal stem (*gir-* 'enter', *giri-giri* 'he entered many times'). There are three conjugations in Y., depending on the stem vowel: [1] *-a-/-Ø*, [2] *-o-/-e-*, [3] *-u-/-i-* (cf. Lamberti 1993:173–76).

Y. verbs are marked for affirmative/negative/interrogative by appropriate suffixes. Indicative mode is the most usual one.

In the indicative, the verbal paradigm distinguishes two numbers (sg./pl.) and three persons; gender is only formally (or tonally) expressed in the 3rd pers. sg. 2nd and 3rd pers. pl. are used to express respect.



ʾam- ('go') (1st conjugation), affirmative

pers.		past	present	habitual	future
1st	sg.	*ʾam-ín*	*ʾam-(a)n-ár*	*ʾam-fán*	*ʾam-a-nà*
2nd	sg.	*ʾam-ít*	*ʾam-at-àr*	*ʾam-fát*	*ʾam-a-tà*
	polite	*ʾof-ní*	*ʾof-ní-r*	*ʾam-fení*	*ʾam-o-ní*
3rd	masc. sg.	*ʾam-í*	*ʾam-ár*	*ʾam-fé*	*ʾam-a-ná*
3rd	fem. sg.	*ʾam-ì*	*ʾam-àr*	*ʾam-fà*	*ʾam-a-nà*
	polite	*ʾof-eté*	*ʾof-té-r*	*ʾam-fé*	*ʾam-o-né*
1st	pl.	*ʾam-nì*	*ʾam-nì-r*	*ʾam-fenì*	*ʾam-a-nì*
2nd	pl.	*ʾam-tì*	*ʾam-tì-r*	*ʾam-fetí*	*ʾam-a-tí*
	polite	*ʾof-(se)ní*	*ʾof-nì-r*	*ʾam-fení*	*ʾam-soní*
3rd	pl.	*ʾam-(s)eté*	*ʾam-(s)eté-r*	*ʾam-sefé*	*ʾam-(s)oné*
	polite	*ʾof-e(se)té*	*ʾof-(se)té-r*	*ʾam-sefé*	*ʾam-(s)oné*

The negative marker varies according to tense and mode: *ʾane* (prefix, past tenses, e.g., *ʾánè ʾam-út* 'I did not go'), *-atta* (suffix, present tenses, e.g., *ʾam-a-náá-ttà*, 'I am not going'), *ʾafa-* + *-za* (prefix + suffix, future tenses, e.g., *ʾáfà ʾamaná-za*, 'I will not go'), *-ta* (imperative).

The copula is Ø/*-wa* (sg./pl.).

Syntactically, Y. is a Subject–Object–Verb head-final language. Within the noun phrase, modifiers usually precede their head noun. In possessive constructions the possessor always precedes the possessed which is also the head noun. In verb phrases auxiliaries follow their main verb.

Y. has a few particles serving to emphasize a certain element within the sentence. These facultative "focus" particles, *wa* (for the verbal complex, 'it is that …', cf. the Somali verbal focus *waa*; s. CerStud 24ff.) and -(*m*)*ba* (or *-m-be*; cf. the Somali focus particle *baa*) and *-tu* (for noun phrases), immediately follow the element they emphasize.

The ten-word list for Y. is: *ʾisar* 'one', *yep* 'two', *keez* 'three', *geeya* 'fire', *ʾaka* 'water', *ʾawa* 'sun', *ʾassa* 'moon', *ʾanna* 'blood', *terma* 'tongue', *ʾaʾya* 'tooth'.

Src.: MARCELLO LAMBERTI, *Materialien zum Yemsa*, Heidelberg 1993 (Studia Linguarum Africae Orientalis 5); author's own data.

Lit.: CerStud III (repr. 1963); MARCELLO LAMBERTI, "Sulla classificazione dell'"Omotico'", in: VERMONDO BRUGNATELLI (ed.), *Sem Cam Iafet. Atti della 7^a Giornata di Studi Camito-Semitici e Indoeuropei, Milano 1^o Giugno 1993*, Milano 1994, 99–126; KLAUS WEDEKIND, "Gimo-Jan or Ben-Yem-Om: Beng-Yemsa Phonemes, Tones and Words", in: RICHARD J. HAYWARD (ed.), *Omotic Language Studies*, London 1990, 68–184; ID., "Communication Breakdown or lèse-majesté: How Feudoid Subgroups of the Yemma (Janjero) Talk to Each Other", in: BENJAMIN F. ELSON (ed.), *Language in Global Perspective*: *Papers in Honor of the 50th Anniversary of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1935–1985*, Dallas, TX 1986, 557–62; VSAe I, III.

Marcello Lamberti

Yäm ethnography

The Y. (**የም**, also Yem, Yemma; Orom., Amh.: Ǧanǧäro) are an ethnic group inhabiting the area of the former Ǧanǧäro (Y.: Yengar[u]) kingdom (later part of ↗Käfa province). Today, they are administered by the Y. *special wäräda* of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region. Y. country is located in an angle formed by the River ↗Gibe and the Little Gibe Rivers on a small mountain range in which Mount Bor reaches the height of ca. 2,950 m A.S.L. The Y. number about 160,000, but only ca. 80,000 live in Y. country proper. Many Y. migrated to neighbouring districts during the last century (CSA 2008; Popp 1997, ch. 3).

Y. has a turbulent history. This is reflected in the oral traditions of various clans and particularly in the history of the kingdom, which shows that dynastic changes occurred frequently. There is a basic stratum of divine ↗kingship of Omotic-speaking origin, with one dynasty claiming Yemeni origin – through which Islamic influence reached Y. –, and the so-called Gondär dynasty of Y. with Christian elements claiming northern Ethiopian connections. The kings (Sg. *taato*, cp. also ↗*tato*) of this dynasty implemented expansionist policies, taking Y. to a position of leadership among the neighbouring Omotic kingdoms (e.g., Toba which became an integral part of the kingdom). From the middle of the 19th cent. the Oromo kingdom of ↗Ǧimma gained the upper hand in Y. several times. The year 1894 saw the end of Y.'s independence, when it was conquered by *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis (together with his Ǧimma ally) and *taato* Abbaa Bagiboo (not to be confused with the Oromo king ↗Abbaa Bagiboo) fled. For more than ten years *sulṭān* ↗Abbaa Ǧifaar II of Ǧimma ruled in Y. Later, after Abbaa Bagiboo's son Geerano had been baptized, he regained power as a ↗*balabbat*.

Ǧanǧäro is first mentioned as Zənǧäro in a victory song of *aṣe* ↗Yəsḥaq, paying tribute to the Christian Ethiopian empire in horses (Littmann 1914: 14). European travellers and scholars showed considerable interest in the Y. kingdom. Since the first European Antonio ↗Fernandes visited the country in 1613 (BeckHuntAlm 155–62). There are accounts from James ↗Bruce ([1790] BruNile II, 316–21), Charles T. ↗Beke (1843: 260f.), William C. ↗Harris ([1846] HarAeth 143ff., 171), Ludwig ↗Krapf (1858: 90ff.), Paul ↗Soleillet (1886: 169), and Antoine d'↗Abbadie ([1890] AbbGeogr 370–77). They became interested in Ǧanǧäro because, apparently, it was once the centre of an extensive kingdom called ↗Damot (which is not attested) and because there are several cultural features and practices unique to southern Ethiopia which have been ascribed to Y. culture, e.g., the cutting off of men's nipples, manipulation of the testicles (↗Body modification, EAE vol. 5), human sacrifice and a crocodile cult.

Y. had a most elaborate and rigid form of divine kingship. The sacred character of the *taato* was emphasized by his identification with the ↗sun

Stone-platform of one of the king's houses in the former royal compound (*tunna*) in Anǧir; photo 2009, courtesy of the author and the ↗moon. There were many ↗sacrifices for him, but he was also subject to strict ceremonial regulations. He lived secluded from the people in several courts (*tunna*), in each of which he stayed for a certain period. Some of these places are still maintained by the Y. today (VSAe III, pl. 24; *Šäʾu* 2, 2008:36). As the supreme judicial authority the king could decide over life and death. He had at his disposal a great number of court functionaries most of them eunuchs (↗Castration). Tradition asserts that when a king died his eunuchs were all killed (VSAe III, ch. 5). At Sofkar, the burial place of the kings, many undecorated stone ↗stelae, with an average height of 2 m, can still be seen (*Šäʾu* 2, 2008:31).

The administration was rigidly and hierarchically organized. Next to the king was a powerful council and even the king had to follow its political decisions. After the death of a king this council elected his successor (VSAe III, 346).

After the flight of *taato* Abbaa Bagiboo many of the religious rituals were changed or discontinued. However, smiths still produce paraphernalia for a renewed form of the crocodile cult (*Šäʾu* 2, 2008 inside back cover). Still known is the interesting concept of an ↗iron pillar (*biriisi*) which God fixed into the earth as the centre post of the world. According to myth, when it was cut down on the order of a king, a long trench opened and even split Mount Bor. At the remaining stump bulls were sacrificed yearly before it was dismantled by the ↗Amhara. However, the stone basis of the iron pillar, still visible near Fofa is an important historical landmark.

The particularly high number of clans is due to various immigrations in the history of Y. Clan rivalry contributed to the hierarchization of society. There are two distinct groups of endogamous full-time craftworkers (↗Handicrafts): *yirfo* ('smiths') and *bera* ('tanner-potters', also ↗*fuga*). Besides their crafts they also perform rituals during healing sessions, rites of passage and funerals. In addition, they carry out propitiation rituals (VSAe III, 316–22; Getachew Fulle 2001:47). Today, one finds wealthy traders among the *bera*. Only weaving and woodwork can be undertaken by anybody.

Being highland peasants, the Y. cultivate *Ensete ventricosum* (Y.: *eewa*, Amh.: ↗*ənsät*) as their staple food; wheat and barley are also important crops among a diversity of others. The most important cash crop is ↗coffee. Cattle-breeding does not play an important role. On the eastern mountain slopes there are stonewalled and irrigated terraces.

Although only half of the Y. live in the Y. country, a sense of togetherness and their quest for identity (Popp 1997, ch. 4) help to maintain their culture and cultural heritage, which also finds expression in the annual journal *Šäʾu* published by the Y. *special wäräda*.

Src.: AbbGeogr 370–77; Charles T. Beke, "On the Countries South of Abyssinia", *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 13, 1843, 254–69, here 260f.; Jules Borelli, *Éthiopie meridionale*, Paris 1890, 296, 308, 324ff., 353; BeckHuntAlm 155–62; BruNile II, 316–21; CecZeila 351–58; CerEt vol. 2, 13–23; CerStud III, 61–68; CSA 2008; HarAeth 143–45, 171; HuntGal 137 (Lit.); Ludwig Krapf, *Reisen in Ostafrika ausgeführt in den Jahren 1837–55*, vol. 1, Stuttgart 1858, 90–92; Enno Littmann, *Die altamharischen Kaiserlieder*, Straßburg 1914, 14; Paul Soleillet, *Voyages en Éthiopie*, Rouen 1886, 169.

Lit.: Hermann Amborn, "Dr. Freud was not a Kafa. A Classical Case of Anthropological Overinterpretation from Ethiopia", *Anthropos* 103, 2008, 15–32; Getachew Fulle, "Yem", in: Dena Freeman – Alula Pankhurst (eds.), *Peripheral People: the Excluded Minorities of Ethiopia*, Lawrenceville, NJ 2003, 46–59 (Lit); Wossen Marion Popp, *Yem, Janjero, Oromo? Die Konstruktion ethnischer Identität im sozialen Wandel*, Bielefeld 1997 (Sociology of Development Research Centre, Working Paper 268); *Šäʾu* 1, 2000 A.M. [2007 A.D.]; *Šäʾu* 2, 2001 A.M. [2008 A.D.]; VSAe III, ch. 5 (s. 263 for Lit.).

Hermann Amborn

Yämanä Krəstos

Ras bitwäddäd Y.K. (**የማን ፡ ክርስቶስ**, in Jesuit sources also "Emana" or "Imano"; fl. 1600–32) was an important military and political figure. The son of ↗Ḥamälmal Wärq (s. EAE vol. 5) and Śärṣ́ä Krəstos, he was half brother of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos and full brother of Hafä Krəstos and Mälkəʾa Krəstos.

Y.K. was involved in several episodes related to Susənyos during the latter's years as *šəfta* and pretender to the throne. On 14 December 1604, he was present at the short-lived proclamation of Susənyos as Emperor at Ḥaräsma, which he allegedly opposed (PerChron 47, 135). In ca. 1605, he refused to side with Susənyos in the latter's struggle against *aṣe* ↗Yaʿəqob and shortly thereafter he suffered defeat against ↗Zäśəllase (PerChron 61).

In 1607, probably already as *däǧǧazmač* of Amhara, Y.K. helped the ↗Jesuits to obtain lands for their residence at ↗Gorgora (BecRASO VI, 190; XI, 160). Two years later, Susənyos sent him to quell the rebellion of the slave Mälkä Ṣedeq, achieving an important victory against the latter in Wägära on 19 April 1609 (PerChron 97f.;

BecRASO III, 336f.). In 1611, he was made *abägaz* and participated in a campaign against the ↗Tuulama Oromo in Gərarya. In the same year he was also made *bitwäddäd* (BecRASO III, 347; PerChron 106, 115).

In ca. 1612, Y.K. quarrelled with Susənyos, who took away his title of *ras* and gave it to ↗Səᶜəlä Krəstos (BecRASO III, 351). Around that time too, while he was governor of Bägemdər, Y.K. began to take an open stand against the missionaries and Susənyos's pro-Catholic leanings. In early 1617, the political-religious crisis he was involved in came to a head. Y.K. formed a powerful alliance with ↗Yolyos, *abunä* ↗Səmᶜon, ↗Kəflä Waḥəd and Mähaymənä Krəstos to challenge the ruler. While Yolyos led an armed uprising in Dämbəya, Y.K. made himself strong in Mäläk Amba near ↗Tädbabä Maryam (perhaps Atronsä Maryam), refusing to obey the orders of his brother. The rebels were, however, defeated and Y.K. was captured by his brother *däǧǧazmač* Hafä Krəstos. He was sentenced to death but then pardoned and sent to exile in Goǧǧam (ARSI, Goa 39 I (2), 105r; BecRASO III, 360f.; IV, 7; XI: 319, 331ff., 386; PerChron 131–37).

In early 1630, while actively quelling the rebellion of one Qač̣a Maryam in Amhara, Y.K.'s and *ras* Səᶜəlä Krəstos's armies came to the verge of confrontation. The clash could only be averted through the intervention of *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* Ḥablä Śəllase (PerChron 239; BecRASO XII, 429). In ca. February 1632, Y.K. was again governor of Bägemdər, where he re-established the Alexandrian rite (BecRASO I, 148).

Y.K.'s whereabouts during the reign of his nephew *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs are unknown, as is the date of his death. He had at least three sons, Ambäsay, Ǝdä Krəstos and Śärṣ́ä Krəstos. He also tried to marry off one of his daughters, whose name is unknown, to Walay, son of ↗Gedewon (PerChron 136).

A number of Y.K.'s namesakes were active during the same period. In ca. 1603 one *lämbade* Yämano, brother of *ṣäḥafe lam* "Seno" (Śənno?), rescued Susənyos during a campaign of the latter in ↗Ǝnnamora (PerChron 38; BecRASO III, 311). One *abba* Y.K. (fl. 1627) converted to Catholicism, proselytized in ↗Wälqayt and was killed by Orthodox followers (BecRASO VII, 6; XII, 287). One *ṭəqur* (i.e. "Black") Y.K., a veteran soldier in the squadron named Enoch in the army of Səᶜəlä Krəstos, was killed on 24 May 1631 by the rebel Śärṣ́ä Krəstos (BecRASO VII, 113; XII, 494). A fourth Y.K. (fl. 1630–40), the son of ↗Benäro and married to a daughter of Səᶜəlä Krəstos, was ruler of ↗Ǝnnarya (BecRASO XIII, 47; Lange 1982: 35). Towards 1632, a fifth Y.K. was captain of a rebel lord (Bihono?; BecRASO VII, 156). Finally, an *azmač* Y.K. (fl. 1570–1633), a second cousin of Susənyos and fervent Catholic, had his possessions expropiated in 1633 because he had refused to profess the Alexandrian faith (BecRASO VII, 209; I, 149).

Src.: Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu (= ARSI), Goa 39 I (2), 105r; BassEt II, 122, 173, 175, 286; BecRASO I, 148f.; II, 52, 380, 383, 393f., 400f.; III, 311, 319, 328, 336ff., 341f., 347, 351, 354, 359–62, 394, 407, 409, 422f.; IV, 7; VI, 190; VII, 6, 113, 156, 209; XI, 160, 319, 331ff., 386; XII, 287, 429, 486, 494; XIII, 47; PerChron vol. 2, 38, 47, 61, 97f., 106, 114f., 126, 131–37, 161 (tr.).

Lit.: WERNER J. LANGE, *History of the Southern Gonga* (*Southwestern Ethiopia*), Wiesbaden 1982 (SKK 61), 35.

Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner

Yämaryam Barya

Däǧǧazmač Y.B. (**የማርያም ፡ ባርያ**; d. 3 February 1769) was an important military figure during the early ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*.

Y.B. was the son of *däǧǧazmač* Ayo (d. February 1764) from whom he inherited the right to rule Bägemdər. His father had also held the title *žan ṣərar*, suggesting that the family may have originated in the ↗Wällo highlands near ↗Amba Gəšän. Y.B. was already deeply involved in court and national politics, by the time his father died. He had been present at the death of ↗Iyasu II in 1755 and had supported the succession of ↗Iyoʾas I and the continuation in power of *ətege* Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa; GuiIyas 170 [text] = 181 [tr.]). In October 1760, he was appointed *grazmač* and married *wäyzäro* ↗Aster, Məntəwwab's daughter (GuiIyas 194 [text] = 203f. [tr.]). Two years later he was promoted to ↗*balambaras* (GuiIyas 197 [text] = 206 [tr.]) and, not long after, to the rank of ↗*däǧǧazmač*.

Y.B. had a long-standing rivalry with ↗Mikaʾel Səḥul, ruler of ↗Təgray, over tribute from ↗Lasta. Early in 1766 their troops confronted each other on the Bägemdər-Lasta border, but avoided bloodshed following the intervention of court officials from ↗Gondär. In 1768, following the death of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Ǝšäte of Qʷara, then ruler of ↗Agäw Mədər, disagreement over the control of Ǝšäte's legacy (GuiIyas 230 [text] = 239 [tr.]) brought Y.B. and Mikaʾel Səḥul into open conflict. Ǝšäte's son, ↗Ḫaylä Mikaʾel Ǝšäte, took sides with Mikaʾel Səḥul (Kropp 1989: 15).

Y.B. tried to rally the support of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Lubo from Wällo, one of the relatives of *aṣe* Iyoᵓas, but the result was a complete falling out and the replacement of Y.B. as governor of Bägemdər (GuiIyas 232 [text] = 239 [tr.]) by Lubo's brother, Biräle. Y.B. resisted this appointment, which formally made him a rebel against the crown and on 16 June 1768, killed Biräle in action near Gondär.

Early in 1769, Iyoᵓas and Mikaᵓel Səḥul campaigned against Y.B., whom they defeated at what James ↗Bruce calls the battle of Näfas Mäwč̣a, in ↗Gayənt (BruNile II, 691f.), following which Y.B. withdrew beyond ↗Č̣äč̣äho. On 3 February, Y.B. was captured and brought to court, where, at the instigation and with the participation of Lubo, he was beheaded in revenge for the death of Biräle (GuiIyas 240f. [text] = 249f. [tr.]; BruNile II, 694–95). Bruce, who visited Gondär shortly after these events, attributed to Y.B. strong anti-"Galla" views, but this is unlikely in light of the chronicle's assertion that, in 1768, Y.B. had tried to forge an alliance with the Wälloye against Mikaᵓel Səḥul.

Y.B. was the father of Ḫaylä Iyäsus, Iyäsus Barya, Ḫirut, *wayzäro* Səhəltu and *wayzäro* Yäwärq Wəha. He made a major bequest to Səhəltu and Yäwärq Wəha of ↗*rim* lands tributary to a number of major Gondärine churches, Qaha Iyäsus, Däbrä Ṣ́äḥay Qʷəsqʷam, Lədäta Maryam, Bäᵓata Lämaryam and Narga Ś́əllase prominent amongst them (BritLib Orient–604, fol. 1).

Src.: BlunChr 135 (text) = 396 (tr.); ms. BritLib Orient. 604, fol. 1; BruNile II 664f., 671–95; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "La storia di Ḫāyla Mikāᵓēl", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 11, 1902, 2–79, here 18ff.; GuiIyas 167, 170, 194, 197, 230ff., 240f. (text) = 177, 181, 203f., 206f., 239f., 249f. (tr.), et passim; MANFRED KROPP, *Die äthiopischen Königschroniken in der Sammlung des Däǧǧamač Ḫaylu*, Frankfurt am Main – Bern – Paris 1989 (Heidelberger Orientalische Studien 13), 15, 68, 70f., 270.
Lit.: CrumLand 111f.; MICHAEL PERRET, "Les Partis à la Cour de Gondar en 1769", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 129–35; TEKLE-TSADIK MEKOURIA, "Histoire abregée de Haylou Esheté (Degiazmatche)", *ibid.* 189–213, here 194f.

Donald Crummey

Yaᶜqūbī, al-

Y. (Abū l-ᶜAbbās Aḥmad b. Abī Yaᶜqūb b. Ǧaᶜfar b. Wahb b. Wāḍiḥ al-Yaᶜqūbī) was an Arab geographer and historian (fl. second half of the 9th cent.; d. 893 [?], Egypt).

Y.'s biography is almost unknown. Born in Baghdad into a family belonging to the *ḫalīfa*'s administration, he visited Armenia and then worked in Ḫurasān as a secretary of the Ṭāhirid state. After the fall of the Ṭāhirid dynasty in 872–73, Y. travelled to India and eventually settled in Egypt.

Y.'s main works are 1) the *Taᵓrīḫ* ('History', first ed. Houtsma 1883; several re-editions in the Arab world exist), a concise but comprehensive history of the world since the creation until the *ḫalīfa* al-Muᶜtamid (d. 892); and 2) the *Kitāb al-Buldān* ('Book of the Countries', completed 891, first analyzed by de Goeje 1860; first published by Juynboll 1861; ed. de Goeje 1892, French tr. Wiet 1937; many modern editions are available), a treatise on the geography of the regions of the Islamic world and the neighbouring areas. Both contain valuable details on the Ethio–Eritrean region, in particular on the ↗Beǧa people.

Generally speaking, Y.'s literary production shows many of the typical features of *adab* ↗historiography and geography, such as, primarily, the anthological character of the *Taᵓrīḫ* (one of the few extant earliest examples of a "short universal history" in Arabic) and the incorporation of many references to the customs, traditions and beliefs of the peoples and regions mentioned. The reliability of the information Y. collected may be questionable but his usage of non-Islamic and pre-Islamic sources and his accuracy in describing the early Shiite movements suffice to give his work an outstanding position in the panorama of Islamic historiography.

In reference to the Ethio-Eritrean region, the *Taᵓrīḫ* mentions quite cursorily the Nūba and deals at length with the Five Beǧa kingdoms and their tribes. Due to the uncertainty and vagueness of the spellings in the manuscript tradition of the work, the text of this section of the *Taᵓrīḫ* remains partially unreadable and only tentatively interpretable. However, Y. surely mentions the following kingdoms (*mamlaka*): 1) Naqīs located immediately south of Aswān (capital town: Haǧar) comprises several different tribes (among them the Zanāfiǧ) and hosts mines of gold and deposits of precious stones. Muslims are at truce with it and are active in the exploitation of its mineral wealth. 2) Baqlīn (↗Baqulin) is a wide, rainy land with many towns. The religion of the local people is similar to that of the Zoroastrians and Dualists (*al-Maǧūs waṯ-Ṯanāwīya*): they call God *AZBḤYR* and the devil *ṢḤY ḤRᵓQH*. They pluck their beards, extract their middle incisors and are circumcised; 3) Bāzīn borders ᶜAlwa and Baqlīn and is at war with them. Its inhabitants drink milk; 4) Ǧārīn extends from Bāḍiᶜ on the coast up to the border of Baqlīn and is governed by a "serious king" (*malik ḫaṭīr*). The people extract their middle incisors, because they do not want to have "teeth like those of the donkeys" and pluck their beards; finally 5) Qaṭᶜa, stretching between Bāḍiᶜ and Faykūn, is inhabited by brave and strong people. They have a place called "*dār as-sawā*" where the strongest youth are trained to fight in war. The sixth kingdom in Y.'s series is that of the Christian Jacobite ↗*Nağāšī* whose capital is Kaᶜbar. According to Y., the Arabs come to trade with this powerful kingdom, receiving tribute from all the kings who rule in al-Ḥabaša, through the ↗Dahlak islands (ed. Houtsma 1883, vol. 1, 217ff.; tr. [Engl. partial] Vantini 1975: 70–73, Hopkins – Levtzion 1981: 19ff., [French] Cuoq 1985: 49–52, [Ital.] Conti Rossini 1928: 274f., [Russian, with Arabic text] Kubbel'-Matveev 1960: 37–41).

The *Kitāb al-Buldān* contains more references to the Nūba (cp. ↗Noba) and the Beğa, especially the Ḥadārib (cp. ↗Ḥədaräb) whose capital is Hağar, where also Muslim traders can be found, and the Zanāfiğ whose head lives in Baqlīn. Both these Beğa groups worship an idol called *ḤǦᵓǦ/ḪŪ* and do not know any divinely revealed Law. Regarding the peculiar customs of Beğa, Y. in his *Kitāb al-Buldān* writes that they excise the nipples of young men, so that they do not look like the breasts of women, they eat millet, ride camels and throw spears which never miss the target (ed. Juynboll 1861: 124f.; ed. de Goeje 1892: 335ff.; tr. [Eng.] Vantini 1975: 76–79, [French] Wiet 1937: 191f., [partial French] Cuoq 1985: 48f., [Russian, with text] Kubbel' – Matveev 1960: 41–46). Speaking about the "islands of Yemen", Y.'s *Kitāb al-Buldān*, for the first time in Arabic geographical literature, mentions the "island" of ↗Zaylaᶜ "in front of al-Mandab" and then calls the Dahlak "the island of the *Nağāšī*" (Juynboll 1861: 105; de Goeje 1892: 319; Wiet 1937: 159).

Scholars of Ethiopian studies have referred to Y. since the first editions of his works became available. Conti Rossini (1928: 274ff.) provides a comprehensive assessment of Y.'s description of the Beğa; Trimingham (TrIslam 49ff.) extensively draws upon Y. in his reconstruction of the first spread of ↗Islam in Ethiopia, and Zaborski (1965; 1970; 1972; 1984) in his historical sketch of the Sudan-Eritrean border area at the time of the rise of Islam; Cuoq (1981) frequently quotes Y. in his historical depiction of the Islamic presence in Ethiopia; Fiaccadori (2010) confronts Y.'s texts with other Arabic and Ethiopic sources to shed light on the relationships between Islam and ↗Christianity in Northern Ethiopia at the end of the 9th cent.

Src.: JOSEPH CUOQ, *Recueil des sources arabes concernant l'Afrique occidentale du VIIIe au XVIe siècle (Bilād al-Sūdān)*, Paris 1985; MICHAËL JAN DE GOEJE, *Specimen Litterarium inaugurale exhibens descriptionem al-Magribi sumtam e Libro Regionum al-Jaᶜqubii*, Lugduni Batavorum 1860; ID. (ed.), *Bibliotheca geographorum Arabicorum pars septima. Kitâb al-aᶜlâk an-nafîsa auctore Abû Alî Ahmed ibn Omar Ibn Rosteh et Kitâb al-Boldân auctore Ahmed ibn abî Jakûb ibn Wâdhih al-Kâtib al-Jakûbî*, Lugduni Batavorum 1892; JOHN F.P. HOPKINS – NEHEMIA LEVTZION, *Corpus of Early Arabic Sources for West African History*, Cambridge 1981; MARTINUS THEODORUS HOUTSMA (ed.), *Ibn Wādhih, qui dicitur al-Jaᶜqūbī, Historiae,* Lugduni Batavorum 1883; ABRAHAMUS W. TH. JUYNBOLL, *Specimen e Literis Orientalibus exhibens Kitābo'l-boldān sive Librum Regionum auctore Aḥmed Ibn Abī Jaᶜqūb, noto nomine al-Jaᶜqūbī*, Lugduni-Batavorum 1861; LEV E. KUBBEL' – VIKTOR V. MATVEEV (eds., trs.), *Arabskie istočniki VII – X vekov po ėtnografii i istorii narodov Afriki južnee Sahary* ('Arabic Sources of the 7th–10th Cent. for Ethnography and History of the People of Sub-Saharan Africa'), Moskva – Leningrad 1960; GIOVANNI VANTINI, *Oriental Sources Concerning Nubia*, Heidelberg – Warsaw 1975; GASTON WIET (tr.), *al-Yaᶜḳūbī. Les pays*, Cairo 1937 (Textes et traductions d'auteurs orientaux 1).
Lit.: JOSEPH CUOQ, *L'Islam en Ethiopie des origines au XVIe siècle*, Paris 1981; MUHAMMAD QASIM ZAMAN, "al-Yaᶜḳūbī", in: *EI²*, vol. 11, 257–58; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Di alcune fonti islamiche per la storia del medioevo etiopico", in: ALESSANDRO GORI – BIANCAMARIA SCARCIA AMORETTI (eds.), *Islam in Etiopia*: *Bilanci e prospettive*, Roma 2010 (= *Civiltà del Mediterraneo* 16/17), 183–209; TrIslam 49ff.; ANDRZEJ ZABORSKI, "Notes on the Medieval History of the Beja Tribes", *Folia Orientalia* 7, 1965, 289–307; ID., "Some Eritrean Place-Names in Arabic Medieval Sources", *ibid.* 12, 1970, 327–37; ID., "Beja and Tigrē in the 9th–10th Century Period", *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 35, 1972, 117–30; ID., "Tigre and Bagulin in the 9th and 10th Century Period", *QSE* 5, 1984, 83–92.

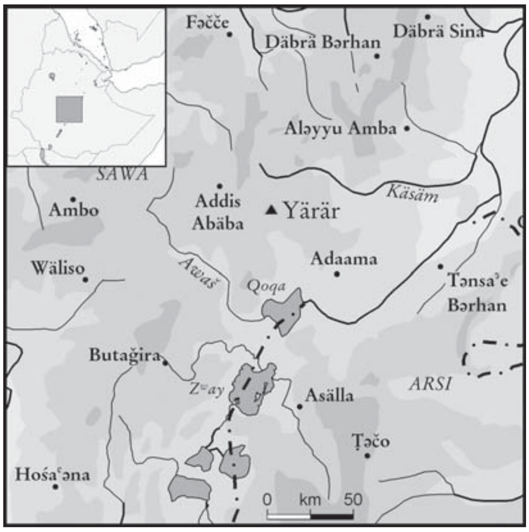
Alessandro Gori

Yärär

Yärär geography

Mount Y. (**የረር ፡ ተራራ**, *Yärär Tärara*, also Erär; 8° 54' N, 38° 58' E; 3,099 m A.S.L.) is an Upper Cenozoic (Pliocene) dormant and eroded volcano (↗Seismology) which rises 10 km to the north of Dukäm (1,950 m A.S.L.). The collapsed and dismantled caldera of the summit has a towering rock in its centre which was a former chimney. The gullied slopes of the volcano are covered with scattered woods. Mount Y. is officially registered as a National Forest Priority Area.

Borelli (1890: 212), in the 19th cent., wrote of a holy spring where followers of the old ↗Oromo religion offered to the spirit of the mountain.



The name Y. was adopted by the Y. and Kärräyyuu *awrağğa* which was a division of ↗Šäwa province until 1987 and then part of South-eastern Šäwa sub-province from 1987 to 1991. Today, the area belongs to Eastern Šäwa zone of Oromiyaa Regional State.

The Oromo clans that inhabit the western side of the mountain belong to the Galan while those on the east are the Gəmbiču and the Adaᵓa who are also found to the south of the mountain.

Src.: JULES BORELLI, *Éthiopie méridionale, journal de mon voyage aux pays amhara, oromo et sidama, septembre 1885 à novembre 1888,* Paris 1890, 212; ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AGENCY [EMA], *Akᵓakᵓi Besekᵓa*, Ethiopia Sheet NC 37–14, Scale 1:250,000, Addis Ababa 1979; EMAtlas; *Guida* 426; MesfAtlas².

Alain Gascon

Yärär history

In ↗Morät legend tells that *aṣe* Həzbä Nañ (↗Täklä Maryam), being trapped by his arrogance, galloped on a flying animal called Tora which took him from his palace at Däy Giyorgis (not far from present day ↗Ǝnnäwari) and threw him on the mountain of Y. There, a local princess realizing that he had royal blood, took him to her residence. After his recovery from the fall he married the princess. Bäsəmu, the son of the couple, is said to have become the ruler of the Morät district and then of the whole of Ethiopia.

According to the manuscript EMML no. 1942 version of ↗*Dərsanä Uraᵓel*, ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa built seven churches on Mount Y. (dedicated to Mikaᵓel, Gäbrəᵓel, the Four Heavenly Creatures, the Twenty Four Heavenly Priests, a Cherub and the Angel Surafel). The text adds that the two kings established Däbrä Yärär as their seat of government, the location being in the centre of Ethiopia (EMML no. 1942, fol. 68v–69r). In the next version of the *Dərsanä Uraᵓel* this last idea is retained: Y. was considered as the "centre" of Ethiopia. As is narrated in oral tradition, such medieval kings as ↗Yəkunno Amlak, ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, and ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl frequented Y. as one of their favourite royal camps (↗*Kätäma*).

In 1973 an archaeological excavation by Lanfranco ↗Ricci and Claudio Barocas on the eastern side of Y., near present day Tewodros church, uncovered a large rectangular structure with carvings in the refined style of medieval royal churches (Anfray 1978:164). This church is known in the literature as Ginbi (Gəmb Tewodros). Inside this structure, 14 tombs were excavated. Unfortunately, the bone samples sent for radiocarbon dating did not produce any results (Ricci 1976:200). According to the oral tradition collected during the excavation (and by Deresse Aynachew in 2006), the church was dedicated to Mary and destroyed by *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's troops.

Ricci hypothesizes that the excavated church was the church of Badoqe (Ricci 1976:195) known only from the ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* (BassHist II, 114, 215), where it is mentioned as one of the royal residences of Ləbnä Dəngəl located in the province of ↗Fäṭägar. The foundation of the church is ascribed to the mother of Ləbnä Dəngəl, queen ↗Naᶜod Mogäsa. According to the *Futūḥ*, when the royal residence was about to fall into the hands of the Muslim armies, Ləbnä Dəngəl ordered his houses and those of his brothers to be burned but the church to be left intact. The church itself was burnt by Aḥmad b.

Decorated stone block excavated at Gəmb Tewodros, Yärär; photo 2006, courtesy of Deresse Ayenachew

Landscape in central Šäwa with Mount Yärär in the background; photo 1954/55 by Eike Haberland, courtesy of the Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt am Main (27-Ha099-11)

Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's soldiers (BassHist II, 214f.). In 1817/18 the church of Śəllase was established during the reign of *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase of Šäwa.

Mount Y. preserves many other archaeological testimonies of long-term human settlement. Recently, Breternitz and Pankhurst (2009: 209–49) described the remains of what they interpret as the "City of Sire" located six kilometres from the church of Ginbi, with a double wall system on the hill-top, strong fortifications and trenches and other structures which are not precisely described. They consider it could be the old town of ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, as claimed by d'Abbadie (1890: 299). However, a double wall structure could be attributed not only to the medieval period because this type of fence system has been used by the nobility even up until mid-20th cent.

There are also a number of caves with mummified human bodies, one of which is displayed as a local saint in Yärär Śəllase church. These mummies could be related to the builders of tumulus graves excavated in ↗Mänz that may be dated between the 8th and the 12th cent. In other words, mount Y. could have been a highly revered place before the introduction of Christianity or Islam in this region (s. Fauvelle-Aymar – Deresse Ayenachew – Hirsch 2007–08).

Mount Y. was also famous for its slave market located at its northern foot and named Roge. This market was mentioned by many travellers of the 19th cent.; among them Rochet d'Héricourt who explains that the slaves there came from different regions: ↗Yäm, ↗Käfa, ↗Gurage and other places where the Oromo were at war (Rochet d'Héricourt 1841: 254; Ahmed Hassen Omer 2007: 541, annex 92).

Src.: EMML no. 1942; BassHist II, 114, 214–215; ARNAULD D'ABBADIE, *Douze ans de séjour dans la haute Ethiopie* (*Abyssinie*), vol. 1, Paris 1868; CHARLES E. XAVIER ROCHET D'HÉRICOURT, *Voyage sur la côte orientale de la mer Rouge dans le pays d'Adel et le royaume du Choa*, vol. 1, Paris 1841, 254.

Lit.: AHMED HASSEN OMER, *Islam, commerce et politique dans l'Ifat* (*Éthiopie centrale*) *au XIXe siècle*: *l'émergence d'une ville carrefour, Aleyyu Amba,* Ph.D. thesis, Université Paris-I Panthéon-Sorbonne 2007, 541, annex 92; FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Enselale avec d'autres sites du Choa, de l'Arssi et un îlot du lac Tana", *AE* 11, 1978, 153–69; HARTWIG BRETERNITZ – RICHARD PANKHURST, "Barara, the Royal City of the 15th and Early 16th Century (Ethiopia). Medieval and Other Early Settlements between Wechecha Range and Mt Yerer – Results from a Recent Survey", *AE* 24, 2009, 209–49; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "L'homélie en l'honneur de l'archange Ourial (Dersān Urā'ēl)", *AE* 1, 1955, 61–88, here 62, 64f., 86; DerDom 231, 328; DERESSE AYENACHEW, *Le* kätäma: *la cour et le camp royal en Éthiopie* (*XIVe–XVIe siècle*), *espace et pouvoir*, Ph.D. thesis, Université Paris-I Panthéon-Sorbonne 2009, 352–60; FRANÇOIS-XAVIER FAUVELLE-AYMAR – DERESSE AYENACHEW – BERTRAND HIRSCH, "Les monuments mégalithiques du Mänz. Nord-Shoa: un inventaire provisoire", *AE* 23, 2007–08, 329–98; BERTRAND HIRSCH – FRANÇOIS-XAVIER FAUVELLE-AYMAR, "L'Ethiopie médiévale: État des lieux et nouveaux Éclairages", *CEA* 162, 2002, 315–25; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Resti di antico edificio in Ginbi (Scioa)", *AE* 10, 1976, 177–210; TADESSE TAMRAT, "Always Some Kernel of Historical Truth: as Hezbänañ (1430–1433) Resurrected in a Morät Folk Story", in: *PICES* 13, 286–306.

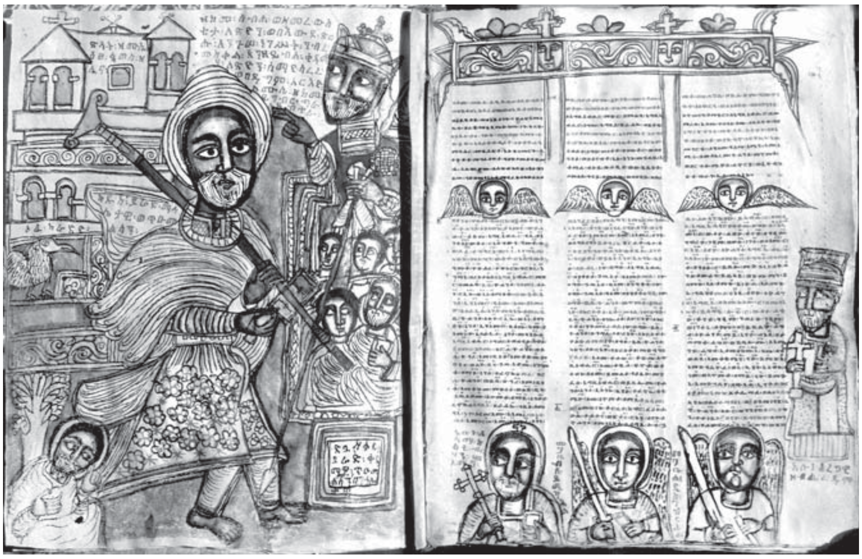
Deresse Ayenachew – Marie-Laure Derat

Yared

Y. (**ያሬድ**, also known as Y. *maḫletawi* or *maḫletay,* 'Y. the melodious') is a highly venerated saint of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church, with many churches dedicated to him, and frequent representation of him in paintings. A priest who lived in the 6th cent., during the reign of the Aksumite king ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl, Y. is credited with the invention of Ethiopic sacred music and hymnody (↗hymns; cp. ↗*zema*). Y. is commemorated in the *Sənkəssar* on 11 *Gənbot* (ColSyn XIII, 243ff.).

The principal source concerning biographical data of Y. is his Vita (*Dərsan wägädl zäyared*, 'Homily and Acts of Y.') published by Conti Rossini in 1904 on the basis of ms. d'Abbadie 227 (19th cent.). Yet the mss. EMML no. 1844 (16th cent.) and BritLib Orient 12860 (17th cent.) show a richer text (Tedros Abraha 2009: 347f., n. 3).

According to his hagiography, Y. was born in Aksum and received a traditional ↗education from a priest of ↗Aksum Ṣəyon, *abba* Gedewon, his relative. The names of his parents vary in the sources. Attested names for his father are: Abəyud, Yəsḥaq, Gämaləyäl and Adam; for his mother: Kristina and Tawkələya (for the different names cp. Tedros Abreha 2009: 347, n. 3 and 351 n. 15 and Aklilä-Bərhan Wäldä Qirqos 1959).



Yared singing in front of *aṣe* Gäbrä Mäsqäl, the frontispiece miniature to *Dəggʷa*, fols. 5v–6r; 20th cent.; church of Mikaᶜel-Gäbrəᶜel in Säqota; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

His Vita reports that the young Y. was unable to memorize the ↗Psalter and, tired of his teacher's hard corporal punishment, escaped to the solitary place where Ǝbnä Ḥakim (↗Mənilək I) was buried. There he sat down in the shade of a tree and saw a caterpillar which was trying to climb the tree. It fell down several times but always rose up and tried again. Y. drew his inspiration from the caterpillar's perseverance and, having returned to his teacher, recited to him the Psalms and the holy books in one day. Later he was appointed deacon at Aksum Ṣəyon. He married and became a father, but soon discovered that his wife had a lover. Y. planned to kill him, but God sent him three birds from Eden. The birds took him to Heaven and Y. entered the heavenly Jerusalem. There he heard harmonious music in praise of God. He learned this music and, back on earth, reproduced it in Aksum Ṣəyon. King Gäbrä Mäsqäl, his wife, the court, the metropolitan, the priests and people flocked to the cathedral to listen to the melodious chant.

On day, Y.'s singing moved *aṣe* Gäbrä Mäsqäl in such a matter that he jabbed his stick in the saint's foot (s. ill.). A lot of blood flowed from the wound, it poured down the church floor and out in the street. But Y. did not stop until he completed his singing. The King regretted his act and promised him to fulfil any wish. Y. asked him for the permission to become a monk far from Aksum to which Gäbrä Mäsqäl agreed. As a token of gratitude the Saint knelt down to pray on the ↗*tabot* and his feet levitated one cubit from the floor. He moved to ↗Ṣällämt, and led a solitary life, praying, fasting and teaching his music, until his death. He was buried in eastern Səmen but his burial place is unknown.

A legend in his Vita relates that Y. met *abba* Həryaqos (bishop Cyriacus of Behnesa) near the spring of ↗May Kerwaẖ (Aksum) and spoke with him using the ↗*araray* mode of chant. According to another version, reported in the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Aksum*, *abba* Həryaqos and *abba* (Ephrem) Läbḥawi the Syrian, on the recommendation of the Virgin Mary, gave Y., at May Kerwaẖ, the service books and the liturgy of the Virgin and stayed with him for three days and three nights (CRAxum 5 [text] = 5 [tr.]).

Tradition reports that Y. developed three modes of chant: ↗*gəᶜəz*, ↗*ᶜəzəl* and *araray*. They are still used in the Ethiopic liturgy during the annual liturgical cycle. He also composed five collections of liturgical chants known as *ẖamməstu ṣäwatəwä zema* ('five categories of chant'), which are still in use in the Ethiopic liturgy: ↗*Dəggʷa*, ↗*Ṣomä dəggʷa*, ↗*Zəmmare*, ↗*Mäwaśəᵓət* and ↗*Məᶜəraf* (cp. Tedros Abreha 2009: 349, 357f.). Y. is also credited with the composition of the ↗*Anqäṣä bərhan* and of the ↗*Qəddase* (Məkrä Śəllase et al. 101).

The *Gädlä Arägawi* reports that Y. once visited ↗Zämikaᵓel Arägawi to see the church that Gäbrä Mäsqäl had built for him and to sing the Psalms. Zämikaᵓel Arägawi, who was able to predict the future, had prophesised to his disciples the Saint's visit (Guidi 1896: 76f.; Van den Oudenrijn 1939: 57f.).

Tradition also ascribes to Y. the authorship of the *Gädlä Arägawi*, *Gädlä* ↗*Ṣəḥma* and *Gädlä* ↗*Yəmʾata*. In these hagiographies, Y. appears as *Y. qäsis maḫletay bərhana läʾityopya* ('Y. the melodious priest, light of Ethiopia'), *Y. maḫletay kahənä Aksum* ('Y. the melodious priest of Aksum'), *Y. mäzämmər kahənä Aksum wäʾityopya* ('Y. psalmist, priest of Aksum and Ethiopia'), respectively, but there are no reliable elements to corroborate his supposed authorship (Brita 2010: 57f.). In the *Gädlä Yared* Y. is called *mänfäsawi arganon* ('spiritual harp', cp. Conti Rossini 1961: 35), an expression close to the appellative *Kenārâ d-Rûḥâ* (Syr.), by which Ephrem Läbḥawi is commonly known. Y.'s liturgical texts and hymnody are local Ethiopian productions. As such they represent a decisive element of distinction between Egyptian heritage and native creations.

Src.: ms. BN D'Abbadie 227; ms. BritLib Or. 12860; ms. EMML no. 1844; Aklilä-Bərhan Wäldä Qirqos, **የቅዱስ ፡ ያሬድ ፡ ታሪክና ፡ የዜማዎቹ ፡ ምልክቶች** (*Yäqəddus Yared tarikənna yäzemawočču mələkkətočč*, 'The Story of Saint Yared and of the Notation of his Chant'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.]; BudSaint 875ff.; ColSyn XIII, 243ff.; Carlo Conti Rossini (ed., tr.), *Vitae Sanctorum Antiquiorum: Acta Yared et Panṭalēwon*, Louvain 1961, 2, XVII (CSCO 26, 27 [SAe 9, 10]); CRAxum 5 (text) = 5 (tr.); Ignazio Guidi (ed., tr.), "Il Gadla 'Aragāwi", *MRALm* ser. 5ª, 2, 1896, 54–96; Marqos Gäbrä Maryam (ed.), **ገድለ ፡ አቡነ ፡ አረጋዊ ፤ ወገድለ ፡ ገብረ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ መርአዊ ፡ ወዘያሬድ ፡ ማኅሌታዊ** (*Gädlä abunä Arägawi, wägädlä Gäbrä Krəstos Märʾawi wäzäyared maḫletawi*, 'Vita of *abunä* Arägawi, and Vita of Gäbrä Krəstos Märʿawi and of Yared the Melodious'), Asmära 1979 A.M. [1986/87 A.D.], 126–68; Marc-Antoine Van den Oudenrijn (ed., tr.), *La vie de saint Mikā'ēl Aragāwi, traduite de l'éthiopien, avec introduction et notes*, Fribourg, Suisse 1939.

Lit.: BHO 97f; George Wynn Brereton Huntingford, "Saints of Medieval Ethiopia", *Abba Salama* 10, 1979, 257–341, here 336, 263f.; Antonella Brita, *I racconti tradizionali sulla seconda cristianizzazione dell'Etiopia. Il ciclo agiografico dei Nove Santi*, Napoli 2010 (StAfEt 7); DicEthBio 179f.; EncSan 1352f.; Antonio Furioli, "La musica etiopica", *QSE* 3–4, 1982–83, 60–77; Getaččäw Ḫayle, **የቅዱስ ፡ ያሬድ ፡ ታሪክና ፡ የግዕዝ ፡ ስነ ፡ ጽሑፍ ። በርእሰ ፡ አድባራት ፡ ቅድስት ፡ ማርያም ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ጥቅምት ፡ 5 ፡ ቀን ፡ በተከበረው ፡ የቅዱስ ፡ ያሬድ ፡ በዐል ፡ ላይ ፡ የተደረገ ፡ ንግግር** (*Yäqəddus Yared tarikənna yägəʿəz sənä ṣəḥuf. Bärəʾəsä adbarat Qəddəst Maryam Betä Krəstiyan, Ṭəqəmt 5 qän bätäkäbbäräw yäqəddus Yared bäʿal lay yätädärrägä nəgəggər*, 'History of St. Yared and Gəʿəz Literature. Speech Held in the Church of St. Mary on November 15, on the Occasion of the Feast of St. Yared'), Collegeville, MN 1991 A.M. [1998/99 A.D.]; Getatchew Haile, "Ethiopian Saints", in: *CE* vol. 4, 1044–56, here 1047 (Yared); KinBibl 96f. (nr. 168); Ralph Lee, "The Dəggwa of St. Yared and the Musical Manuscripts in the Collection", in: Kesis Melaku Terefe – Steve Delamater – Jeremy Brown, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts Imaging Projects. Volume 7 – Codices 601–654: The Meseret Sebhat Le-Ab Collections of Mekane Yesus Seminary, Addis Abeba* – Eugene, OR 2011, 57–64; Məkrä Śəllase et al., **የኢትዮጵያ ፡ ኦርቶዶክስ ፡ ተዋሕዶ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ አጭር ፡ ታሪክ ፡ ከልደተ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ እስከ** 2000 A.M. (*Yäʾityopya Ortodoks Täwäḥədo Betä Krəstiyan aččər tarik käləddätä Krəstos əskä 2000 A.M.*, 'History of the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwäḥədo Church from the birth of Christ to the year 2000 A.M.), n. pl., n. d. 97–128; Mogäs Śəyyum, **የቅዱስ ፡ ያሬድ ፡ የዜማ ፡ ድርሰት ፡ አጠቃላይ ፡ ገጽታ** (*Yäqəddus Yared yäzema dərsät aṭṭäqalay gäṣṣəta*, 'An Overview of the Hymnal Composition of St. Yared'), Addis Abäba 1992 A.M. [1999/2000 A.D.]; PrRosDic 323f.; Tedros Abreha, "Quotations from Patristic Writings and References to Early Christian Literature in the Books of St. Yared", *Le Museon* 122,3–4, 2009, 331–420; Ṭəʿumä Ləssan Kasa, **ያሬድና ፡ ዜማው** (*Yaredənna zemaw*, 'Yared and his Melodies'), Addis Abäba 1981 A.M. [1988/89 A.D.]; TurIz 54–66, esp. 65f., s. index.

Antonella Brita

Yared Gäbrä Mikaʾel

Qäññazmač Y. (**ያሬድ ፡ ገብረ ፡ ሚካኤል**; b. 1915/16, Gobäla, Ǧəru, northern Šäwa, d. 19 May 1974, Addis Abäba) was a prominent writer and journalist.

Y.'s parents were *däbtära* Gäbrä Mikaʾel Yämanu and *wäyzäro* Dästa Wäldä Yoḥannəs, sister of *ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Wäldä Yoḥannəs. In 1919, the family moved to Addis Abäba where Y. began his traditional ↗education in the Əsṭifanos church. Recognizing his brilliance in learning liturgy (↗*qəddase*) and the chant (↗*zema*), his teacher, *mämhər* Asrat, named his student Y. (after Saint ↗Yared). Y.'s parents died early, and so his uncle Wäldä Giyorgis Wäldä Yoḥannəs took Y. under his care. He sent his nephew to the ↗*qəne bet* of the Qəddus Marqos church in the compound of the palace of *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), under *aläqa* Bälay. Y. continued his training in the New Testament under the famous traditional scholar *aläqa* Ayyälä, in the Emperor's palace. Y.'s studies were interrupted by the Italian invasion of 1936, at which point Y. began serving as a deacon at Qəddus Marqos.

After the Liberation in 1941, Y. enrolled in the army where he served in the cavalry regiment. In 1944 he was discharged due to illness, upon which he joined the Press and Information Bureau. There, he wrote articles for newspapers (↗Journalism). Shortly afterwards, he was sent to Ǧimma for two years to educate the public about the benefit of reading newspapers (↗Press).

Upon his return to Addis Abäba, Y. first served as editor of the ↗*Bərhanənna sälam* magazine. He was subsequently appointed editor of the weekly *Sändäq ᶜAlämaččən* (↗ *Banderaččən*). At the same time, he served on the board administering the Press and Information Bureau. He remained in charge of *Sändäq ᶜAlämaččən* until the newspaper was closed in 1969. After that, he served as an advisor to the ↗ *Addis Zämän* newspaper. In 1972, on the occasion of the Emperor's 80th birthday, the title of ↗ *qäññazmač* was conferred on Y. in recognition of his long service.

Besides his journalistic career, Y. both delivered and published praises of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase and *ətege* ↗ Mänän, offering them as presents during holidays such as the Emperor's birthday and Coronation anniversary. He recorded the life and work of the ruler in numerous books and poems. He was asked to prepare the obituary for ↗ Mäkʷännən Ḫaylä Śəllase in 1957 as well as the biography of *ətege* ↗ Mänän on the occasion of her 67th birthday.

A prolific author, Y. wrote both poetry (e.g., *Yäʾafrika ṣ́äḥay*, *Kəbrä lədät*) and prose. His most popular book was *Yäᶜənsəsat agälgəlot*; it served as a textbook in some elementary schools. Y. himself donated many copies of the book to schools, in addition to being a member of a group which helped build schools in his native Ǧəru and Ǝnnäwari districts of Šäwa.

Y. was survived by his wife, Ǝǧǧəgayyähu Abbäbä, and their children, six sons and two daughters.

Src.: personal communication of Y.'s daughters Ǝmmäbet and Təgəst, 2012; author's interviews with Mulugeta Lule, 5 November 2011, 20 March 2012; interviews with Ahadu Sabure, 14 November 2011, 19 March 2012; Yared Gäbrä Mikaʾel, ክብረ ፡ ልደት (*Kəbrä lədät*, 'The Glory of [his] Birth[day]'), Addis Abäba 1951; Id., እድሜና ፡ ስራ ፡ ከጠቅል ፡ ጋር (*Ǝdmenna səra käṭäqəll gar*, 'My Life and Work with [Abba] Ṭäqəll [= Ḫaylä Śəllase]'), Addis Abäba 1944 A.M. [1952 A.D.]; Id., መዝገበ ፡ ታሪክ (*Mäzgäbä tarik*, 'The Treasury of History'), Addis Abäba 1945 A.M. [1952/53 A.D.]; Id., የታሪክ ፡ ሰው ። ዜና ፡ ዕበዩ ፡ ለቀዳማዊ ፡ ኃይለ ፡ ሥላሴ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ በኍልቆ ፡ አውራህ ፡ ወአዝማናት (*Yätarik säw*: *zena ᶜəbbäyu läqädamawi Ḫaylä Śəllase nəguśä nägäśt bäḫʷəlqo awrah wäʾazmanat*, 'A Man of History. An Account of the Greatness of Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase I according to Months and Years'), Addis Abäba 1948 A.M. [1955 A.D.]; Id., የአፍሪካ ፡ ፀሐይ ፡ በኢትዮጵያ ፡ ሰማይ (*Yäʾafrika ṣ́äḥay bäʾityoṗya sämay*, 'African Sun on Ethiopia's Sky'), Addis Abäba 1948 A.M. [1956 A.D.]; Id., የልዑል ፡ መኰንን ፡ መስፍነ ፡ ሀረር ፡ የህይወት ፡ ታሪክ (*Yäləᶜul Mäkʷännən mäsfənä Harär yähəywät tarik*, 'The Biography of His Highness Mäkʷännən, Governor of Harär'), Addis Abäba 1949 A.M. [1957 A.D.]; Id., ግርማዊት ፡ እቴጌ ፡ መነን ። መጻምርቱ ፡ ለግርማዊ ፡ ቀዳማዊ ፡ ኃይለ ፡ ሥላሴ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ ዘኢትዮጵያ (*Gərmawit ətege Mänän*: *mäṣamərtu lägərmawi qädamawi Ḫaylä Śəllase nəguśä nägäśt zäʾityoṗya*, 'Her Majesty Queen Mänän: the Wife of His Majesty Ḫaylä Śəllase I Emperor of Ethiopia'), Addis Abäba 1950 A.M. [1958 A.D.]; Id., ይምጡ ፡ በዝና ፡ ወደ ፡ አዲስ ፡ አበባ (*Yəmṭu bäzənna wädä Addis Abäba*, 'Let them Come [Hearing] its Fame to Addis Abäba'), Addis Abäba 1958 A.M. [1966 A.D.]; Id., የዕንስሳት ፡ አገልግሎት (*Yäᶜənsəsat agälgəlot*, 'The Service of Animals'), Addis Abäba n.d.; Id., የመወለድ ፡ ሞያ (*Yämäwwäläd moya*, 'The Duty of Being Born'), Addis Abäba n.d.; Id., የአዲስ ፡ አበባ ፡ መስታውት (*Yäʾaddis Abäbä mästawət*, 'The Mirror of Addis Abäba'), Addis Abäba n.d.; Id., የፍቅር ፡ ምርኮኛ (*Yäfəqər mərkoñña*, 'Captive of Love'), Addis Abäba n.d.; Id., የሰው ፡ ልጅ ፡ ስንክሳር (*Yäsäw ləǧ sənkəssar*, 'The Synaxary of Mankind'), Addis Abäba n.d.

Lit.: Joanna Mantel-Niećko, "Ethiopian Literature in Amharic", in: Bogumił Witalis Andrzejewski et al., *Literatures in African Languages*: *Theoretical Issues and Sample Surveys*, Warsaw 1985, 301–36, here 309, 334f.; MolLit 44, 214, 324; Hanna Rubinkowska, *Ethiopia on the Verge of Modernity*: *the Transfer of Power during Zewditu's Reign 1916–1930*, Warsaw 2010, 20; Ead., "Przekaz poza słowem. Rola fotografii w etiopskich książkach z epoki Cesarstwa", in: Eugeniusz Rzewuski (ed.), *Języki, kultury i społeczeństwa Afryki w procesie przemian* ('Languages, Cultures and Societies of Africa in the Process of Change'), Warszawa 2010, 111–35.

Meseret Chekol Reta

Yared School of Music

Y. is the oldest secular-run government ↗ music school in Ethiopia. Plans for such an institution began to take shape in 1946, after Polish violinist Alexander Kontrowicz was invited to become director of a music school with 40 part-time pupils and three teachers in a house in Addis Abäba. In 1948 this school became the National School of Music. Its founder and first director, Aššännafi Käbbädä (↗ Ašänafi Käbbädä), envisaged the school as an institution that would cater to both national and international music repertoires. In 1967 it was renamed Institute, later changing its name to the Yared School of Music, in honour of St. ↗ Yared. In 1998, it was incorporated into ↗ Addis Ababa University.

Although operational in 1966, Y. was officially inaugurated by the Emperor ↗ Ḫaylä Śəllase I in 1967 when the Bulgarian government funded a new building complex as a gift to Ethiopia, providing instruments, books and recordings, initial instructors, a concert hall, and other resources (*Yared Annual* 1973). The school complex was completed 7 July 1970 (Helen Afework 2006: 1). Its present location acquired in 1976 consists of a three-building 70-room complex near Səddəst Kilo (*Yared Annual* 1973). In 2012 three additions to Y. were under construction including a multi-story building to house students, an adminstrative office, and a modern state-of-the art perfomrance complex. The 1968 and 1973 Y. annual reports listed faculty members coming from Ethiopia, India, USA, Italy, Hungary, Armenia, and Greece. Under the *Därg*, only Ethiopian instructors were hired (*Yared Graduation Magazine* 1989–90). Initially, completion of the 8th grade was required for admission; in 1980 the requirement was raised to the 10th grade.

From the very beginning, the School's mission was to train music teachers and professional musicians, promote cultural exchanges, impart social prestige to the profession, and educate the public. Students were required to study both Western and Ethiopian instruments in addition to studies in western classical music theory, harmony, and solfège (*Yared Annual* 1973). The B.A. curriculum as revised in 1999 added the training of music arrangers and organizers for cultural institutions.

The school has played an important role in producing music professionals, many of whom are Y. graduates (Aššännafi Käbbädä 1995). Between 1967 and 2006 Y. issued 535 diplomas. The school, which admits 25 students each year, graduated its first B.A. students in 2003. In 2010, Y. became part of the College of Performing and Visual Arts.

Src.: *Addis Ababa University Catalogue*, 2003; *Addis Ababa University Yared School of Music Curriculum,* Addis Ababa, January 2000; *Yared Annual*, 5 July 1973, 9, 16, 18–20; *Yared Annual Report* 2000; *Yared Graduation Magazine,* June 1989, 1990; personal communication of Leo Sarkisian 2007, Martin Stolk 2000, Charles Sutton 2006.

Lit.: Aššännafi Käbbädä, *Ethiopian Research Council Report,* Tallahassee, FL 31 October 1995; Id. (ed.) *Muzika No. 1*, Addis Ababa 1968; Banning Eyre, "Francis Falceto – Ethiopia: Empire and Revolution" [Interview], *Afropop worldwide* December 18, 2005; Ezra Abate, *Ethiopian Modern Music*, 2-page book outline, 1996; Id., "Short Historical Background of Yared School of Music", ms. February 2007; Francis Falceto, "Un siècle de musique moderne en Éthiopie (précédé d'une hypothèse *baroque*)", *Cahiers d'études africaines* 168, 2002, 711–38; Fikru Gebrekidan, "Roots, Kwas and Reggae", *Seleda* 2, 2, May 2000 [*http://www.seleda.com/may00/bawza.shtml*, last access: 5 January 2011]; Ḫaylä Śəllase I Theatre, *The Storehouse of Ethiopian Music, Dance and Drama*, Addis Abäba n.d.; Helen Afework, *A Man behind the Scene*: *A Short Biography, Contribution and Achievements of Ezra Abate*, Term paper, Addis Abäba 2006; *The Intangible Heritage Messenger* [Paris] 1, February 2006; Cynthia Tse Kimberlin, "Orchestra Ethiopia 1963–1975: Halim El-Dabh, Catalyst for Music Innovation and Preservation", in: George Dor – Bode Omojola (eds.), *Multiple Interpretations of Dynamics of Creativity and Knowledge in African Music Traditions*: *a Festschrift in Honor of Akin Euba on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*, Point Richmond, CA 2005, 187–209, here 192; Ead., "Diverse Connections as a Model for the 21st Century: Yared School of Music", *PICES* 16, 306–320; Seifu Mahifere, "Ezra Abate: Life in the World of Music", *Addis Tribune* 4, 4, 2003 [*http://allafrica.com/stories/200304040732.html*, last access: 5 January 2011]; Swedish International Development Corporation Agency [SIDCA], "Background Documents Country Strategy on Ethiopia for 2003–2007", *Survey of Culture and the Media – Ethiopia* [Stockholm], February 2003; US Embassy Addis Abäba, *Weekly Special Report* 7, 32, 18 August 2005; Jeevan Vasagar, "Curried Favour", *Guardian Unlimited*, 21 June 2005 [*http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2005/jun/21/india.hearafrica05/* last access: 5 January 2011]; David Zenian, "A Journey Back in Time: A Look at the History of Armenians in Ethiopia", *Armenian General Benevolent Union News*, 6 January 1994.

Cynthia Tse Kimberlin

Yäsäbäka mänfäsawi gubaᵓe

Y. (**የሰበካ ፡ መንፈሳዊ ፡ ጉባኤ**, lit. 'the spiritual council of a parish', also translated 'parish council') is an administrative structure of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC) devoted to supervising and organizing religious life in a parish church. The institution of Y. was created through a decree, called *Qalä ᶜawadi* (lit. 'herald's voice'; in the following: QA), signed by *abunä* ↗Tewoflos on the 25 October 1972 (15 *Ṭəqəmt* 1965 A.M.) and published in the ↗*Nägarit Gazeṭa*. This decree aimed to establish a council in charge of managing a parish's income and organizing parish life throughout the country.

Priests and laymen of the parish should share posts within the Y. and its jurisdiction corresponds to the ↗*aṭbiya* (QA 1972: article 8). But its president is inevitably the ecclesiastical head of the parish church while the vice president is elected from the representatives of the laymen (QA 1972: article 8). The Patriarchate placed these councils under the control of the diocese, to which also the election of the council members and their decisions should be submitted (QA 1972: articles 6 and 8). The Y. was involved in an administrative chain linking the parishes with the central authority. The Patriarchate created three other types of councils gathering clergymen and laymen at the level of the *awrağğa*, the diocese and at its own level (QA 1972: articles 13, 14 and 15). Each grade of the administration had to give account to their hierarchical superiors, thereby creating a pyramidal administration.

Yet such a reform was difficult to realize (Ancel 2009: 943–49) and finally, the Ethiopian ↗Revolution of 1974 slowed down the establishment of the parish councils (Ancel 2006: 245–249). The Patriarchate finally announced in May 1978 a new *Qalä ᶜawadi* which established new regulations for the Y. The text of 1978 made a change by setting up at each level an assembly gathering representatives issued from the lower levels, applying the parish model at the levels of *wäräda*, *awrağğa* and diocese. The highest level of this administrative structure was the general assembly of the Patriarchate, chaired by the Patriarch himself. The Patriarchate assembly had the power to establish regulations concerning parishes (QA 1978: 41). The purpose of the text of 1978 was primarily the improvement of the Patriarchate's handling of the parishes. But its goal was also the rationalization of the management of income. The finance of the Church was in fact at stake. Since 1975, the Church could not rely anymore on its income from property. From then on, the financial contribution of the faithful was becoming vital to the Church. Following the example of the decree of 1972, the text of 1978 offered the membership of the parish only to those who gave donations to the parish church. In exchange for their contribution, the faithful would be exonerated from payment for religious services (QA 1972: article 12; QA 1978: 52).

Starting from 1983, the administrative system was in place. The elections for each level were organized and the general assembly of the Patriarchate could, for the first time, be convened, in June 1983. This took place at the central headquarters of the Patriarchate in Addis Abäba under the chair of *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot. The number of parish councils increased from 3,213 to 13,689 between 1981 and 1988 (Inter-Church AID Department 1980: 21). Because of political problems and instabilities it was then necessary to wait more than fifteen years, and three more *Qalä ᶜawadi*, till the number of the Y. was close to the number of the existing churches in Ethiopia in 1986. In 2001–02, the official number of churches which had a parish council reached 16,843.

Src.: "Kale Awadi", *Nägärit gazeṭa*, 15 *Ṭəqəmt* 1965 A.M. [25 October 1972 A.D. = QA 1972]; ESSUBALEW, "Towards the Democratization of the Church", *The Gospel of Development/Yälemat wangel* 2, 1980, 43–46; YÄʿITYOṖYA ORTODOKS TÄWAḤƎDO BETÄ KRƎSTIYAN, **የሰበካ ፡ መንፈሳዊ ፡ ጉባኤ ፡ ደንብ** (*Yäsäbäka mänfäsawi gubaʾe dänb*, 'The Regulation of the Parish Council'), Addis Abäba 1970 A.M. [1978 A.D. = QA 1978]; ID., **ቃለ ፡ ዓዋዲ ። የሰበካ ፡ መንፈሳዊ ፡ ጉባኤ ፡ ማሻሻያ ፡ ደንብ** (*Qalä ᶜawadi, yäsäbäka mänfäsawi gubaʾe maššašaya dänb*, 'Amendment to the Regulation of the Parish Council'), Addis Abäba 1974 A.M. [1981 A.D.]; ID., **የሰበካ ፡ መንፈሳዊ ፡ ጉባኤን ፡ ለማቋቋም ፡ ለማጠናከር ፡ የተደረገ ፡ የ፬ ፡ ዓመት ፡ ጥረትና ፡ ውጤት ።** (*Yäsäbäka mänfäsawi gubaʾen lämaqʷaqʷam lämaṭṭänakär yätädärrägä yäʾarat ᶜamät ṭərätənna wəṭet*, 'The Foundation and the Improvement of the Parish Council: Process and Result for the Last Four Years') Addis Abäba 1979 A.M. [1986/87 A.D.]; YÄMANÄ BƎRHAN (Report), Patriarchal Archives of Addis Ababa 1980; *Ethiopian Orthodox Church Development and Inter-Church AID Department*, Addis Ababa 1990.

Lit.: STÉPHANE ANCEL, *Episcopat et encadrement des pratiques religieuses en Ethiopie chrétienne contemporaine: caractéristiques et évolutions*, PhD thesis, INALCO, Paris 2006, 204–26, 244–70, 352–71; ID., "L'Église orthodoxe d'Éthiopie à la veille d'une révolution (1971–1974). Réforme et mainmise sur la gestion des paroisses", *Cahier d'Études Africaines* 196, 2009, 925–52; ID., "Autorités ecclésiastiques et territoire: évolution des notions de paroisse et de diocèse en Ethiopie contemporaine: 1941–1991", *Bulletin de l'Association des Géographes Français* 8, 2009, 149–60; JACQUES BUREAU, "L'Eglise, la nation et l'Etat éthiopien", in: JEAN-PIERRE CHRÉTIEN (ed.), *L'invention religieuse en Afrique, Histoire et religion en Afrique Noire*, Paris 1993, 393–407; HAILE LEUL SIYOUM, *The Ecclesio-Social Role of Parish Council in the Reorganization Process of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church,* Addis Ababa University 1990.

Stéphane Ancel

Yaṣägga ləǧ ↗Ṣägga

Yasay

Y. (**ያሳይ**) is an Ethiopian saint of "Roman" origin (in his Acts he is called *rətuᶜa haymanot nəguśä rom* 'orthodox king of Rome'; ↗Rom (s. EAE vol. 5), known for his rigorous ascetic life.

Y. is briefly commemorated in the ↗*Sənkəssar* on 9 *Mäskäräm* for having above all fulfilled his spiritual combat in the top of a tree (*wäfäṣṣämä gädlo mälᶜəltä ᶜəṣ́*). His Acts are preserved in a single manuscript found in ↗Daga Ǝsṭifanos (Dāgā Esṭifānos 66 = Ṭānāsee 177), palaeographically dated to the 14th/15th cent., and containing also the ↗*Testamentum Domini in Galilea* (fols. 1r–28v), some texts about the Ascension of Christ (fols. 29r–43v) that on different from those on the same subject known so far and allegedly translated from Hebrew into Arabic, and several Acts of saints (Mercurius fols. 45r–56v, Cyriacus [↗Qirqos] and Julitta fols. 57r–80v, ↗Ṗänṭälewon fols. 81r–97r, and Y., fols. 97r–112r, with the final part missing).

The catalogue (SixTana III 11f., 236) also quotes a king of Egypt called Y. who appears in the ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam*, but whose story does not show any discernible connection with the Ethiopian Y., and concludes that this text on Y. is a hapax. Budge (BudSaint 34) adds to the name of Yâsây in the *Sənkəssar* "[Yûsyâs who lived in the eighteenth century]".

This Y. should not be confused with the 14th-cent. *abba* ↗Yasay of Mändabba (s. Conti Rossini 1945: 337f., s. also KinBibl no. 169).

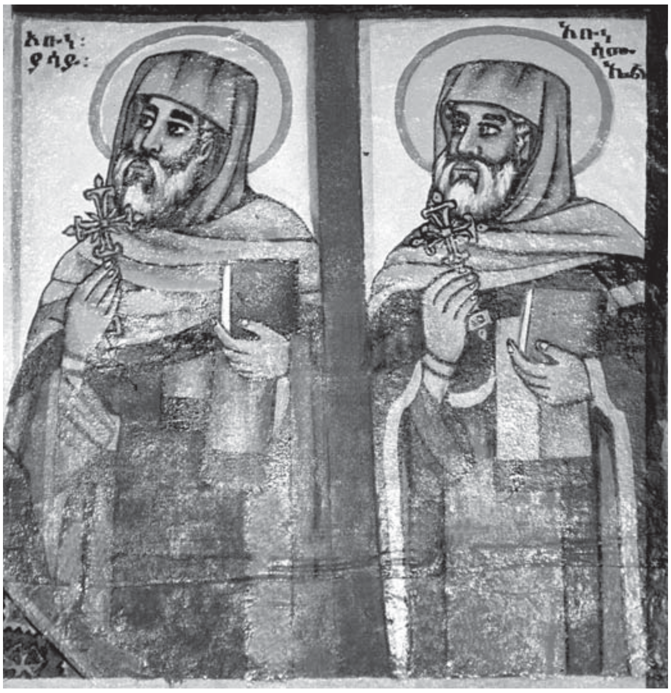
Src.: BudSaint 34; SixTana III, 11f., 233–37 (ms. Dāgā Esṭifānos 66 = Ṭānāsee 177, fols. 97r–112r).

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, [review of RICCARDO DE SANTIS, "Il Gadla Tādēwos di Dabra Bārtārwā. Un contributo allo studio della letteratura agiografica etiopica", *Annali Lateranensi* 6, 1942, 9–116], *RSE* 3, 3, 1943 [1945], 335–40; KinBibl no. 169.

Paolo Marrassini

Yasay

Y. (**ያሳይ**, also Yəsay, Asay, fl. 14th cent.), a saintly monk and contemporary of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I, is considered to have been the founder of the important monastery of ↗Mändabba Mädḫane ᶜAläm, on the ↗Gorgora peninsula. To date, there is no information on his life, though his Vita (↗*Gädl*) probably exists at least in the monastery of Mändabba. The information provided in the notice in KinBibl 96, no. 169, remains uncertain since it has not yet been possible to locate the places dedicated to Y. according to this source. Remarkably, the valuable hagiographic collection in a manuscript from ↗Däbrä Daga Ǝsṭifanos, geographically close to Mändabba, contains the Vita of a different saint ↗Yasay (Dāgā Esṭifānos 66, SixTana III, 233–37), "King of Rom", whose veneration is recorded at a few places in Təgray. In the monastery of Mändabba, a "stone ↗*tankʷa*-boat" is displayed, in which Y., according to the local oral tradition, arrived at the place.


Abunä Yasay (left) and *abunä* Samuᵓel (right), cloth mural, 20th cent., Mändabba Mädḫane ᶜAläm, Gorgora peninsula; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

Y. appears as one of the seven disciples ("seven stars") of *abunä* ↗Mädḫaninä Ǝgziᵓ in some spiritual ↗genealogies (cp. Getatchew Haile in OrbAethChoj 236f.); the respective passage on Mädḫaninä Ǝgziᵓ is also included in some of the "short chronicles" (cp. BassÉt 10; "Y. of Manda Amba"; BegCron 7). In the Vita of Mädḫaninä Ǝgziᵓ, Y. is only mentioned once in the spiritual genealogy of the former (Colin 2010: 524f.). However, a few genealogies originating from North Ethiopia (the circle of ↗Ewosṭateans) present Y. as spiritual son of a certain Zäᵓamanuᵓel (whose spiritual father was Sinoda of Zägʷan), a so far unknown monk from the Lake Ṭana region (e.g., Conti Rossini 1901: 155; 1943: 338). The genealogies report that Y.'s spiritual children were *abba* Nob of ↗Rema, Ǝsṭifanos of Mäqdäsä Maryam in ↗Gədəm, Ṣənᶜanä Krəstos of Däbrä Zäyt in Dakna and some others (Conti Rossini 1901: 155, 1943: 337; Lusini 2004: 263f., 266f., 269f.).

Src.: BassÉt 10 (text) = 98 (tr.), and 232f., n. 66; BegCron 7; GÉRARD COLIN (ed., tr.), *Vie et miracles de Madhanina Egzi'*, Brepols 2010 (PO 51, fasc. 4 [229]); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il Gadla Filpos e il Gadla Yoḥannes di Dabra Bizan", *MRALm* ser. 5a, 8, 1901, 61–170, here 154ff.; ID., [Review of RICCARDO DE SANTIS, "Il Gadla Tādēwos di Dabra Bārtārwā. Un contributo allo studio della letteratura agiografica etiopica", *Annali Lateranensi* 6, 1942, 9–116], *RSE* 3, 3, 1943, 335–40, here 337; GETATCHEW HAILE, "A Fragment on the Monastic Fathers of the Ethiopian Church", in: *OrbAethChoj* 231–37, here 236f.; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Per una storia delle tradizioni monastiche eritree: le genealogie spirituali dell'ordine di Ēwosṭātēwos di Dabra Ṣarābi", in: UGO ZANETTI – ENZO LUCCHESI (eds.), *Ægyptus Christiana. Mélanges d'hagiographie égyptienne et orientale dédiés a la mémoire du P. Paul Devos, Bollandiste*, Genève 2004 (Cahiers d'orientalisme 25), 249–72, here 263f., 266f., 269f.; SixTana III, 233–37, ms. Dāgā Esṭifānos 66.

Lit.: AmhChurchD vol. 4, 15; KinBibl 96, no. 169; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Yāsāy", in: *EncSan* vol. 2, 1354.

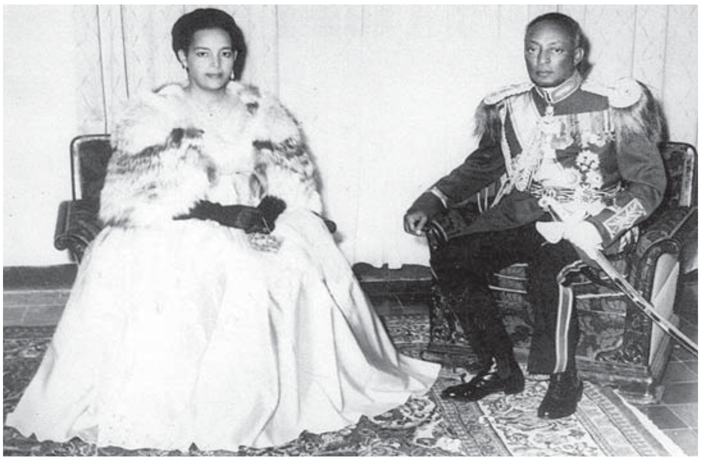
Denis Nosnitsin

Yäšimmäbet Guumaa Aagaa

Wäyzäro Y. (**የሺመቤት ፡ ጉማ ፡ አጋ**; b. 9 April 1916, Burii, Gidaamii *wäräda*, d. 14 December 2009, Addis Abäba) was a member of the underground resistance movement during the Italian occupation of 1936–41, and is also remembered for her dedication to social welfare in post-liberation Ethiopia.

Born as Lilluu Guumaa Aagaa to *fitawrari* Guumaa Aagaa Bulii and *wäyzäro* Ǧaallee Ǧootee Tulluu, Y. grew up in the *gəbbi* of her grandfather *däǧǧazmač* ↗Ǧootee. There she received private secular as well as primary church education. Later in life she would also master French, Italian and English.

As a teenager, Y. was given in marriage to Hambisaa Kumsaa Morodaa (*däǧǧazmač* ↗Habtä Maryam Gäbrä Ǝgziᵓabəḥer), to cement the relationship between western and eastern ↗Wälläga. Their daughter Mäḥṣänte Habtä Maryam married prince Śahlä Śəllase, the youngest son of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, and gave birth to prince Ǝrməyas Śahlä Śəllase, the president of the ↗Crown Council, thus linking the Oromo royal family of Wälläga to the ↗Solomonic dynasty.



Wäyzäro Yäšimmäbet Guumaa Aagaa with her husband *ras* Mäsfən Sələši; photo 1958, courtesy of the author

In 1936, Y.'s uncles, *däǧǧazmač* Hossaᶜəna Ǧootee and *däǧǧazmač* Yoḥannəs Ǧootee, with the support of Habtä Maryam and 30 other local ↗*balabbat*s, forged a political entity called the ↗Western Galla [Oromo] Confederation with the aim of establishing an autonomous Oromo state. Y. is said to have mediated between her uncles and her husband. The endeavour failed, as by that time the ↗United Kingdom had agreed to the ↗Hoare-Laval plan, and thus had already acquiesced to Italian demands to occupy southern Ethiopia (Robertson 1975: 440ff.).

Hossaᶜəna and Yoḥannəs, who had a grudge against Ḫaylä Śəllase I, for the imprisonment and killing of their elder brother *fitawrari* ↗Mardassaa Ǧootee, assumed service under the new Italian government. Hossaᶜəna became president of the parliament with the title of ↗*ras*, Yoḥannəs was given the governorship of Western Wälläga with the title of *abeto* (↗*Abetohun*). Habtä Maryam also submitted eventually, but was never trusted by the Italians after his initial contribution to the ↗resistance. He was subsequently poisoned and died. As for Y., she refused to join her brothers in Addis Abäba and ↗Gidaamii and joined the underground. From her base in ↗Naqamtee, in 1936, she helped her aunt *wäyzäro* Askalä Ǧootee (the wife of *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu) and her infant son *däǧǧazmač* Kaśa Wäldä Maryam to escape to Kenya. In 1939, Y. married another prominent patriot, *fitawrari* (later *ras*) ↗Mäsfən Sələši; the couple had nine children.

After the ↗Liberation, Y. turned to active philanthropic work. Among others, she contributed to the Ethiopian Red Cross Society (starting in 1941), the Ethiopian Women's Humanitarian Association (also starting in 1941) and the Ethiopian Women's Welfare Association (starting in 1945). She particularly promoted education in primary schools by providing financial help to ca. 5,000 students annually until the ↗Revolution of 1974.

Y. and her husband were arrested during the *Därg* period (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council). Mäsfən Sələši was executed 1974; and Y. and her children were imprisoned. She stayed in prison for four years and was eventually allowed to go into exile. Y. spent a total of 18 years mostly in Beverly Hills, California. She returned to Ethiopia shortly before her death.

Y. was buried in the Patriots section of the cemetery of the ↗Qəddəst Śəllase cathedral. Her funeral was attended by numerous high officials as well as by members of the Ethiopian Patriotic Association (↗*Yäṭəntawit Ityoṗya Ǧägənñočč Arbäñňočč Maḫbär*); a eulogy was read by the Patriarch *abunä* Ṗawlos.

Src.: interviews with *balambaras* Tärfa ᶜAmaya Tulluu, Addis Abäba 1965; Colonel Gadissaa Guumaa, Los Angeles, CA, 2 November 2011; Yoḥannəs Mäsfən, Addis Abäba, 20 October 2011; Bäfəqadu Guumaa, Addis Abäba, 30 October 2011.

Lit.: ADANYA DAMÄNA, "**የብዙኃን ፡ እናት ፤ ክብርት ፡ ወይዘሮ ፡ የሺመቤት ፡ ጉማ ፡ አጋ** (*Yäbəzuḫan ənnat, kəbərt wäyzäro Yäšimmäbet Guma Aga*, 'The Mother of Many, Honoured Lady Yäšiᵓəmmäbet Guumaa Agaa')", *Addis Ləśan*, 17 *Taḥśaś* 2002 A.M. [27 December 2009 A.D.], 5; AREGAWI BERHE, "Revisiting Resistance in Italian-occupied Ethiopia: the Patriots' Movement (1936–1941) and the Redefinition of Post-War Ethiopia", in: JON ABBINK et. al. (eds.), *Rethinking Resistance*: *Revolt and Violence in African History*, Leiden 2003 (African Dynamics 2), 88–113; PATRICK GILKES, *The Dying Lion*, London 1975, 213; BYRON DE PROROK, *Dead Men Do Tell Tales*, London 1942,

49; EVELYN WAUGH, *Waugh in Abyssinia*, London 1936, 93; TESEMA TAʾA, "The Bonayyaa Incident and the Italian Occupation of Naqamtee: 1936–1941", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 1, 263–76; JAMES ROBERTSON, "The Hoare-Laval Plan", *Journal of Contemporary History* 10, 3, 1975, 433–64.

Paulos Milkias

Yasin Maḥammoda

Fitawrari Y.M. (**ያሲን ፡ ማሓሞዳ**, ᶜAfar sp. Yasin [also Yaaseen] Macammoda; b. 1910, Hereyssa, Tiiᶜo, d. 1969, Asmära) was a leading ᶜAfar politician. He was the son of *fitawrari* Maḥammooda Gumḥed (ᶜAfar sp.: Macammoda Gumced), one of the prominent chiefs of the Dahimela (ᶜAfar sp.: Dahimmela) sub-group; his mother was Ḥalima Musa (ᶜAfar sp.: Calima Musa). In his youth, Y.M. received a basic Islamic education at the court of a famous religious teacher, *šayḫ* ᶜAli Ḫalifa (ᶜAfar sp.: Qali Califa) in ᶜEdd (ᶜAfar sp.: Qiddi). After that, he travelled to Yemen where he improved his Arabic. As a young man Y.M. cautiously observed the court of his father and, as his father aged, he assumed responsibility for his group. Gradually, his study of Arabic, Islamic theology and ᶜAfar history made him a well-informed and visionary man.

In the late 1920s Y.M. resisted the campaign organized against Yasin Ḥaysama (ᶜAfar sp.: Yasin Caysama), *sulṭān* of Biḍu (ᶜAfar sp.: Bixu), who challenged the colonial authorities. Y.M. strongly believed it was unjust and immoral to fight against other ᶜAfar, even those who collaborated with the colonial rulers (Colonia ↗Eritrea). It was possibly at this point that the seed of ᶜAfar nationalism was planted in his mind. Later, Y.M. was arrested by the Italians and imprisoned in ↗ᶜAsäb.

Following Italian colonial rule i.e. when Eritrea became a British protectorate in 1941 (↗British Military Administration), Eritreans engaged in political activities for the first time and started taking part in the fate of their country. Y.M. and his peers took the opportunity to involve themselves in Eritrean politics. Y.M. represented the ᶜAfar in *Dancália*/↗Dänkäl and went to New York to attend the ↗United Nations conference in March 1949 where the Eritrean case was discussed. Y.M. believed that, as nearly 90 % of ᶜAfar resided in Ethiopia, an arrangement had to be made in order to tie the ᶜAfar in Eritrea to Ethiopia. Hence, he fought for the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia (↗Ethiopian Eritrean Federation).

In 1952 *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I awarded Y.M. with the title of *qäññazmač* in ↗Massawa for his role in the political history of the ᶜAfar and for his struggle to keep the ↗Dankáli ᶜAfar as part of the ᶜAfar nation in Ethiopia. Furthermore, he was given the post of Governor of Tīᶜó (ᶜAfar sp.: Tiiqo) as well as manager of Tīᶜó port, the third largest port after ᶜAsäb and Massawa. Y.M. considered reuniting the ᶜAfar of Eritrea and Ethiopia as an initial step in the long process of unifying the ᶜAfar in one administrative region; in Ethiopia the ᶜAfar were divided among four administrative provinces, namely Təgray, Wällo, Šäwa and Harär.

As early as 1954 Y.M. wrote several petitions to convince the Ethiopian government that a united ↗ᶜAfar country would mean a preservation of the territorial integrity of Ethiopia. In 1962 he organized a conference of ᶜAfar chiefs and notables in Tīᶜó to discuss the idea of unity and sent the conference's proposal both to Asmära and Addis Abäba. The Ethiopian government did not offer the desired response and, thus, in 1967 Y.M. went to Addis Abäba together with religious leaders, elders and other representatives of the Dankáli ᶜAfar to plead with the Emperor. The delegation was given a cordial reception, and Y.M. was given

Yasin Maḥammoda; photo ca. 1963, courtesy of the family the title of *fitawrari*, but nothing tangible came out of the mission. Although the government recognized the advantage of a unification of the coastal ^{c}Afar with Ethiopia, they could not tolerate an ethnically homogenous ^{c}Afar administrative unit of such a size in this strategic area.

In 1956, when the Christian Red Sea Mission opened a school and a clinic in Tī^{c}ó, Y.M., who saw education as a key to success, managed to convince his people, who feared the missionary influence, to accept these new institutions. Y.M. also encouraged the government and local ^{c}Afar merchants to jointly fund a boarding school for the ^{c}Afar which was established in ^{c}Asäb in the 1960s.

Moreover, Y.M developed the idea of exploring the mineral deposits in the Dallol area (↗^{c}Afar Depression, ↗Salt). In 1951/52 he went there together with the Italian engineer Tullio Pastori and asked *ras* ↗Śəyyum Mängäša, then Governor General of Təgray, for mining permission. Though his initiative was rejected, his idea drew the attention of the royal family and thereupon, the U.S. American Parsons Company signed a mining contract in Dallol, probably for potash, agreeing to pay millions of *bərr* per year. This money, however, never flowed through formal budgetary channels but was shared between the Emperor, ↗Tänaññä Wärq, her husband *ras* ↗Andargaččäw Mäsay and *ras* Śəyyum (after his death his son, *ras* Mängäša) until 1965.

Y.M. expressed his engagement with ^{c}Afar unity in poems and nationalistic songs. Among them, *Yinay Yibaaxo Yaqassinay*, played in the 1960s by the famous ^{c}Afar musician Aḥmed al-Ǧawharī, is still considered as a symbol of ^{c}Afar identity. In his poem *Yi Fiqma*, he promoted education; in another poem, *Ameri Ginni*, he condemned what is considered as ^{c}Afar's harmful traditions. In another poem, *Gocoyu*, he described the awful end result of alcoholism.

Y.M. collected ^{c}Afar ↗customary law (*mad^{c}a*; ^{c}Afar sp.: *madqa*) and oral historical traditions from ^{c}Afar elders. Today, the fruits of his research have been translated from the original Arabic into English and Amharic and are documented in the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies.

In his last years, Y.M. suffered from throat cancer. He received treatment in Asmära and later in London. He died in Eritrea.

Src.: YASIN MOHAMODA, *Yinay Yibaaxo Yaqassinay* ('My Beloved Country'), Tiiqo 1964; ID., *Yi Fiqma* ('My Peers'), Tiiqo 1964; ID., *Ameri Ginni* ('Evil Spirit'), Tiiqo 1964; ID., *Gocoyu* ('Alcoholic Drink'), Tiiqo 1964; ID., *Madqa* ("^{c}Afar Customary Law'), Addis Abäba 1973.

Lit.: ABDALLAH A. ADOU, *The Afar*: *a Nation on Trail*, Stockholm 1993, 57ff.; ǦAMĀLADDĪN B. IBRĀHĪM AŠ-ŠĀMĪ – HĀŠIM ǦAMĀLADDĪN AŠ-ŠĀMĪ, *Al-manhal fī ta$^{\circ}$rīḫ wa-aḫbār al-^{c}Afar* [*al-Danākil*] ('The Source on History and Narratives of the ^{c}Afar [the Danakil]'), al-Qāhira 1997, 302; DIDIER MORIN, *Le texte légitime*: *pratiques littéraires orales traditionnelles en Afrique du nord-est*, Louvain – Paris 1999, 100–09.

Yasin Mohammed Yasin

Yäṭəntawit Ityopya Ǧägnočč Arbäññočč Maḫbär

The Y. or Ethiopian Patriotic Association (**የጥንታዊት ፡ ኢትዮጵያ ፡ ጀግኖች ፡ አርበኞች ፡ ማኅበር**, lit. the 'Association of Heroes and Patriots of Ancient Ethiopia') – not to be confused with ↗Mäk^{w}ännən Habtäwäld's earlier established Hagär Fəqər patriotic organization (↗Hagär Fəqər Tiyatər) – is a patriotic veterans' association, founded after Ethiopia's Liberation in 1941 (↗War of Liberation) to represent freedom-fighters who had resisted the five-year Italian Fascist occupation (↗Italian war 1935–36). It had its roots in the coordinated patriot ↗resistance organized in 1937 by *ras* ↗Abbäbä Arägay in the Tägulät area of Šäwa.

The organization came into formal existence on 20 April 1961 when 70 founding members signed a Memorandum of Understanding, and received formal Ethiopian Government recognition on 25 July 1966. *Ras* ↗Mäsfən Səläši was elected its president. The Y., which was dedicated to the memory of the patriots, serves as a welfare organization for veterans and their families, as well as a forum for nationalist sentiment – figuring prominently on official occasions. The society is administered by a seven-man committee, elected every five years, with a president, vice-president and secretary-general; it owns property in Addis Abäba, opposite the Parliament building; and has a small museum and library (s. ↗Archives and libraries, EAE vol. 5; ↗Museums, EAE vol. 5).

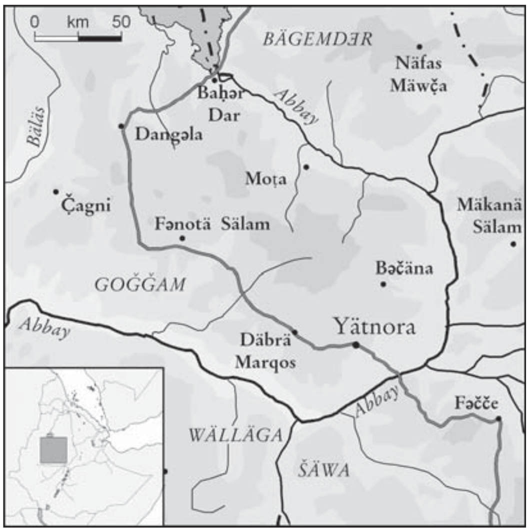
Lit.: WILLIAM EDWARD DAVID ALLEN, *Guerrilla War in Abyssinia,* London 1943, s. index; GÄRIMA TAFFÄRÄ, **ጎንደሬ ፡ በጋሻው ፡ ለግርማዊ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ነገሥት ፡ ቀዳማዊ ፡ ኃይለ ፡ ሥላሴ ፡ ለ፳፮ኛው ፡ የዘውድ ፡ በዓል ፡ መታሰቢያ** (*Gondäre bägaššaw, lägərmawi nəguśä nägäśt qädamawi Ḫaylä Śəllase lä-26äññaw yäzäwd bä^{c}al mättasäbiya*, 'Gondäre Bägaššaw, Commemoration of the 26th Anniversary of the Ascension to the Throne of his Majesty, King of Kings Ḫaylä Śəlasse'), Addis Abäba 1949 A.M. [1956/57 A.D.]; ANDREW HILTON, *The Ethiopian Patriots. Forgotten voices of the Italo-Abyssinia war, 1935–41*, London 2007; ESHETU TABAJA, *Tactics and Strategy of the Ethiopian Patriotic Struggle 1935–1941*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1982; ALBERTO SBACCHI, *Ethiopia under Mussolini,* London 1985, s. index; DAVID SHIRREFF, *Bare Feet and Bandoliers*: *Windgate, Sandford, the Patriots and the Part they Played in the Liberation of Ethiopia*, London 1995, 75, 230, 273; TADDÄSÄ ZÄWÄLDE, **ቀሪን ፡ ገረማው ፡ የአርበኞች ፡ ታሪክ** (*Qärin gärrämäw*: *Yäʾarbäññočč tarik*, 'Those Who Survived were Amazed: a History of the Patriots'), Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.], passim.

Richard Pankhurst

Yätnora

Y. (**የትኖራ**) formerly a village and now a *qäbäle* is located close to the gorge of the Blue Nile in East Goǧǧam, in Däǧän *wäräda*, about 12 km northwest of Däǧän, the *wäräda* capital, along the major highway that runs from Addis Abäba to Baḥər Dar. Y. is situated in a flat and fertile area in the ↗*wäyna däga* ecological zone, suitable for ↗*ṭef* cultivation. Y. is not be confused with Yätnora, a sub-district of ↗Ǝnsaro in ↗Sälale.

According to local oral tradition the village's name is associated with historical events from around 1600. During that time, a woman named Kolä Gännät, allegedly of ↗Agäw descent, had migrated and settled in Y. Being an ordinary woman, her livelihood was based mainly on farming. When the ↗Oromo invaded the area, she left the place and sought refuge in a deep cave close to the gorge of the Blue Nile, called *Gurṭəna wašša*, south of present-day Y. When the conflict was over, Kolä Gännät returned with a ↗*tabot* on her head, a sword in her right hand and a bell in her left. When she returned to the village, the first question raised by those surprised to see her was "*Yätnora*?" ('Where did she live?'). In Y. Kolä Gännät erected a church in the name of St. Mary which is still to be found there. As time passed, the descendants of Kolä Gännät became the owners of the land. Over the centuries the village remained the property of a few noblemen who used to receive various types of rental income and labour services up to the 1974 Ethiopian ↗Revolution. Prior to the Revolution, during the years 1965 to 1968, the peasants of Y. revolted against the reign of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I to obtain a reduction in taxes.



Y. Agricultural Producers' Cooperative was a model agricultural producers' cooperative during the *Därg* regime (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) and one of the 477 producers' cooperatives that existed in Goǧǧam (1977–91) but collapsed after the *Därg* regime fell apart and the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia was ousted in 1991. The elementary and junior high school and the clinic, built during the *Därg* period, still exist, rendering services to the peasants and the neighbouring community. There is a small weekly market at the edge of the village, close to the Addis Abäba–Däbrä Marqos road.

Lit.: ADDISU ZELALEM, *Socio-economic Survey of Yätnora Agricultural Producers' Cooperative*, Senior Essay, Department of Agricultural Economics, Alamaya Agricultural University 1986; GETIE GELAYE, *Yetnora Agricultural Producers' Cooperatives and its Reflection in Amharic Oral Poetry*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1994; ID., *Peasants and the Ethiopian State Agricultural Producers' Cooperatives and their Responses in Amharic Oral Poetry, the Case of Yetnora, East Gojjam, 1975–1991*, Münster 2000.

Getie Gelaye

Yayyo Maḥámmad

Sulṭān Y.M. (ᶜAfar sp. Yaayyo Macammad, b. 1860s, Gargori, near Aysaᶜiyta [Aysaqiyta], d. 1927, Gargori, or 15 October 1926 [according to Ǧamāl – Ḥāšim 1997], r. 1912–27) was the son of *sulṭān* ↗Maḥámmad "Illálta" Ḥanfaḍé who ruled the Sulṭānate of ↗Áwsa for 40 consecutive years and had over 40 children from different wives. In the late 1890s he handed over authority to his nephew Maḥámmad Aydâḥis instead of his equally capable sons.

Y.M. and his brothers rebelled against their cousin Maḥámmad Aydâḥis. However, equipped with legitimacy by the ailing and yet very popular *sulṭān* Maḥámmad Ḥanfaḍé, Maḥámmad Aydâḥis won the allegiance of the main ↗ᶜAfar sub-groups and soon quashed the rebellion. Some of the contenders were killed; others were sent into exile or fled. Y.M. was exiled to ↗Ǧimma under the watchful eyes of ↗Abbaa Ǧifaar II by the order of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. The fratricidal wars lasted for nearly 20 years and the situation in the sultanate became chaotic. During these years, Y.M. himself, his half-brother ᶜAli-Miraḥ and his half-brother Ḥanfaḍé Maḥámmad, seized power in Áwsa but were unable to bring peace and stability.

When Y.M. reappeared in 1908, he virtually disempowered Ḥanfaḍé Maḥámmad with whom he had officially shared power for two years, until Y.M. was able to eliminate the supporters of his co-ruler. This period – the first time in history that two *sulṭāns* ruled Áwsa at the same time – is popularly referred to as *namma misli dabaana* (lit. 'the era of two chiefs'). *Sulṭān* Y.M. took firm control through the quasi-military force he had established among the young generation known as *simbille*. He also established a new type of administration. He appointed loyal agents and tightened security, constructed residential houses and offices and appointed ministers. His sojourn in Ǧimma seems to have inspired him to implement these reforms. He thus abolished traditional ways of arbitration and compromise in dealing with the diverse ᶜAfar subgroups. The idea of the *sulṭān* as a patron of his people was replaced by a more rigid and centralized administration with which he could pacify the sultanate for the rest of his rule.

In Y.M's relations with the French and Italian colonial powers in the ᶜAfar coastal areas, Y.M. pursued a policy of peaceful co-existence, being unable to dislodge them from the land they had occupied. His relations with the neighbouring highlanders were delicate and at times precarious, but he managed to maintain a semi-independent status. The Ethiopian government dispatched punitive expeditions, e.g., during the period when Y.M. sheltered *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu, whom he continued to recognize as the ruler, after the ↗Coup d'état of 1916 (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081). However, despite the scorched earth policy of these expeditionary forces and the fact that they sacked Y.M.'s capital Gargori, they did not get hold of *ləǧ* Iyasu. The highlanders installed the deposed ex-*sulṭān* Ḥanfaḍé, but his followers were again dispersed when Y.M. returned.

To avoid another war of succession, Y.M. eliminated all those who threatened him and his designated heir. Y.M. was succeeded by his son ↗Maḥámmad Yayyo.

Src.: interviews with *sulṭān* ᶜAli-Miraḥ b. Ḥanfaḍé, 20 and 21 August 2006, Addis Abäba; Ḥabib Maḥámmad Yayyo, 5 November 2006, Addis Abäba; *šayḫ* ᶜAmin Ḫazali, 23 November 2006, Ayssita; *ḥaǧǧi* Yusuf Aḥmad, 23 November 2006, Ayssita; Aḥmad Maḥámmad al-Ǧawhari, 23 November 2006, Ayssita.

Lit.: ABDALLAH A. ADỌU, *The Afar: a Nation on Trail*, Stockholm 1993, 51; ǦAMĀLADDĪN B. IBRĀHĪM AŠ-ŠĀMĪ – HĀŠIM ǦAMĀLADDĪN AŠ-ŠĀMĪ, *Al-manhal fī taʾrīḫ wa-aḫbār al-ᶜAfar* [*al-Danākil*] ('The Source on History and Narratives of the ᶜAfar [the Danakil]'), al-Qāhira 1997, 357–59; KADAFO MOHAMMED, *The Background History of the Sultanate of Awsa*, Nigeria n.d., 36–48; KASSIM SHEHIM, *The Influence of Islam on the Afar*, Ph.D. thesis, Washington, DC 1982, 108f.; DAHILON YASIN, *The Rise and Fall of the Sultanate of Aussa with Particular Reference to the Reign of Ali Mirah*, Addis Ababa 1985, 13–19.

Yasin Mohammed Yasin

Yäzareyitu Ityop̣ya

Y.I. (**የዛሬዪቱ ፡ ኢትዮጵያ**, 'Today's Ethiopia') was a weekly government newspaper launched on 3 *Taḫśaś* 1945 A.M. [12 December 1952 A.D.]. It was a bilingual publication, with both Amharic and French sections, the latter under the title *L'Éthiopie d'aujourd'hui*.

The mission of Y.I., as stated in its masthead, was to inform the public of the country's progress in agriculture, industry, and commerce. In addition, it carried international news and sports as well as always reporting on the activities of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I.

Y.I. was particularly designed to attract the youth and the growing educated class in the country. The first editor of the Amharic section was *ato* Ahadu Sabure. Under his tenure, the newspaper was popular among readers because he reported on such sensitive events as the trial of Mängəśtu Nəway, leader of the 1960 abortive ↗Coup d'état (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081f.).

The French section was edited by Gingold Duprey. Its main readership was the small community of French-speaking Africans and Europeans in Addis Abäba, who were mainly diplomats and professionals working for international organizations. Outside Ethiopia it targeted the educated class in neighbouring Djibouti, then a French colony. Between 1955 and 1957, the French Unitarian theologian and scholar Roger Sauter (1919–2007), then a lecturer at Haile Selassie I University (↗Addis Ababa University), published a series of articles in the newspaper. Sauter also served as its acting editor when Duprey was away in France for several months.

In September 1961 the French section broke away from its Amharic counterpart to appear as a newspaper in its own right, still with four pages. The following year it became a magazine, without changing its name. However, *L'Éthiopie d'aujourd'hui* ceased publication in 1965, giving way to another French newspaper, *Addis Soir*. *Addis Soir*, a daily, was designed to serve the growing Francophone community in Addis Abäba, following the founding of the Organization of African Unity in 1963. *Addis Soir* was closed down in 1975 by the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council).

Meanwhile, in the 1960s, the Amharic section of Y.I. was upgraded from a four-page to an eight-page broadsheet. The newspaper continued to be popular, despite the occasional change of editors. Part of the reason for its popularity was the fact that readers were able to get all the major stories of the week in one paper. Regular educational columns such as "Professionals' Corner" and the sports column also contributed to this popularity.

During the *Därg* period, Y.I. was not much different from other government newspapers. Like the dailies ↗*Addis Zämän* and ↗*Ethiopian Herald*, it devoted most of its pages to reporting on the activities of Chairman (later President) Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam and the gains of the Revolution; it mobilized the public for the "Call of the Motherland" and published government proclamations. It also had regular columns on women and youth.

The Y.I. continued to appear for five more years after the fall of the *Därg*. The government finally closed down the newspaper in February 1996, citing inability to meet the fast-increasing cost of printing.

Src.: Personal communication of Ahadu Sabure, 19 September 2011; *Yäzareyitu Ityopya*, issues 3 *Taḫśaś* 1945 A.M.–25 *Ṭərr* 1988 A.M.; *Addis Zämän*, 30 *Ṭərr* 1988 A.M.; *L'Éthiopie d'aujourd'hui* 1955–65.

Lit.: MESERET CHEKOL RETA, *The Quest for Press Freedom*: *One Hundred Years of History of the Media in Ethiopia*, Lanham, MD 2013.

Meseret Chekol Reta

Yazedjian, Levon ↗Armenians (p. 38)

Ydlibi ↗Ḥaṣīb Idlibī (EAE 5)

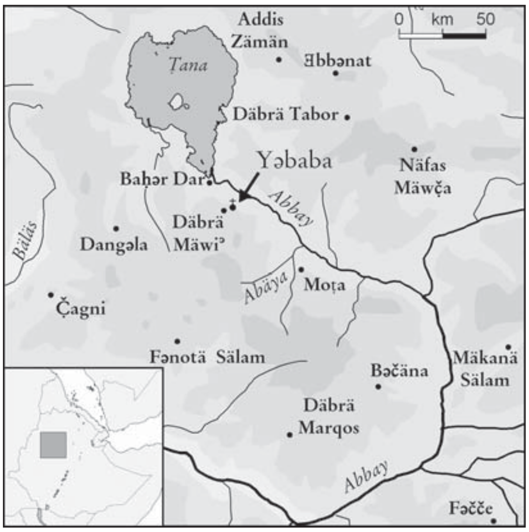
Yəbaba

Y. (ይባባ; 11°21' 50 N, 37°27' 00 E) was a military camp (*mädina*, ↗*kätämä*) and assembly ground for Gondärine emperors from the mid-17th to the mid-18th cent. Located immediately north-east of ↗Däbrä Mäwiʾ and just west of the ↗Abbay in present-day South ↗Gondär region, Y. was a station on the line of march from Gondär to lands south of the Abbay. Together with nearby Qäbäro Meda, Y. was especially popular with *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I and *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I, who used it as a dry-season residence and as the staging ground for military campaigns, such as those that Yoḥannəs I led against the ↗Agäw and Iyasu I against the trans-Abbay ↗Oromo. Indeed, Y. is first mentioned in the context of Yoḥannəs's campaign against the Agäw of Gam in 1670. Clerical synods also met there under Yoḥannəs, Iyasu, and ↗Täklä Haymanot I at which rival clerics debated the doctrines of ↗*Qəbat* and ↗*Täwaḥədo*.

A synod in 1671 at which *Täwaḥədo* was condemned led to four years of civil war centered in Lasta and Wag. Extremist *Qəbat* monks attempted to assassinate Yoḥannəs at Y. in 1674 over religious observances and the legitimacy of the royal marriage. In May 1681 Yoḥannəs and Iyasu, his son and heir, were reconciled at Y. following a *Täwaḥədo*-inspired rebellion in Gondär that saw Iyasu, partial to *Täwaḥədo*, flee across the Abbay out of fear of his father. *Aṣe* Iyasu summoned clerics and monks from major monasteries to Y. in May 1699 in another attempt to resolve the quarrel over doctrine. Reconciliation was seemingly achieved, but it was short-lived.

In September 1707, ↗Dərmən, uncle of Täklä Haymanot I and governor of Goǧǧam, killed ʿAmdä Ṣəyon, a *Qəbat* monk and pretender to the throne, and all of his clerical and Oromo allies, in a great slaughter at Y.-Qäbäro Meda. In 1711 *aṣe* Tewoflos defeated a rebellion of the Baso Oromo at Y. When the Baso sought refuge in the church of Däbrä Mäwiʾ, Tewoflos ordered it burned to the ground. During the reign of Iyasu II a few lords were associated with the region of Y.: *azzaž* Mammo, *ligaba* Ləʿulä Qal and *däǧǧazmač* Č̣olle (GuiIyas 47, 108, 176 (text) = 50, 118, 186 [tr.]).

Among buildings constructed at Y., the chroni-



cles mention a castle (*taᶜka*) and the church of Ǝgziᵓənä Iyäsus. These structures and a large courtyard were surrounded by an oblong stone wall with arched gateways and round towers that measured 300 m by 190 m. In the late 18th cent. James Bruce claimed that Y. was the capital of "Maitsha" (i.e. ↗Mäčč̣a) and described "a house or small castle belonging to the king". He also reported that, by then, the town was one of the largest in Ethiopia and that its land was governed by the *azzaž* of Y., "whose employment is worth 600 ounces of gold" (BruNile IV, 24f.). From 1761–68 a cousin of *ətəge* Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa), *däǧǧazmač* Awsabyos, held this appointment.

Nothing remains of the castle and church today, but the wall, averaging one to two metres in height, still encircles the site. The church of Däbrä Mäwiᵓ a few kilometres to the west is closely associated with Y.–Qäbäro Meda. *Aṣe* Täklä Giyorgis (1779–84) also established a church in Y.

Src.: BassÉt 34, 36ff., 46, 173, 310 (note 389); BegCron 54, 56, 60, 69, 74, 77, 79, 88, 92f., 100, 109; BlunChr 211; BruNile II, 570; IV, 24f.; DombrChr 206, 209, 213, 228, 233, 245, 247, 252ff., 256ff., 267, 274ff., 317, 344; GuiIohan 17f., 24, 37, 46, 54, 65, 86, 96, 156, 197, 202, 215, 234 (text) = 16ff., 25, 38, 47, 56, 63, 87, 99, 163, 208, 214, 228, 249 (tr.); GuiIyas 47, 108, 176 (text) = 50, 118, 186 (tr.).

Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Vestiges gondariens", *RSE* 28, 1980–81, 5–22, here 12ff., photos 13–15, Plan E; VERENA BÖLL, "Ase Iyasu I (1682–1706) and the synod of Yebaba", in: *PICES* 16 [*online*], 65–73; HuntGeogr 164 et passim; PankHist I, 129, 139ff., 319.

LaVerle B. Berry

Yədnäqaččäw Täsämma

Y.T. (**ይድነቃቸው ፡ ተሰማ**; b. 11 September 1921, Ǧimma, d. 20 August 1987, Addis Abäba) was a prominent Ethiopian footballer, cyclist and athlete. The son of the German-educated Ethiopian intellectual ↗Täsämma Ǝšäte and his second wife Mulatwa Gäbräśəllase, he was born when his father was serving seven years of political exile in Ǧimma. He began his education in an Ethiopian Orthodox church school, where he remained until the age of six, after which he attended the Alliance Française, Mənilək II and Täfäri Mäkʷännən schools, and, after the Fascist occupation, the Italian Catholic Mission at Gullallee. Becoming a keen footballer at the Täfäri Mäkʷännən School at the age of eight, he was soon chosen as captain of the junior team, after which he joined Addis Abäba's Qəddus Giyorgis ('St. George') Team, for which he played for 23 years (from 1935 to 1958), and served for a time as its captain and coach. After retiring as a player, he coached the Ethiopian national football team and, in 1962, led them to their only championship in the African Cup of Nations.

Yədnäqaččäw Täsämma (right in the front) as leader of the Ethiopian Olympic team on return from the Games of the XIX Olympiad in Mexico City 1968, accompanied by double-Olympic Marathonchampion Abbäbä Biqila (left) and Mammo Wolde (second from the left), winner of the Olympic marathon in Mexico City; photo 1968, courtesy of Tadele Y. Tessema

After Ethiopia's Liberation Y.T., who was fluent in French, English and Italian besides Amharic, served as a translator in the Ministries of Education and Public Works, and later as translator and director of archives in the Ministry of Public Health. Always interested in ↗sports he resigned from Government service in 1947 to establish a private one-room sports office at Addis Abäba's ↗Ǧan Meda, sports-field while earning a living as a translator for the ↗Imperial Bodyguard. He subsequently played a major role in the establishment of the Ethiopian Sports Confederation. He became its secretary-general in 1960, with the rank of director-general in 1963, assistant-minister in 1968, and vice-minister in 1972, and was Commissioner of Sports from 1976 to 1981. He also served as leader of Ethiopian Olympic delegations, from the Rome meeting of 1960 to that at Moscow in 1980. Between 1966 and 1974, Y.T. served as member of the FIFA Executive Committee and, from 1971 to 1987, he was member of the International Olympic Committee.

Y.T. was actively involved in establishing the African Football Federation, in 1957, and served as its first Vice-President until 1972, when he became its President; he remained in this office until his death. Always a great protagonist of professionalism, as well as a vigorous opponent of both corruption and *apartheid,* he devoted the last years of his life to the founding of two other organizations: the

Union of African Sports Federations, and the Association of African National Olympic Committees. The former honoured him by making him its President, and the latter its Honorary President.

Lit.: TOM DUNMORE, *Paving the Way for South Africa 2010*: *Ydnekatchew Tesemma*, *Forgotten Hero of African Soccer* (*http://pitchinvasion.net/blog/2010/07/15/paving-the-way-for-south-africa-2010-ydnekatchew-tessema-forgotten-hero-of-african-soccer/* [last access: 22 October 2012]); BENOIT GAUDIN, "L'Ethiopie sportive pré-marathonienne 1924–1960", *Aethiopica* 12, 2009, 83–110, here 91ff.; TADDÄLÄ YƎDNÄQAČČÄW, **ይድነቃቸው ፡ ተሰማ** ('Yədnäqaččäw Täsämma'), Addis Abäba 1997.

Richard Pankhurst

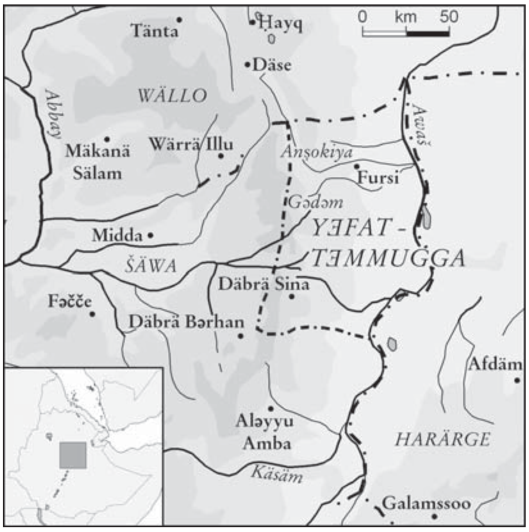
Yəfat

Y. (**ይፋት**) is an historical area in former north-eastern ↗Šäwa, including the traditional ↗Amhara territories of ↗Mafud, Rasa, ↗Armanya, ↗Gədəm, Efrata, Qäwät, ↗Anṣokiya and Gämza, the ↗Argobba territories of Korugussa, Rasa, and the ↗Oromo territories of Fursi, Harṭumma and Ṭəmmugga. It is bordered by ↗Mänz and ↗Tägulät in the west, Ankobär in the south, the ᶜAfar lands in the east and by ↗Qallu in the north.

The name Y. derives from the historical region and sultanate of ↗Ifat. The area was integrated into Šäwa by *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase and became, with a smaller territory, an *awraǧǧa* under *aṣe* Mənilək II.

After World War II a large Mänz–Yəfat *awraǧǧa* (capital ↗Däbrä Sina) was formed which existed until ca. 1967. Then, between ca. 1967 and 1989 the area formed part of the Yəfat–Ṭəmmugga *awraǧǧa* (capital: Aṭaye [Efeson]) which included the *wärädas* of Mafud, Qäwät, Efrata, Gämza, Fursi and Ǧilee. In the late *Därg* period (1989-91) the *wärädas* were abolished and "Y." became the name of a small *awraǧǧa* (capital: Šäwa Robit), including only the territories Mafud and Qäwät, of the North Šäwa zone. In 1991 Mafud and Qäwät reappeared as *wärädas*. Y., since then, is no longer used as an administrative name. In 1994 the former *wärädas* were merged into larger *wärädas* (rather similar in size to the 1989–91 *awraǧǧas*, but different in make-up). The new *wärädas* are ↗Ṭarma Bärr (initially Mafud, Mäzäzo and Moǧǧa–Wädära, later only the first two), Qäwät, Ǝfrata–Gədəm, Anṣokiya–Gämza, together with the western and southern *wärädas* were included in North Šäwa zone. The Oromo areas now belong to the Oromiyaa Zone of Amhara Region.

Contemporary Y. is located along the upper stretches of several big rivers, such as (from north to south) Ǧarra, Robi, Ǧä Wəha and Awadi, which flow eastwards into the ↗Awaš river basin. Along



the lower courses of these rivers and the rolling plains in between, seasonal rain and occasional flooding bring down deposits of rich soil from the uplands. This supports cereal cultivation and some livestock breeding. The area mainly belongs to the ↗*wäyna däga* ↗ecological zone. Ṭarma Bärr and Däbrä Sina are *däga* areas while Robit and Rasa are situated at the lowest elevation (*qʷälla*).

Today, the most important commercial centres of Y. are Däbrä Sina, Mafud, Robit, Aṭaye (Efeson), Mağäte, Sänbäte and Qarraqore. Products of Y. are crops such as ↗*ṭef*, barley, sorghum, maize, legumes, sunflower, sugar cane, fruits and vegetables, spices and condiments, ↗*čat*, coffee, cotton and tobacco and aromatic shrubs and ↗wood (s. EAE vol. 5). While sheep are common in the upper areas, the midlands are dominated by goats, and cattle are numerous in the lowland plains.

Y. is composed of Amhara, Argobba and religiously mixed Oromo. Under the influence of Mänz Amhara Christians in the west and Muslim ᶜAfar in the east, and under shifting political, economic and social conditions, the population of Y. has undergone rapid social and cultural changes. Interethnic incursions, natural disasters, and food shortages have over the years in Y. contributed to migrations, a temporary reduction of population in the early 1990s and caused human displacements.

While most Y. Amhara are Ethiopian Orthodox Christians, the Argobba almost all are Muslim. Among the Oromo the religious distribution is mixed. Beliefs concerning *zar* ↗possession cults, ↗spirits and the evil eye (↗*buda*) cross cut religious boundaries. ↗Pilgrimages to saintly sites are widespread practices among the peoples of Y.

Src.: SVEIN EGE, *North Wälo 1:100.000. Topographic and Administrative Map of North Wälo Zone, Amhara Region, Ethiopia*, Trondheim 2002; ID., *South Wälo 1:100.000. Topographic and Administrative Map of South Wälo Zone, Amhara Region, Ethiopia*, Trondheim 2004; ID., *South Wälo 1:100.000. Topographic and Administrative Map of North Shäwa Zone, Amhara Region, Ethiopia*, Trondheim 2005; MahZekr.

Lit.: ABBEBE KIFLEYESUS, *Tradition and Transformation: the Argobba of Ethiopia*, Wiesbaden 2005 (AeF 66), s. index; AHMED HASSEN OMER, "The Italian Impact on Ethnic Relations: a Case Study of a Regional Policy in Northern Shoa 1936–1941", *AE* 16, 2000, 147–59; HARALD ASPEN, *Amhara Traditions of Knowledge: Spirit Mediums and their Clients*, Wiesbaden 2001 (AeF 58), s. index; SEVIR B. CHERNETSOV, "On the Origins of the Amhara", *St. Petersburg Journal of African Studies* 1, 1993, 97–103; SVEIN EGE, "Land, Law and Tactics: a Case Study from Ayne, Northern Shewa", in: *PICES* 13, 35–56; FEKADE AZEZE, *Unheard Voices: Drought, Famine and God in Ethiopian Oral Poetry*, Addis Ababa 1998; VOLKER STITZ, "The Western Argobba of Yefat, Central Ethiopia", in: *USCES*, 185–92; TAKKELE TADDESE, "Do the Amhara Exist as a Distinct Ethnic Group?", in: *PICES* 12, 168–87; ZELALEM LEYEW, "Argobba: the People and the Language", *S.L.L.E. Linguistic Reports* 22, 1994, 1–13.

Abbebe Kifleyesus

Yəggäzu Bähabte

Näggadras Y.B. (**ይገዙ ፡ በሀብቴ**; b. 1879/80, Ankobär, d. 17 June 1943, Addis Abäba) was a diplomat and a prominent politician in the government of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II and in the early reign of *ras* Täfäri (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I).

Y.B. was the son of *näggadras* Bähabte and belonged to a powerful Šäwan family from ↗Harär. He acted as *näggadras* of Harär and was later also appointed *azzaž* of ↗Wähni Amba and ↗Ankobär.

In 1907 Y.B. was one of the envoys who participated in the delegation headed by ↗Mäšäša Wärqe. The main object of the mission, which visited Germany and Austria, was to purchase ↗firearms. The mission also visited Rome and Istanbul on its way back to Ethiopia.

Between 1910 and 1911 Y.B. served as Minister for Foreign Affairs. He replaced *näggädras* ↗Ḫaylä Giyorgis in this office, and he, in turn, was replaced by *fitawrari* ↗Habtä Giyorgis. From 1918 he served as Minister of Commerce with the title *bäǧərond* and as *käntiba* of Addis Abäba (MockWar 397).

Yəggäzu Bähabte (right) as a member of the diplomatic mission of 1907 to Germany with the Ethiopian envoy *däggazmač* Mäšäša; photo archive of the University of Frankfurt am Main

Y.B. was an opponent of *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu. After *ras* ↗Täsämma Nadäw's death, Y.B. supported *ras* ↗Abatä Bʷayaläw in May 1911 against the heir to the throne, which probably led to his imprisonment, though the official accusation was on the grounds of financial fraud. He was also accused of the attempt to cede parts of the Bako province to Great Britain (Garretson 1979: 429; ↗United Kingdom). Y.B. played an active role during the conspiracy in 1916 which, eventually, let to the successful ↗Coup d'état against Iyasu (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081; MolLit 53).

In May 1936 Y.B., who was assigned to be in charge of the government during the ↗Italian war 1935–36 in the absence of the Emperor (MolLit 112), opposed Ḫaylä Śəllase's leaving Ethiopia, but eventually joined him on the train to Djibouti and spent the Italian occupation in Jerusalem, and died soon after returning to Ethiopia.

Y.B. is buried in the Gännätä Ṣəge Giyorgis church in Addis Abäba. He was married to one of *ləǧ* Iyasus's ex-wives, Säblä Wängel (MockWar 18), and was the grandfather of ↗Täʾammərat Yəggäzu.

Src.: MÄRSƎʿE ḪAZÄN WÄLDÄ QIRQOS, **የዘመን ፡ ታሪክ ፡ ትዝታዬ ፡ ካየሁትና ፡ ከሰማሁት** 1896–1922 (*Yäzämän tarik təzzətaye kayyähutənna käsämmahut 1896–1922*, 'The Modern History According to my Memory as Seen and Heard 1896–1922'), ed. by AMḪA MÄRSƎʿE ḪAZÄN, Addis Abäbä 1999 A.M. [2006/07 A.D.], s. index.

Lit.: BAHRU ZEWDE, *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia: the Reformist Intellectuals of the Early Twentieth Century*, Oxford – Athens, OH – Addis Ababa 2002, 50, 69, 186; BAIRU TAFLA, *Ethiopia and Germany: Cultural, Political and Economic Relations 1871–1936*, Wiesbaden 1981 (AeF 5), 114; PETER GARRETSON, "The Naggadras, Trade, and Selected Towns in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Ethiopia", *IJAHS* 12, 3, 1979, 416–39; MockWar 18, 73, 135, 136, 140, 397; MolLit 53, 112.

Hanna Rubinkowska

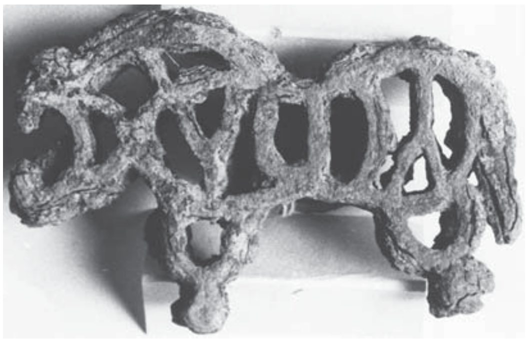
Yəḥa

Y. (ይሐ) is a settlement in northern Ethiopia, in the Central Zone of the Təgray region, ca. 17 km to the north-east of ↗ᶜAdwa (and ca. 40 km from ↗Aksum). Its primary importance as an archaeological site whose findings, including constructions, stone ↗inscriptions, arms, ↗pottery and various other objects, date back to the early first millennium B.C. (↗Pre-Aksumite culture).

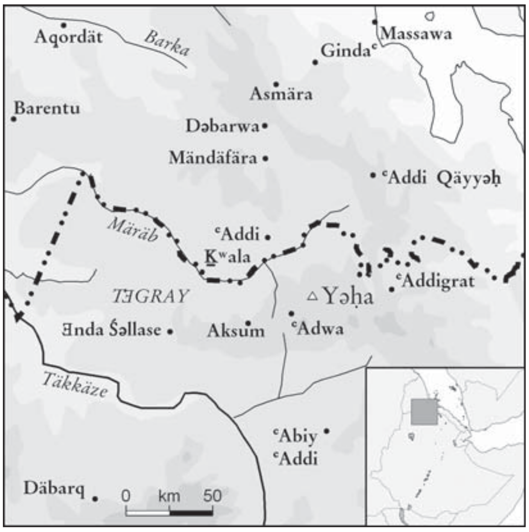
Archaeology

On a rocky hill on the edge of the present-day village, there are ruins of a building that was 11 m high, 18 m long and 15 m wide. The site was first described by Henry ↗Salt in the early 19th cent. and has continuously attracted the attention of archaeologists and historians of Ethiopia.

The building is believed to have been a temple dedicated to an important South Arabian deity. It is constructed in a way comparable to that of many monuments of South ↗Arabia. The limestone masonry shows a high level of skill. The façades, elevated on a stepped basement, reveal carefully carved and fitted stone blocks, both on the inside and on the outside. Some blocks are up to 3 m long and ca. 20 cm high. No mortar was used in the construction, and, with the exception of the frames, no wood. The building is thus held together by an ashlar masonry structure – and that since three millennia, a unique case in East Africa. The upper parts have been disturbed in some places, but on the whole, the general condition is stable, and the analysis of the photographs taken by the ↗Deutsche Aksum-Expedition (DAE) shows that nothing has changed over the past century. New archaeological evidence of the site of the great temple was brought to light by the 1998 mission headed by Alessandro de Maigret and Christian Robin, which discovered an access structure to the building and its original pavements.



A roaring lion, found in a rock tomb at Yəḥa (Daᵓro Mikaᵓel); length: 11 cm., 8th cent. B.C.; photo 1961 by Käbbädä Boggalä, courtesy of the author



In 1960, on the rocky slope to the south-west of the temple, several tombs carved in rock were discovered (↗Graves). In the funeral vaults, remnants of bones and of domestic items were excavated: bronze pots, pottery, remains of ↗swords, ↗knives and iron tools including bronze axes and sickles, balances and weights as well as ↗jewelry beads. A number of bronze objects in animal form (lion, bull, ibex) measuring about a dozen centimetres, are composed of characters in South Arabian writing. At the back, a grip make them resembling great seals; they were probably identity marks.

In 1971, excavations were carried out by the Ethiopian Institute of Archaeology at a place called Grat Bäᶜal Gəbri. Located ca. 200 m northwest of the old temple, was a mound of rubble with four massive pillars on the south side which had been described by the DAE in 1906. Important remnants of a building destroyed by fire were observed. In the central part of the ruins, the thick walls were constructed of rubble bonded with earth; the ruins are 3 m high. A wooden frame was incorporated into the masonry, and an earthy coating had been applied to some parts of the walls, stained in places with white and red.

An examination of the remains (only a quarter of the area of the site has been excavated) showed that two structures were built consecutively on the same spot. Large carefully hewn pillars (they were originally eight in number, aligned in two parallel rows, six to the south and two to the north) were symmetrically arranged on their massive bases. This and a basement, several metres deep, suggest that the portico had been constructed for a more prominent building than the average structure installed there later. At this stage it is difficult to determine the eventual function of these buildings. Their elevation, the size of the basements, the thickness of the walls, the number of rooms, all indicate that the buildings had a sacral and not a private residential character.

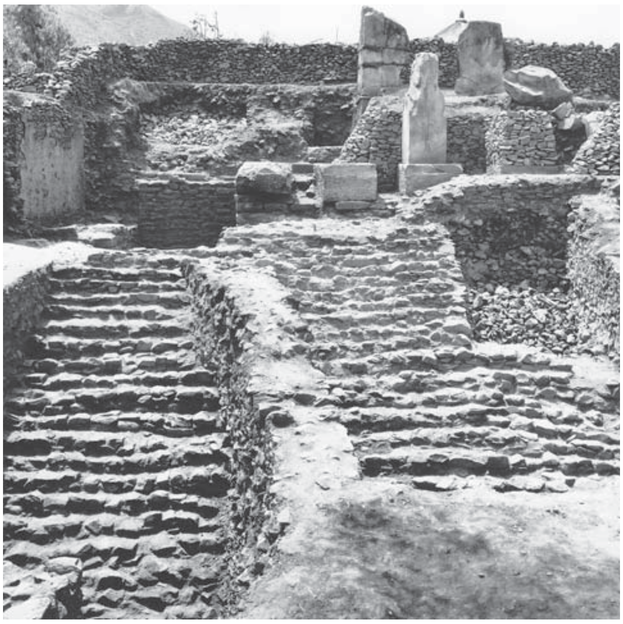
Since 2009, archaeologists of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut have been conducting excavations at Y. (cp. Phillipson 2010).

History

The testimonies of Y.'s ancient past – architectural remains, inscriptions, sculptures, ↗incense burners, ibex and bull heads carvings – all indicate its important political, economic and religious position around the 8th cent. B.C. It is possible that it was part – if not the capital – of the kingdom of ↗D^{c}MT known from several inscriptions dating to ca. 8th–7th cent. B.C. The kingdom had close links with South Arabia but was independent, as inscriptions attest. Some of the items, such as an alabaster vase, could indicate ties with ancient ↗Nubia.

In later periods, the site lost its prominence. However, archaeological vestiges of the ↗Aksumite period (1st–7th cent. A.D.) have been observed, including pottery and ↗coins among which one of King ↗Armaḥ excavated by Rodolfo Fattovich. The baptistery still housed in a corner inside the large temple dates to the same period and is comparable to those of Ǝnda Čerqos, ↗Adulis, ↗Mätära and ↗Dəgum.

The tradition credits *abba* ↗Afṣe, one of the so-called ↗Nine Saints, with the evangelization of the area in the 5th cent. A.D. A church dedicated to St. Mary, constructed next to the great temple, attracts hundreds of pilgrims in June each year (29 *Gənbot*) for the commemoration of *abba* Afṣe. The entire precinct of the church and the temple is known as Ǝnda Abba Afṣe.



Archaeological excavation at Grat Bä^{c}al Gəbri, Yəḥa; photo 1971 by Käbbädä Boggalä, courtesy of the author

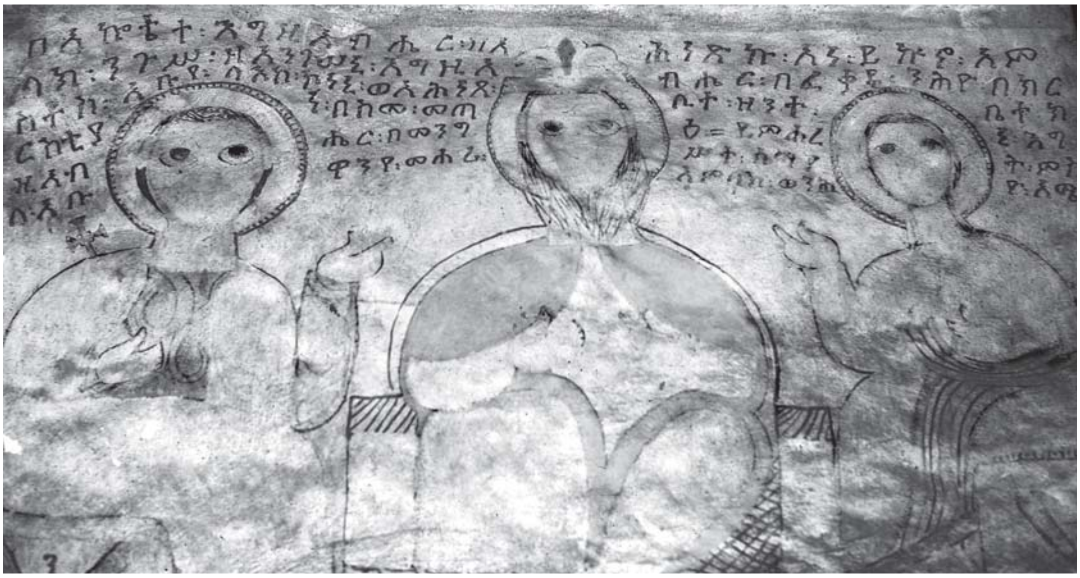
Src.: DAE I, 78f., III, 72ff., IV, 57–61 and nos. 27–32; RIÉ I–II.

Lit.: Francis Anfray, "Une campagne de fouilles à Yĕḥā (Février–Mars 1960)", *AE* 5, 1963, 171–234; Id., "Yeha", *Archeologia* 64, 1973, 34–45; Id., "Fouilles de Yeha", *AE* 9, 1972, 45–64; Id., *Les anciens Éthiopiens. Siècles d'histoire*, Paris 1990; Id., "Les ruines de Grat Be'al Gebri", *RSE* 39, 1995 [1997], 5–25, 28 pl., 5 plans; Rodolfo Fattovich, "Materiali per lo studio della ceramica pre-Aksumita Etiopica", Supplemento n. 25 agli *ANNALI* 40, 1980, fasc. 4, 39 sq.; Id., "Reconsidering Yeha, c. 800–400 BC", *African Archaeological Review* 26, 4, 2009, 275–90 (Lit.); Jeanne Gautier (intr. by Hervé De Roux), "Étude de poteries provenant d'Éthiopie", *AE* 10, 1976, 57–69, here 62f., 65, 67, 69; Eric Godet, "Répertoire de sites pre-axoumites et axoumites du Tigré (Ethiopie)", *Abbay* 8, 1977, 19–58, here 56ff.; Claude Lepage, "L'art chrétien d'Ethiopie du X^{e} au XV^{e} siècle", *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 116, 3, 1972, 495–514, here 506; Joseph W. Michels, "Regional Political Organization in the Axum-Yeha Area during the Pre-Axumite and Axumite Eras", in: *PICES* 10, vol. 1, 61–80; Id., *Changing Settlement Patterns in the Aksum-Yeha Region of Ethiopia*: *700 BC–AD 850*, Oxford 2005 (BAR International Series 1448); David W. Phillipson, *Ancient Ethiopia. Aksum*: *its Antecedents and Successors*, London 1998; Id., *Ancient Churches of Ethiopia*: *Fourth–Fourteenth Centuries,* New Haven, CT 2009, 32–37, s. index; Id., "Relations between Southern Arabia and the Northern Horn of Africa during the Last Millennium BC", paper presented at the *Seminar for Arabian Studies* 2010; Lanfranco Ricci, [review of RIÉ I–II], *RSE* 37, 1993 [1995], 187–97, here 189; Christian Julien Robin – Alessandro de Maigret, "Le Grand Temple du Yéha (Tigray, Ethiopie) après la première campagne de fouilles de la mission francaise (1998)", *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 142, 3, 1998, 737–97.

Francis Anfray

Yəkunno Amlak

Aṣe Y.A. (**ይኩኖ ፡ አምላክ**, r. 1270–85), a pivotal figure of Ethiopian history, is considered to have (re-)established the rule of the ↗Solomonic dynasty, having overthrown the last ↗Zag^{w}e king in 1270.



Yəkunno Amlak (middle) between two dignitaries Mäḥari Amlak and Nəḥyo Bäkrəstos, wall-painting, last quarter of the 13th cent., church of Gännätä Maryam; photo 1993 by Paul Henze, courtesy of Michael Gervers

Few contemporary sources of Y.A.'s reign are available. They differ from later traditions offering another image of the ruler. Perhaps the most important piece of information on Y.A. is provided by the church paintings in ↗Gännätä Maryam and ↗Ǝmäkina Mädḫane ᶜAläm in Lasta and ↗Waša Mikaᵓel in Angot. Gännätä Maryam appears to have been founded by Y.A. himself, possibly as a sign of his power in the former domain of the Zagʷe. The inscriptions on murals explicitly mention Y.A. as the patron of the church, which was initially dedicated to *abba* Mätaᶜ (↗Libanos). He himself is depicted and associated to Mäḥari Amlak, an ecclesiastic attested in another inscription found in Waša Mikaᵓel as the *ṣäware narge* of the kingdom (Mercier 2002: 144f.) – an office which plays a role in the ceremony of the coronation of the kings (DillmZarY 18; Derat 2010: 30 n. 60) – and Nəḥyo Bäkrəstos, another ecclesiastic unattested elsewhere (s. DicEthBio pl. 10; Heldman – Getatchew Haile 1992: 230ff.). According to the inscriptions on the murals of Waša Mikaᵓel, the church was founded by Mäḥari Amlak himself during the reign of Y.A. (Mercier 2002: 143f.). Two other historical figures are depicted in Waša Mikaᵓel, a certain *śəyyum* Nəwayä Krəstos and Ḫer Amlak, scribe (*ṣäḥafi*). Moreover in Gännätä Maryam, two additional historical figures are depicted: a royal son named Kʷəleṣewon, associated to his mother, Təḫrəyännä Maryam. Təḫrəyännä Maryam appears also on the murals of the church of Ǝmäkina Mädḫane ᶜAläm, located on the upper part of the mountain above Gännätä Maryam at about two hours walk (Balicka-Witakowska 2004: 28f.). Surprisingly, Y.A. is not represented in this church.

The nature of the relation between Y.A. and these two figures is not clear. It cannot be assassed whether Kʷəleṣewon was the son of Y.A. and Təḫrəyännä Maryam was the latter's wife. The only known son of Y.A. is ↗Yagba Ṣəyon, his successor (Taddesse Tamrat 1970: 91).

Another Lasta church traditionally associated with Y.A. is ↗Žämmädu Maryam (cp. BeckHuntAlvar 200ff.). However, the foundation of this church seems to have occurred later, according to the Acts of Bärtälomewos, who is considered the founder of the church and presented as a contemporary of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I (Derat 2009: 74).

Another type of contemporary sources on Y.A. is found in land donations of two different manuscripts: the Gospel book of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Ham (CRDLib nos. 10, 11), and the Gospel book of Iyäsus Moᵓa (EMML no. 1832, fol. 24–25; Taddesse Tamrat 1970: 91). After 1270, Y.A. consolidated power over extensive areas, reaching far into the north, as is demonstrated by his land grant to Däbrä Libanos of Ham (CRDLib no. 10) that follows a grant by the (otherwise unknown) King Dəlanda (of the Zagʷe line [?]). In the next document (ibid., no. 11), Y.A.'s name is presented as Yəkʷənat (an hypochoristic variant of Y.A.). He also extended his control over the ↗Amhara region, making grants to the church of ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos, led by *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* Zäᵓiyäsus at that time.

The last kind of sources on Y.A. consists of the correspondence between the Ethiopian king and the Egyptian *sulṭān*. Here, Y.A. is presented as the *ḥaṭe* (s. ↗*aṣe*), king of ↗Ḥabäša, but also of Amhara (Cuoq 1981: 108) in 1274. According to a letter sent by Yagba Ṣəyon, the metropolitan at the time of Y.A. was probably appointed by the Syrian patriarch of Antioch, and not by the patriarch of Alexandria (MHAlex 199–203). This appointment caused unrest in the kingdom which Yagba Ṣəyon tried then to calm down by requesting a new metropolitan from Egypt (Cuoq 1981: 110).

Y.A. is known as the king of Amhara by the *sulṭān*'s secretary in Egypt, meaning he was probably in this position before he could gather under his authority the rest of the kingdom, from ↗Ǝndärta to Amhara, including the Lasta region. He founded at least one church in Lasta, where his predecessors, the Zagʷe, had already built many churches; and it is in Gännätä Maryam that he is depicted among his partisans, ecclesiastics and royal family members. This church was linked with two others in the region, built at the same time, by his partisans. Y.A. had a particularly strong relationship with the church of Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos to which he made donations and with which he made a pact concerning the celebration of the ↗*täzkar* of any newcomer to the church (EMML no. 1832, fol. 269r; Kropp 1998: 309–18).

Judging from the contemporary sources, it remains unknown how Y.A. defeated the Zagʷe, from where he took his power, and what his family background was. Later sources on Y.A., relatively numerous, biased and of compilative nature, construct an image of Y.A. as the restorer of the Solomonic dynasty.

The "short chronicles", compiled after the 16th cent., recount that ↗Dəlnaᶜod was the last king of the "old Solomonic line", from whom power was transferred to the "usurpers", i.e. the Zagʷe. However, the Solomonic line had persisted; its descendants kept living in "hiding" until Y.A., a son of Wədəm Asgäd, appeared on the scene (BegCron 4ff.; DombrChr 151ff. [tr.]; cp. BassÉt 98 [tr.]; Belaynesh Mikael in DicEthBio 160).

A few sources report extensively on Y.A.'s youth; the best known of them is the Vita of *abunä* ↗Iyäsus Moᵓa, also compiled from different texts not before the beginning of the 17th cent. It makes him a son of Täsfa Iyäsus, a descendant of Dəlnaᶜod, and a maid in the house of *azzaž* Kela of Mäkʷanäñña in Sägärat (a locality in today's South Wällo), where Y.A. was born (s. KurMoa; cp. Conti Rossini 1922: 294). Another hagiography, the Vita of *abunä* ↗Qäwəstos (the writing is later than the 15th cent.), elaborates on the story, making Qäwəstos a relative of Y.A. There are a few other traditions, placing the origin of Y.A. in different localities of the historical Amhara or northern ↗Šäwa (cp. Belaynesh Mikael in DicEthBio 181). In any case, the Amhara elite background of Y.A., which provided him strong support in the struggle for power, seems historically significant and quite probable.

An Amharic tradition in the (recent) ms. BN Mondon-Vidailhet 30, translated by Conti Rossini (1922: 299–311) tells that Y.A. was imprisoned by Elmaknun – the Zagʷe king whose royal name was ↗Yətbaräk – but was able to escape and around 1270 organized a successful revolt against the ruling king.

Hagiographic traditions recount that Y.A. concluded "pacts" (cp. ↗*kidan*) with religious leaders from important monasteries, Iyäsus Moᵓa (of Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos) and ↗Täklä Haymanot (of Däbrä Libanos), which secured the success of his struggle (the essence of the account provides the ground for the very brief passage about Y.A. in the "short chronicles", s. DombrChr 151f. [tr.]; BassÉt 10 [text]; BegCron 5). It has been proved that, historically, Täklä Haymanot could have hardly participated in the struggle for power (as is recounted in the late 17th-cent. treatise ↗*Bəᶜəlä nägäśt*), since he must have been still very young at that time (Conti Rossini 1922). Moreover, the episode of his "pact" with Y.A. is missing in the early hagiographic works devoted to Täklä Haymanot (cp. DerDom 100; Nosnitsin 2007). The Vita of Iyäsus Moᵓa (KurMoa) appears to be a recent hagiographic compilation, but the tradition of the alliance between Y.A. and Iyäsus Moᵓa was recorded in different documents preserved in the Gospel of Iyäsus Moᵓa (EMML no. 1832; Kropp 1998).

Besides, Y.A. received military support, probably from the southern part of historical Šäwa: the mention of "seven lineages" (*gʷədam*) from seven regions in a historiographic note published by Conti Rossini (1922: 295ff.) has been interpreted in this way. The "seven lineages" come from the well-known names of historical regions in Šäwa: ↗Wägda, Dənbi, ↗Mugär, ↗Wag, Wäräb, Ṣəlalis, and Mʷal/Marhabete (Kropp 1983–84: 59; KrAmdS 27, n. 140 [tr.]). However, this document includes military support given to Y.A. in an alliance between Y.A. and Täklä Haymanot. It is thus a late tradition that Conti Rossini (1902: 376; 1922: 296f.) dated to the time after the reign of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl.

For the rest, not much actual information is available concerning the structure, real extension or administration of Y.A.'s kingdom. The above mentioned documents prove his presence and authority as far as today's Eritrea; large areas in the historical Amhara and Šäwa must have also been under his control. As his successors, he had to deal with rebellions, like that of the chief of ↗Saḥart, who, according to the 14th-cent. Egyptian chronicler al-Mufaḍḍal, captured the royal embassy to Egypt (cp. Cerulli 1943: 264f.). The assumption that his power extended over the Muslim principalities and the realm of ↗Motälämi is less secure, supported on later Ethiopian hagiographic sources and the situation known from the reign of *aṣe* ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I. Rather, Y.A. could stay at the beginning of the conquest of the "Muslim Šäwa" (cp. Cerulli 1941: 222f., 241).

The existence of a Vita of Y.A. (*Gädlä Yəkunno Amlak*) in Lasta has been reported (Lepage 1976: 328). This text reflects an attempt by the church of Gännätä Maryam to gain recognition of Y.A. as a saint, as well as its neighbours, the Zagʷe rulers. This attempt may be a recent one as the scribe is a contemporary of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I (*Gädlä Yəkunno Amlak*, fol. 83rb) and the document is in fact a compilation of many hagiographical texts, in particular the Acts of Täklä Haymanot and the Acts of Iyäsus Moᵓa.

Src.: BassÉt 10 (text) = 98 (tr.), and 232f., n. 66; BecHuntAlvar 200ff.; BegCron 4ff.; EMML no. 1832; ENRICO CERULLI, "Il Sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XIII secondo un nuovo documento storico", *RSE* 1, 1941, 5–42 [repr. in *CerIslam* 207–43]; ID., "L'Etiopia medievale in alcuni brani di scrittori arabi", *RSE* 3, 1943, 237–94 [repr. in: *CerIslam* 257–80]; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*, I. *Acta Marqorewos*, Louvain 1904 (CSCO 33, 34 [SAe 16, 17]), 12ff. (text) = 12ff. (tr.); ID., "La caduta della dinastia Zagué e la versione amarica del Beᶜela Nagast", *RRALm* ser. 5a, 31, 1922, 279–314; CRDLib 194, no. 17, 21f., no. 11; DillmZarY; DombrChr 151ff., 155 n. 38; *Gädlä Yəkunno Amlak*, Gännätä Maryam, fol. 83rb, ms., 20th cent.; KrAmdS 27 and no. 140 (tr.); KurMoa s. index; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "The Abbots of Däbrä-Hayq, 1248–1535", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 87–117.

Lit.: EWA BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA, "The Wall-paintings in the Church of Mädhane Aläm near Lalibäla", *Africana Bulletin* 52, 2004, 9–29; BELAYNESH MIKAEL, "Täsfa-'Iyäsus", "Wedem-'Asged", "Yekuno-'Amlak", in: *DicEthBio* 160, 180–83, 174; SEVIR B. CHERNETSOV, *Efiopskaja feodalnaja monarchija v XIII–XVI vv*. ('The Ethiopian Feudal Monarchy in the 13th–16th cent.'), Moskva 1982, s. index; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Lettera a J. Halevy sulla caduta degli Zague", *RevSem* 10, 1902, 373–77; JOSEPH CUOQ, *L'islam en Éthiopie des origines au XVIe siècle*, Paris 1981; DerDom 64–110; MARIE-LAURE DERAT, "Du Begʷenā au Lāstā. Centre et périphérie dans le royaume d'Éthiopie du XIIIe au XVIe siècle", *AE* 24, 2009, 65–86; EAD., "Les donations du roi Lālibalā. Éléments pour une géographie du royaume chrétien d'Éthiopie au tournant du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle", *ibid*. 25, 2010, 19–42; MARILYN EISEMAN HELDMAN – GETATCHEW HAILE, "Who is Who in Ethiopia's Past, Part III: Founders of Ethiopia's Solomonic Dynasty", *NEASt* 9, 1, 1987, 1–11; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, "Die äthiopisch-orthodoxe Kirche", in: *GerKir* 42–50, here 43; MANFRED KROPP, "La réédition des chroniques éthiopiennes: perspectives et premiers résultats", *Abbay* 12, 1983–84, 49–72; ID., "… der Welt gestorben: Ein Vertrag zwischen dem äthiopischen Heiligen Iyyäsus-Moᵓa und König Yəkunno-Amlak über *Memoriae* im Kloster Ḥayq", *ABoll* 116, 1998, 303–30; CLAUDE LEPAGE, "Communication. Résumé des résultats des recherches archéologiques effectuées en Éthiopie en 1973–1974", *AE* 10, 1976, 328; JACQUES MERCIER, "Peintures du XIIIe siècle dans une église de l'Angot", *ibid.* 18, 2002, 143–48; MHAlex; DENIS NOSNITSIN, "The Ethiopic Synaxarion: Text-Critical Observations on Täklä Haymanot's Commemoration (24 *Näḥase*)", *OrChrP* 73, 2007, 141–83; TadTChurch s. index; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Problems of Royal Succession in Fifteenth Century Ethiopia: a Presentation of the Documents", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 501–35, here 502f., 512f.; TedEthPrel 1009f.

Denis Nosnitsin – Marie-Laure Derat

Yəlma Däressa

Ləǧ Y.D. (**ይልማ ፡ ደሬሳ**, b. 1907 Chuutaa *wäräda*, Gimbii *awraǧǧa*; d. 1979, Addis Abäba) was an Ethiopian statesman, diplomat and politician during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. He was also a historian of high repute and one of the intellectual architects of modern Ethiopia.

Y.D. was the son of *blatta* Däressa Amante and the grandson of *mootii* ↗Bakaree Goodanaa (s. EAE vol. 5). He received his primary education at the Mənilək II Secondary School in Addis Abäba in the 1910s. In the early 1920s he was sent by his father to pursue his secondary education in Egypt, at Victoria College, Alexandria. After meeting Crown Prince Täfäri (later *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I) in Egypt in 1924, Y.D. went to Britain to enrol at Birkbeck College in London. He received his Bachelor of Science degree in Economics from the London School of Economics (1928–32). During his diplomatic years in Washington he followed the graduate studies curriculum in history at Georgetown University, U.S.A.

Y.D. returned to Ethiopia in 1934 and was appointed by the Emperor as the head of the ↗League of Nations desk in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. During the Italian occupation, Y.D. was among the leaders of the ↗resistance, becoming the first president of the ↗*Ṭəqur anbäsa* movement. He surrendered to the Italians with *ras* ↗Ǝmməru Ḫaylä Śəllase on 19 December 1936, and was imprisoned first on the island of Ponza and later at Lipari near Sicily. He was released in 1939 through the sustained efforts of his father, a refugee turned businessman in the Sudan, who supported the patriotic movement with money from abroad.

After 1941 Y.D. became a close associate of Ḫaylä Śəllase I. He was the official interpreter at Great Bitter Lake, Suez, when the Emperor met with President Roosevelt in 1945. Y.D. held various political offices in post-liberation Ethiopia, including Secretary General in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Director General and Vice Minister of Finance and, finally, Minister of Commerce (1944–53). After serving, from 1953 to 1958, as Ethiopian Ambassador to the U.S., Y.D. returned to the cabinet, serving as Minister of Foreign Affairs (1958–60); Minister of Finance (1960–69); and Minister of Commerce, Industry and Tourism (1969–71). He also served on many boards, including chairing the Board of Governors of Ḫaylä Śəllase I University (↗Addis Ababa University, 1962–69), serving as President of the Board of Directors of the Ethiopian Airlines and the State Bank of Ethiopia. He was Vice-President of the Ḫaylä Śəllase I Foundation and a member of the ↗Crown Council (1971–74). Y.D. was a member of a group that was drafting a new constitution on the eve of the 1974 ↗Revolution.

Domestically, Y.D. accomplished, among other things, the revision of the ↗*gäbbar* system and the introduction of tax payment by money (↗Tributes and taxation). He got the government to operate on a budget, established the National Bank of Ethiopia (↗Banks), and re-introduced the Ethiopian currency, the *bərr*, after it had been abolished by the Italians; he had the *bərr* minted in Philadelphia. He also introduced a tripartite land tax system whereby many feudal lords who held large tracts of undeveloped land had to give up ownership, as they were not able to pay the taxes.

Y.D. was a principal representative in the negotiations to return the ↗Ogaden to Ethiopia; he also spearheaded Ethiopia's entry into the newly formed International Atomic Energy Agency.

Ləǧ Yəlma Däressa as a member of the Crown Council; photo 1971, courtesy of the author

Thanks to Y.D.'s diplomatic finesse, he was twice appointed Vice President of the ↗United Nations General Assembly. Between 1962 and 1969 he was elected as chairman of the Board of Governors of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank). In 1963, he served as the chair of the 2nd Independent African countries' conference held in Addis Abäba and contributed to the creation of the ↗Organization of African Unity and the latter's choice of Addis Abäba as its permanent headquarters.

Despite the fact that he has sometimes been considered to be an integral part of the conservative establishment of the feudal order, Y.D. was in fact radical for his time. He was a member of the pre-war Ethiopian intelligentsia who helped organize the progressive association *La jeunesse d'Éthiopie.*

Y.D.'s most influential historical contributions were the study of the ↗Byzantine empire (1965) and of 16th-cent. Ethiopia (1967), the latter being an important milestone of Amharic ↗historiography. Some assume that the attention Y.D. lent in his monograph to the ↗Oromo invasion of highland Ethiopia in the 16th cent. was a major reason for the anti-Oromo elements in the government to pressure the Emperor to retire Y.D.

Y.D. was imprisoned by the *Därg* in June 1974. He died of cancer in a hospital in 1979 in Addis Abäba.

Src.: Yəlma Däressa, *The Byzantine Empire and the Crusades*, Addis Abäba 1965; Id., **የኢትዮጵያ ፡ ታሪክ ፡ በአስራ ፡ ስድስተኛ ፡ ክፍለ ፡ ዘመን** (*Yäʾityopya tarik bäʾasra səddəstäñña kəflä zämän*, 'Ethiopian History of the 16th Century') Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.]; Id., *Prison Notebook*, Addis Abäba 1972 A.M. [1979/80 A.D.]. **Lit.**: Bahru Zewde, *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia*: *the Reformist Intellectuals of the Early Twentieth Century*, Oxford – Athens, OH – Addis Ababa 2002, 88; ClapHS s. index; Richard Greenfield, *Ethiopia. A New Political History*, London 1965, s. index; Richard Pankhurst, "The Ethiopian Patriots: the Lone Struggle, 1936–1940", *EthObs* 13, 1, 1970, 40–56; PerGov 200; John Spencer, *Ethiopia at Bay*: *A Personal Account of the Haile Selassie Years,* Algonac, MI 1984, 105, 120, 212.

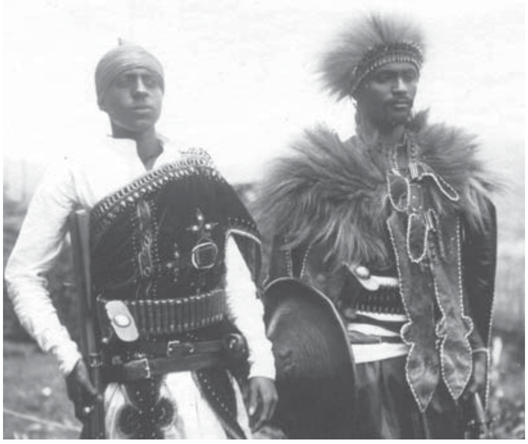
Paulos Milkias

Yəlma Mäkʷännən

Däǧǧazmač Y.M. (**ይልማ ፡ መኰንን**, "horse name" Abba Ṭena, b. Šäwa [?], 1872/73 [1877 according to HSLife 18], d. 10 October 1907, Harär), was a son of *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel, thus a great-grand son of *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase. Y.M. was also a half-brother of *ras* Täfäri (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I). Y.M.'s mother was an otherwise unknown common-law-wife of *ras* Mäkʷännən.

Y.M. was recognized by his father as his legitimate son only after saving his life at the Battle of ↗ʿAdwa (Marcus 1975: 227).

After the death of his father in 1906 and by the order of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II on 9 May, Y.M was given the governorship of ↗Harär. This move was arranged by *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu whose niece, *wäyzäro* ↗Assälläfäčč Wände, Y.M. had married in 1901 (after her divorce from *däǧǧazmač* Däməssäw Näsibu). Assälläfäčč remained his wife until the end of his life. Y.M. died of pneumonia.



Yəlma Mäkʷännən (right) with a relative; photo courtesy of the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg (no. 4028–377)

Y.M.'s son, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Mängäša Yəlma, took the position of Director of the War Ministry. Y.M.'s daughter, Yäšašäwärq Yəlma, married first *ras* ↗Gugsa Arʾaya, then ↗Mäkʷännən Däməssäw and then, in 1936, ↗Mäkʷännən Ǝndalkaččäw.

Src.: GebMolIyas 353, 430; GueCopMen, passim; HSLife index; MahHorse 273; Märsəʿe Ḫazän Wäldä Qirqos, **የዘመን ፡ ታሪክ ፡ ትዝታዬ ፡ ካየሁትና ፡ ከሰማሁት** 1896–1922 (*Yäzämän tarik təzzətaye kayyähutənna käsämmahut 1896–1922*, 'The Modern History According to my Memory as Seen and Heard 1896–1922'), ed. by Amḫa Märsəʿe Ḫazän, Addis Abäbä 1999 A.M. [2006/07 A.D.], s. index. **Lit.**: FanTarik 610; Harold Golden Marcus, *The Life and Times of Menelik II*: *Ethiopia 1844–1913,* Oxford 1975, 227, 230; Chris Prouty, *Empress Taytu and Menilek II, Ethiopia 1883–1919*, Trenton, NJ 1986, 284.

Hanna Rubinkowska

Yəlmana Dänsa

Y.D. (**ይልማና ፡ ደንሳ**, Orom.: Ilmaana Dansaa) is an area near Lake ↗Ṭana probably named after one of the ↗Oromo army regiments of *abetohun* ↗Susənyos that settled in ↗Goǧǧam and ↗Dämbəya at the beginning of the 17th cent. (BTafA 421; BassÉt 173, 198).

Most likely the Y.D. were an army contingent recruited from the Oromo of ↗Goǧǧam and given the name *ilmaana dansa*,a 'good sons' or 'good children' similar to, e.g., the *qeerroo* regiments of the medieval period. Immediately to the south of Lake Ṭana, the locality where they settled still bears the same name (though in its Amharic corruption, *Yəlma* [*ən*]*na Dänsa*, 'Yəlma and Dänsa'). James Bruce states that "Elmana and Densa" were "two districts" near Lake Ṭana inhabited by Oromo clans (BruNile II, 530, 624; PankBord 319). Today, however, Y.D. as a name of an Oromo clan does not exist.

The locality of Y.D. is interchangeably also called ↗Mäč̣č̣a (Maccaa), though the latter was applied to a bigger territory inhabited by an Oromo group of the same name (BruNile III, 564). Many Mäč̣č̣a Oromo were settled near Lake Ṭana by *aṣe* Susənyos to help him consolidate his power against other Oromo groups. Since then, several rulers continued to sanction the settlement of many Oromo. During the reigns of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I, *aṣe* ↗Täklä Haymanot and *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa, Y.D. was mentioned as an army regiment (BassÉt 173, 198; BTafA 421, 938). By 1768 the number of Oromo settlers in the Mäč̣č̣a district alone numbered about 15,000. Together with the other Oromo in Goǧǧam and Dämbəya, they continued to play an active role in the ↗Gondärine kingdom throughout the 17th and 18th cent. *Däǧǧazmač* Libo, chief of ↗Wällo and a brother of Wəbit, the wife of *aṣe* Iyasu II, once governed ↗Amhara province and commanded the Y.D. and Mäč̣č̣a before the Emperor's death in 1768 (BTafA 938).

Like the Oromo south of the Abbay River, those of Mäč̣č̣a practiced a ↗*gadaa* system. The ↗*abbaa bokkuu* had more power over them than the emperors at Gondär. The most important centre of Mäč̣č̣a and Y.D. was ↗Yəbaba where several Gondärine rulers (such as Iyasu I, Täklä Haymanot and ↗Yosṭos) built castles and used it as temporary capital (PankIntro 147; BruNile IV, 24f.). Today, the Oromo of Y.D. are completely assimilated to the Amharic speaking society though they recognize their Oromo ancestry. In addition to Y.D. and Mäč̣č̣a, there are several Oromo place names near Lake Ṭana including Guutaa, Adama, Ambo, and the Burqaa River.

Src.: BassÉt 173, 198; BruNile II, 530, 624, III, 564, IV, 24f.; BTafA 421, 938.
Lit.: PankBord 319; 198; PankIntro 147.

Tsega Endalew

Yəmam Gugsa

Ras Y.G. (**ይማም ፡ ጉግሳ**; r. 1825–28, d. 18 January 1828), a scion of the Wärräšek rulers (↗Yäǧǧu), was the son, and immediate successor, of *ras* ↗Gugsa Märsa and brother to Wäle, ↗Dori and ↗Marəyye. He was succeeded by the latter two brothers.

On the death of his father, Y.G. assumed the title of ↗*ras* and was elected to the leadership of the Wärräšek (CRNuov 367f.). He inherited the Wärräšek concern to maintain the vassalage of the neighbouring provinces of ↗Goǧǧam, ↗Wägära and ↗Səmen. In doing so he faced the intricacies of dynastic and marital politics. *Däǧǧazmač* Wäldä Rufaᵓel, husband of Y.G.'s full sister, Aster, pressed Y.G. for appointment to the governorship of ↗Damot. However, Y.G. was constrained by the fact that the sister of his brother, Dori, was married to *däǧǧazmač* ↗Maru, ruler of Dämbəya and neighbouring territories. Wäldä Rufaᵓel intrigued to set Marəyye against Y.G., but Y.G. quickly squashed this incipient rebellion.

Y.G.'s first expedition was to Goǧǧam. During his absence from ↗Däbrä Tabor, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Ḫaylä Maryam, ruler of Wägära and Səmen, entered Gondär and proclaimed ↗Bäᵓədä Maryam as successor to the Solomonic throne, displacing the Wärräšek appointee, ↗Gigar. Y.G. then returned to confront Ḫaylä Maryam, who, at the beginning of 1826, fled to Wägära where he died. Y.G. appointed Maru, ruler of Dämbəya, to rule Wägära, but this appointment was soon challenged by Ḫaylä Maryam's son, ↗Wəbe (CRNuov 370). Y.G. used Wəbe to curb the ambition of Maru (CRReal 840–43 [text] = 900–03 [tr.]). Maru then challenged Y.G.'s control of Goǧǧam and, in response, Y.G. marched against Maru. En route his troops sacked the monastery at Čänqär, where Kaśa Ḫaylu (future ↗Tewodros II) was a student. In October 1827, Y.G. defeated Maru at the Battle of Koso Bär in Goǧǧam, where Maru died (CRNuov 371f.; CRReal 844 [text] = 903f. [tr.]).

On his return to Däbrä Tabor Y.G. received an appeal from the clergy of the church of Bäᵓata, Gondär, against the oppression of his brother, Marəyye. Y.G. summoned Marəyye to Däbrä Tabor, but before Marəyye could reach there, Y.G. was dead.

Y.G., like other Wärräšek rulers, lived under the suspicion of favouring ↗Islam and formally returned to ↗Christianity under interdict (CRNuov 372f.; CRReal 845 [text] = 905 [tr.]).

Src.: CRNuov 367–73; CRReal 836–43 (text) = 897–903, 905 (tr.); BlunChr 197f. (text) = 485 (tr.); GueCopMen 202.
Lit.: AbPrince 33f.; RubTew 19f., 28.

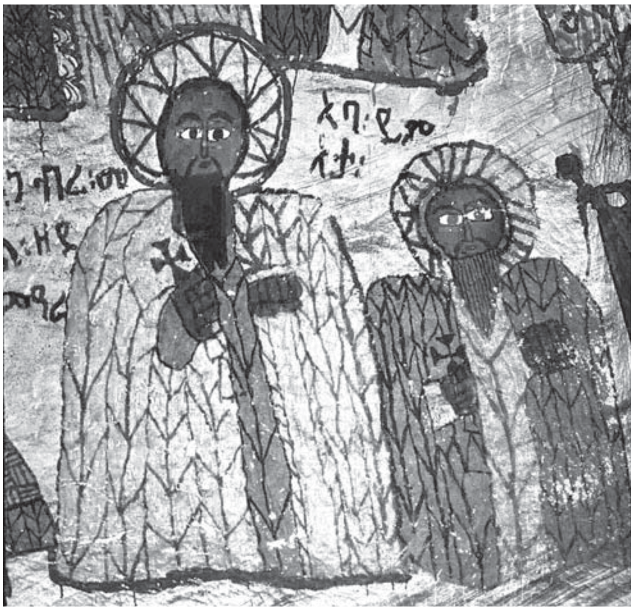
Donald Crummey

Yəmᵓata

Abba Y. (**ይምአታ**; also Yəmᶜata **ይምዐታ**) was one of the ↗Nine Saints, a group of foreign monks who probably arrived in Ethiopia in the 5th–6th cent.

The principal source on Y. is his unpublished Vita (↗*Gädl*), found in ten manuscripts (20th cent.) recently discovered (Hagos Abreha 2009). One of them is preserved in the church ↗Gʷəḥ Yəmᵓata, allegedly founded by Y. (Brita 2010: 237f.) and famous for its wall paintings. Another copy of the *Gädlä Yəmᵓata* is mentioned in a list of books in the ms. EMML no. 1601 (tit. 616). The authorship of the Vita is attributed to saint ↗Yared but, until today, there is no evidence to support this assertion.

According to the Vita, Y.'s mother was a descendant of Moses while his father was a member of a royal and sacerdotal family of Alexandria. His parents wanted him to become engaged to a daughter of the king of Antioch but Y. chose the path of monasticism. He came from the town of Qosyat (or Qosya), whose location is still uncertain. According to Nöldeke's hypothesis Qosyat



Abba Yəmᵓata and Gäbrä Mäsqäl of Däbrä Maᶜar, wall painting, 17th cent., church of John the Baptist at Mäᶜaquddi; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

is a wrong transcription of the Arabic town of al-Fusṭāṭ while according to Conti Rossini it might be identified with "Kussaye". Marrassini suggests recognizing Qosyat as the Arabic-Egyptian town of al-Qūsiyya, near Koskam (↗Qʷəsqʷam; Marrassini 1990: 36; Brita 2010: 31).

A hymn dedicated to Y. is found in the ↗*Zəmmare* manuscripts BN Éth. 372 (GrébGriaule III, 121 no. 68), 18th cent., and VatLib Aeth. 280, 18th cent. (Van Lantschoot 1962: 483).

Y. is mentioned: (a) in an ancient homily written for the feast of *abba* ↗Gärima, published by Getatchew Haile (1985) found in the two 14th-cent. manuscripts EMML no. 1763 and BritLib Orient. 8192; (b) in a ↗*sälam* dedicated to *abba* ↗Libanos (Bausi 2003: xxiii [tr.], and ch. 566); (c) in an episode of *Gädlä Liqanos* while he accompanies ↗Liqanos on a journey to heaven on a bright cloud (Brita 2008: 403–08 and 491–97); (d) in a miracle of ↗Gärima narrated in the *Gädlä Gärima* (Conti Rossini 1897: 576–79; Ducati 1939: 147); and (f) in the unpublished *Gädlä Guba* (*abba* ↗Guba; Brita 2010: 217).

Y. is commemorated in the *Sənkəssar* on 28 *Ṭəqəmt* (ColSyn VI, 154f.).

Src.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI (ed., tr.), *La «Vita» e i «Miracoli» di Libānos*, Lovanii 2003 (CSCO 595, 596 [SAe 105, 106]); BudSaint 198; ColSyn VI, 154f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "L'Omilia di Yoḥannes, vescovo di Aksum, in onore di Garimā", in: *Actes du XI Congrès des Orientalistes. Section Sémitique*, Paris 1897 [1899], 139–77; GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Homily of Luleyanos, Bishop of Aksum, on the Holy Fathers", *ABoll* 103, 1985, 385–91; HAGOS ABREHA, *Textual Analysis of Gadla Yemᵓata*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 2009; ARNAULD VAN LANTSCHOOT, "Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits vaticans éthiopiens 261–299", in: *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda,* I, Città del Vaticano 1962, I (Studi e testi 219), 453–512.

Lit.: BrakAksum 117–32; ANTONELLA BRITA, *I racconti tradizionali sulla seconda cristianizzazione dell'Etiopia. Il ciclo agiografico dei Nove Santi*, Napoli 2010 (StAfEt 7); CRStor 141–65; HAGOS ABRAHA, "Philological Analysis of the Manuscript of *Gädlä Yəmᶜata*", *Ityopis*, *Northeast Africal Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 1, 2011, 61–75; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Ethiopian Saints", in: *CE* vol. 4, 1044–56, here 1045ff. ("The Nine Saints"); KinBibl 96f.; CLAUDE LEPAGE – JACQUES MERCIER, *Art Éthiopien*: *Les églises historiques du Tigray. Ethiopian Art*: *The Ancient Churches of Tigray*, Paris 2005, 170–79; ; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "Some Considerations on the Problem of the 'Syriac Influences' on Aksumite Ethiopia", *JES* 23, 1990, 35–46; SEIFU METAFERIA, "Yämᶜata", in: *DicEthBio* 178; STUART MUNRO-HAY, "Saintly Shadows", in: *AfrHorn* 137–68; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Yemᶜātā", in: *EncSan* vol. 2, 1351; SerHist 115ff.

Antonella Brita

Yemen, relations with the

The Y., a fertile mountainous country and an ancient cradle of civilization across the ↗Red Sea, has enjoyed a long history of political continuity and of identification of local cultures with local state orders. Prior to the rise of ↗Islam, and after the third millennium B.C., the Y. had been ruled by various dynasties such as the Sabeans (↗Sabaᵓ) and the Ḥimyarites (↗Ḥimyar), and was a source of immigrants to the ↗Horn of Africa who significantly influenced the emergence of the ↗Aksumite kingdom and its culture. Between 518 or 523 and ca. 570 A.D., the Aksumites ruled in the Y., and then were expelled and replaced by the Persians (↗Iran, relations with). The rise of Islam and its spread to the Y. did not erase its unique character. The Zaydīya, a variation of Šīᶜite Islam, was adopted to legitimize the practically independent local rulers. Zaydī *imāms*, integrating political and religious authority, ruled from 897 until the revolution of September 1962, and led the royalist camp during the civil war of 1962–69. Their independence was occasionally challenged (a dynastic kingdom of ex-slaves, called "Abyssinian Mamluks" had ruled in ↗Zabīd from 1021–1159) by the Mamluks of ↗Egypt and later by the Ottomans (↗Ottoman empire). The latter made special efforts to control parts of the Y., especially when the Red Sea acquired strategic importance. This was the case, for example, during their 16th-cent. conflict with the Portuguese (↗Portugal, relations with), and during ↗World War I. In 1918, the Y. under *imām* Yaḥyā (d. 1948) was proclaimed independent. In 1839, the British occupied Aden and its hinterland, proclaimed it a colony, and ruled there until 1967. They thus created South Y., which united with the Y. in 1990.

Though the *imām*s and the practically autonomous Zaydī tribes of the mountainous north were happy to confine themselves to their lands, ↗Yemenis, especially those of urban background, had quite an impact on Ethiopia over the years. ↗Trade relations, mainly ↗coffee and ↗*čat*, immigration since ancient times, and religious scholars spreading Islam in the Horn – all gave room to the often-recycled Arab myth that the Ethiopians were originally Yemenites. More concrete, however, were actual relations at major historical junctures. The Ethiopian occupation of the Y. in the 6th cent. A.D. and the attempt of the Ethiopian local commander ↗Abraha to conquer ↗Mecca in 570 left a mark on Islamic history. Yemenis' participation in ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's attempt to occupy and islamize Christian Ethiopia (recorded in the ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* by the Yemeni ᶜArabfaqīh) left its impact on Ethiopia. An effort in the 1640s by *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs to build a Red Sea anti-Ottoman and anti-European alliance with his contemporary *imām*s led a Yemeni mission to visit his court (recorded by envoy ↗Ḥasan Aḥmad al-Ḥaymī). The mission failed, due to *imām* al-Mutawakkil ᶜalā Allāh Ismāᶜīl's (r. 1644–68) insistence that the Ethiopian emperor should convert to Islam. Throughout the 19th cent., Yemeni traders and scholars had substantial influence on the islamization process of the Oromo, and many Yemeni men settled especially in Ǧimma and in Harär, intermarrying with locals. In 1924, *ras* Täfäri (later ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) visited Aden to promote trade and to encourage Yemeni traders and craftsmen, including many Jews, to settle in Ethiopia. In 1926, the Italians in Eritrea signed a treaty with the Y. hoping eventually to use her as a jumping board to ↗Arabia. In 1934, Ḫaylä Śəllase I sent aid to *imām* Yaḥyā, who was then fighting for, and losing, a northern province to the Saudis. The agreement on establishing formal diplomatic ties between Ethiopia and the Yemen was signed in Ṣanᶜāᵓ on 22 March 1935.

In 1949–50 the Yemeni Community School (*Madrasat al-ǧālīya al-yamanīya*) was founded in Addis Abäba. The first consulate of the Yemen was opened in 1952. Ethiopia's diplomatic mission was established in Ṣanᶜāᵓ a year later. The relations between North Y. and Ethiopia were upgraded to the ambassadorial level in 1967.

The Y.'s relevance to Ethiopia culminated during the 1962–69 civil war in the Y., which developed into a struggle between pan-Arabism and Arab conservatism. Imperial Ethiopia rendered help to Yemeni royalists headed by the deposed *imām* Aḥmad.

After the 1974 Ethiopian ↗Revolution, South Y. (independent since 1967) became even more relevant. Led by ᶜAlī Nāṣir Muḥammad, it joined the Soviet camp, helped to train Eritrean separatists and in 1981 officially allied with Mängəśtu's Ethiopia in a tripartite treaty that included Libya. The northern Y., meanwhile, saw the victory of a traditional-modern formula. In 1969, the pan-Arab revolutionaries in the capital Sanᶜāᵓ were defeated and the Zaydī tribes, who themselves finally abolished the Imāmate, built a sort of tribal-parliamentarian-modern republic. With the deterioration of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of [South] Y. was weakened and in 1990, it united under the hegemony of northern Y. Since the overthrow of the military regime in Ethiopia in 1991, bilateral relations with the united Y. have been continuously strengthened by economical ties.

Src.: BassÉt.; DonHaySirat; DonMurad.

Lit.: AbPrince; AbSea; BRADFORD G. MARTIN, "Arab Migration to East Africa", *IJAHS* 17, 3, 1975, 367–90; ID., "Mahdism, Muslim Clerics, and Holy Wars in Ethiopia, 1300–1600", in: *USCES* 91–100; ID., *Muslim Brotherhoods in 19th-Century Africa*, Cambridge 1976 (African Studies Series 18); ErlEth; HAGGAI ERLICH, *Saudi Arabia and Ethiopia, Islam, Christianity and Politics Entwined,* Boulder, CO 2007; MHasOr 133–62; SerHist; TÄKLÄ ṢADƎQ MÄKʷƎRIYA, **የግራኝ ፡ አሕመድ ፡ ወረራ** (*Yägrañ Aḥmäd wärära*, 'The Invasion of Aḥmad Grañ'), Addis Abäba 1976 A.M. [1983 A. D.]; EMERI VAN DONZEL, "Quelques remarques sur la correspondance en arabe de la cour Éthiopienne 1642–1706", in: CHRISTIAN ROBIN (ed.), *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à Maxime Rodinson par ses élèves, ses collègues et ses amis*, Paris 1985 (Comptes rendus du groupe linguistique d'étude chamito-sémitiques, suppl. 12), 401–09; ID., "Correspondence between Fasiladas and the Imams of Yemen", in: *PICES* 6, 91–100; ID., "Foreign Relations during the Reign of King Fāsiladas", *ibid.* 11, vol. 1, 117–22.

Haggai Erlich

Yemenis in Ethiopia and Eritrea

Beginning from the late 19th and the early 20th cent. a steady stream of Yemeni emigrants settled in the

Horn of Africa, especially in the major Ethiopian and Eritrean towns where they established themselves as shopkeepers and itinerant traders. During the following Italian occupation (↗Africa Orientale Italiana), the Italians, who had strong relations with the Y., recruited Yemenis as labourers for the construction of roads. After the ↗Liberation, a great number of Yemenis chose to remain in Ethiopia while new emigrants arrived in the 1940s and 1950s many of them marrying Ethiopian women. Most of the Yemenis who settled in Eritrea before and after the Italian war of 1935–36 originated from the mountains of ↗Ḥaḍramawt and are, therefore, known under the name of *ǧabali* ('mountain people'). Important Yemeni families in Eritrea were the Bazarᶜa, Bakherheb, Bahuberš and Bamušmuš etc.

In ↗Addis Abäba, during the first decades of the 20th cent., the mutton ↗trade "was mainly in the hands of Yemeni Arabs, Greeks and Armenians" (Pankhurst 2005:213). Some were ↗*č̣at* and water vendors. The petty Yemeni traders gradually evolved into wholesale merchants, exporters of ↗coffee, grain, ↗spices, and hides and skins (↗Leather), and importers of textiles and other products for the domestic market. There were also Yemeni teachers, lorry drivers and restaurateurs. There were quarters in several towns exclusively inhabited by Yemenis (e.g., in ↗Däse). The Yemenis hired Ethiopians as assistants in their small retail shops (**ያረብ ፡ ሱቅ**, *yaräb suq*, Eritrea: **ያረብ ፡ ዱኳን**, *yaräb dukkʷan*) and gave them informal training. It was these Ethiopians who eventually filled the gap created by the departure of the Yemenis shortly before and during the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) regime (s. below).

The Yemenis played a crucial role in the dissemination of the Yemeni Arabic dialect in Ethiopia. In contrast to the first immigrant generation, the second-generation (so-called *kəlləs*; Arab. *muwallad*) were fluent in Amharic, but they made no attempt to publicly propagate the Šīᶜite sect of Zaydī, suggesting that the majority of Yemenis were Sunnīs (cf. Ḥaḍramawt).

The status of the Yemenis in imperial Ethiopia was ambivalent. Before the ↗Italian war 1935–36 *imām* Yaḥyā Muḥammad Ḥāmidaddīn, king of North Y. (r. 1926–48), recognized the northern Yemenis residing in Ethiopia as his subjects. As expatriates the Yemenis were not legally allowed to buy land. However, this was not enforced because they had children born of Ethiopian mothers; and they could purchase houses and other forms of property. Some Yemenis could reach higher positions and were patronized by the Court, such as, e.g., the carpet trader *šayḫ* Muḥammad Aḥmad Šariyān who received the title of *qäññazmač*. Already in 1896/97 ᶜAbdallāh Ṭāhā had been appointed governor of ↗Ǧiǧiga and there supervised the construction of the fortress and the establishment of a special security force and a customs office. In 1904 he led a military expedition in the ↗Ogaden.

After World War II the immigrant Yemeni population in Ethiopia started to become a reason for debate among non-Muslim intellectuals. A memorandum in Amharic written in 1948, most likely by ↗Gäbrä Wäld Ǝngəda Wärq, identified the Arab community in Ethiopia as agents of Islamic expansion and Muslim opposition in the country. It recommended that the Ministries of Interior and Foreign Affairs should be instructed not to grant residence and work permits to Arabs (Wudu Tafete Kassu 2006:271). In 1969, ignoring the role played by the Syrian Front for the Liberation of Eritrea, the Arabian governments including the Yemen were accused of supporting the Eritrean independence movement. In many towns there were state-orchestrated protest demonstrations calling for the expulsion of the resident Arabs. Indigenous merchants were also suspected of fomenting this sentiment in order to end the predominance of the Arabs in the retail trade. A few Yemenis were physically harassed and assaulted, and their shops sacked. The Yemenis in Addis Abäba and Asmära staged demonstrations against the anti-Arab public hysteria and a significant number left the country. However, possibly because of the fear of reaction from the Arab world, neither the imperial government nor its successor implemented any formal directive that compelled the Arabs to leave Ethiopia.

During the 1973/74 ↗famine in Ethiopia, the Yemenis contributed a significant amount of money for relief work. But this did not protect them from further discrimination. After the outbreak of the ↗Revolution, the *Därg* government implemented a policy that nationalized private enterprises. This led to the second wave of re-migration of Yemenis to the Y. Today's small Yemeni community in Ethiopia is relatively free from negative stereotypes attached to foreigners and their economic activities have increased again.

Src.: QĀᵓID MUḤAMMAD QĀᵓID AL-ᶜANSĪ, *At-tadāḫul as-sukkānī wa aṯaruhu fī l-ᶜalāqāt al-yamanīya al-habašīya 1900–2000* ('Population mixing and its influence on the Yemeni-Ethiopian relationship'), n.p. n.d. [2004 A.D.].

Lit.: Janet Ewald – William G. Clarence-Smith, "The Economic Role of the Hadhrami Diaspora in the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden, 1820s to 1930", in: Ulrike Freitag – William G. Clarence-Smith (eds.), *Hadhrami Traders, Scholars and Statesmen in the Indian Ocean, 1750s–1960s*, Leiden – New York – Köln 1997; Alessandro Gori, *Contatti culturali nell'OceanoIndiano e nel Mer Rosso e processi di islamizzazione in Etiopia e Somalia*, Venezia 2006; Hussein Ahmed, "A Brief Note on the Yemeni Arabs in Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 1, 339–48 (Lit.); Id., "Archival Sources on the Yemeni Arabs in Urban Ethiopia: the Dessie Municipality", *History in Africa* 27, 2000, 31–37 (Lit.); Id., "Faith and Trade: the Market Stalls around the Anwar Mosque in Addis Ababa during Ramadān", *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 19,2, 1999, 261–68 (Lit.); Bradford G. Martin, "Arab Migrations to East Africa in Medieval Times", *IJAHS* 7, 3, 1975, 367–90; Jonathan Miran, "Red Sea Translocals: Hadrami Migration, Entrepreneurship, and Strategies of Integration in Eritrea, 1840s–1970s", *NEASt* 12, 1, 2012, 129–67; Richard Pankhurst, "Across the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden: Ethiopia's Historic Ties with Yemen", *Africa* (Roma) 57, 2002, 393–419; Id., "Economic Change in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Ethiopia: a Period of Accelerated Innovation", *AE* 20, 2005, 195–220, here 213; Samson Abebe Bezabeh, *Yemenis in Dire Dawa, Eastern Ethiopia: a Study of Migration and Identity*, M.A. thesis, Department of Social Anthropology, Addis Ababa University 2004; Wudu Tafete Kassu, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church, the Ethiopian State and the Alexandrian See: Indigenizing the Episcopacy and Forging National Identity 1926–1991*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign 2006.

Hussein Ahmed – Red.

Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos

Y.K. (**ይምርሐነ ፡ ክርስቶስ**; r. second half of the 12th cent.) was the third king of the ↗Zagʷe Dynasty, son of Gərwa Śəyyum and successor of his paternal uncle Ṭänṭäwədəm.

As in the case of most other important Zagʷe rulers, the main source of information on Y.K.'s life is his ↗*Gädl* – a text written according to the hagiographical, not historical, literary tradition. It is known from three manuscripts at least, VatLib Cerulli 224, EMML no. 6031, and EMML no. 7911, all from the 19th cent. and derived from the same archetype. He is also commemorated in *mälkəʾ*, usually together with ↗Lalibäla and ↗Näʾakkʷəto Läʾab (s., e.g., ms. EMML no. 1548, with three *mälkəʾ*, one for each ruler, as well as another hymn to Lalibäla; mss. EMML no. 1837 fol. 130r and 4139 fols. 23r–29r with one *mälkəʾ* for the three rulers).

As usual in the Zagʷe traditions, the story begins with problems of royal succession: the uncle of Y.K. (whose name is usually shortened to "Yəmrəḥa"), Ṭänṭäwədəm, is jealous of the boy, son of his brother Gərwa Śəyyum, and is afraid he could take the throne instead of his son; he eventually decides to kill the boy, but Y.K.'s mother arranges his escape. After being ordained deacon by the Patriarch, Y.K. lives in foreign countries, hidden from the king. He wanders "from desert to desert", always protected by the Holy Spirit, and gets married only after some insistence from the Lord. After this he becomes a priest. Once, while Y.K. is singing in the church, Our Lord predicts his reign, and gives him the royal name of Dawit (i.e. David). He arrives in his country (Bəgʷna), where he composes, at the request of the local people, a homily on the Creation, and settles a rivalry between two brothers. After the death of his uncle he becomes king, but continues to concern himself with the contrast between priesthood and kingship.

Y.K. begins to build an edifice (of an unclear nature) in Wägrä Səḫin, on a site pointed out by the Lord and St. Raphael, and places there the *tabot* of St. Cyriacus (↗Qirqos). This connection of the entire Zagʷe dynasty with the Child Qirqos is very important: ms. EMML no. 4816 contains a miracle of Cyriacus helping Y.K. to build the church dedicated to the martyr (fols. 59r–63r); according to tradition and to the Acts of ↗Iyäsus Moʾa, the last Zagʷe king, ↗Yətbaräk, sought refuge from ↗Yəkunno Amlak in the church of the same Qirqos (KurMoa 28 [text], s. ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos church).

Following the indication of the Lord, Y.K. transforms the building into a magnificent church, receiving different ornaments and decorations from ↗Egypt (having asked for these from the king of Egypt in a letter accompanied by a gift of gold) and Rome (↗Byzantine empire). Y.K. dies during an expedition to take gold and silver for the church (not approved by the Lord) "towards the West" (or "towards Arabia", in both cases *mängälä aräb)*, on 19 *Ṭəqəmt*. Before dying, Y.K. asks Jesus Christ to reinstall "Israel" on the throne (i.e. the legitimate ↗Solomonic dynasty, dethroned, according to tradition, by the Zagʷe).

It is difficult to point out truly "historical facts" in the Acts of Y.K. Perhaps the only ones are the building of the church (very common in the Zagʷe dynasty, but also in general for Ethiopian kings), and the relationship with ↗Egypt. According to Taddesse Tamrat, Y.K. "inaugurated the Zagwé tradition of building ↗rock-hewn churches, and the communication with the ruler of Egypt about building material probably indicates a fresh revival of the long and close cultural contacts between the two countries" (TadTChurch 58), but these contacts are only discussed very generally. When

↗Abū Ṣāliḥ reports that the kings of Ethiopia were also priests, it does not necessarily have to “only fit with Yimrha” (ibid., cp. also Pirenne in PICES 10). While Y.K. was indeed already a priest before his coronation, some degree of connection between political and religious function is common among Ethiopian rulers, who received a traditional education and frequently served as deacons. Thus, the restriction to only one person of what could be a more general characteristic of Ethiopian kingship may be arguable (s. Marrassini 1995: 3f.).

Src.: mss. EMML nos. 1548, 1837, 4139, 4816, 6031; ms. VatLib Cerulli etiop. 224; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, “‘The Wealth of Kings’ and the End of the Zāguē Dynasty”, *BSOAS* 28, 1965, 1–23, here 8; KinBibl 97, no. 172; KurMoa 28 (text) = 23 (tr.); PAOLO MARRASSINI (ed., tr.), *Il* Gadla Yemreḥanna Krestos. *Introduzione, commento critico, traduzione*, Napoli 1995 (Annali IUO 55, 4, 1995, Supplemento 85; Lit.).

Lit.: SEVIR B. CHERNETSOV, “On the Question of Royal Succession during Zague Period”, *St. Petersburg Journal of African Studies* 4, 1995, 103–17; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, “Appunti ed osservazioni sopra i re Zāguē”, *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 4, 1895, 341–59; ID., “Appunti ed osservazioni sui re Zāguē e Takla Hāymānot”, *ibid.* 444–68; ID., “Sulla dinastia Zâguê”, *L’Oriente* 2, 1895–96 [1897], 144–59; MARIE-LAURE DERAT, “The Zāgʷē Dynasty (11-13th Centuries) and King Yemreḥanna Krestos”, *AE* 24, 2009, 157–96; KINEFE-RIGB ZELLEKE – BELAYNESH MICHAEL, “Yemrehannä-Krestos”, in: *DicEthBio* 183–84; PAOLO MARRASSINI, “A Note on Zāgwē Kingship”, *Paideuma* 36, 1990, 185–88; ID., “Un caso africano: la dinastia Zague in Etiopia”, in: SERGIO BERTELLI – PIETRO CLEMENTE (eds.), *Tracce dei vinti*, Firenze 1994 (Quaderni del castello di Gargonza 8), 200–29; STUART MUNRO-HAY, “‘The Coronation’ of the Emperors of Ethiopia at Aksum”, in: *StudAeth* 177–94, here 178; JACQUELINE PIRENNE, “Le ‘Prêtre Jean’ d’Éthiopie: Yimrehane Kristos”, in: *PICES* 10, 121–26; EAD., *La légende du «Pretre Jean»*, Strasbourg 1992, 37–46; TadTChurch 53–64, here 55 n. 58; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, “Yemreḥanna Krestos”, in: *EncSan* vol. 2, 1357–58.

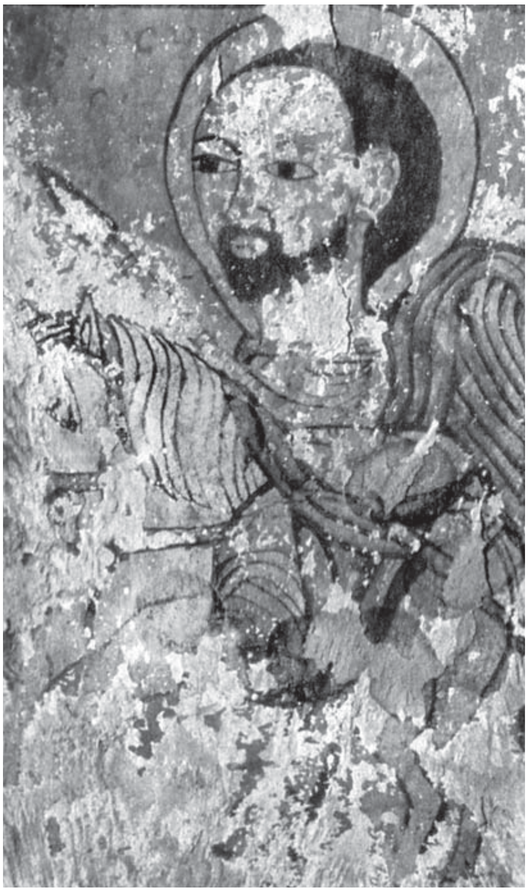
Paolo Marrassini

Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos in art

Similarly to the ↗Zagʷe kings ↗Ḥarbay, ↗Lalibäla and ↗Näʾakkʷəto Läʾab, Y.K. has appeared in ↗painting since the 15th cent., primarily in the regions connected to this royal dynasty, i.e. ↗Lasta and ↗Wag.

It seems that the oldest presently known pictures of the king are found on two triptychs dating to the 15th/16th cent. and originating from Lasta. On the first, IES 3450, Y.K. is depicted as a holy rider, wearing a halo in addition to a royal diadem, mounted on a white horse and holding a lance together with a staff cross. Placed on the left wing of the triptych he faces St. ↗George, both of them flanking a representation of Mary with Child. In a similar context and with the same characteristics he is depicted on the second triptych belonging to the church of Näʾakkʷəto Läʾab near ↗Lalibäla. The 16th-cent. wall painting of the ↗Yädəbba Maryam church applies the same iconography despite the fact that the invocation which accompanies the picture emphasizes Y.K.’s priesthood.

From the 17th cent. numerous representations of Y.K. are known. There are the miniatures: in the collection of Zagʷe kings’ lives belonging to the ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos church and in the ↗*sənsul* kept in the ↗Ǝšätän Maryam church near Lalibäla. They are executed in the “geometrical style” connected to Lasta and portray the king alongside the other Zagʷe rulers, all rendered frontally and each holding a book. On these representations were based the painting on the external wall of the civil building in the Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos church complex and the



Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos, detail of a triptych, 16th cent., church of Näʾakkʷəto Läʾab; photo 2007, courtesy of the author coloured drawing illustrating the life of Y.K. in a manuscript kept in this church.

In the church of ↗Wəqro Mäsqäl near ↗Säqoṭa Y.K. is depicted on the external wall with three other Zagʷe kings, all mounted, armed and haloed.

Many round churches in Wag, decorated with wall paintings between the 18th and 20th cent., add portraits of Zagʷe kings including Y.K. to the suite of the ↗equestrian saints, as for instance the church of Däbrä Ṣ̌äḥay in Säqoṭa.

Lit.: ChojPaint 293; BEATRICE PLAYNE, *St. George for Ethiopia*, London 1954, 118ff., 161f., 172f.

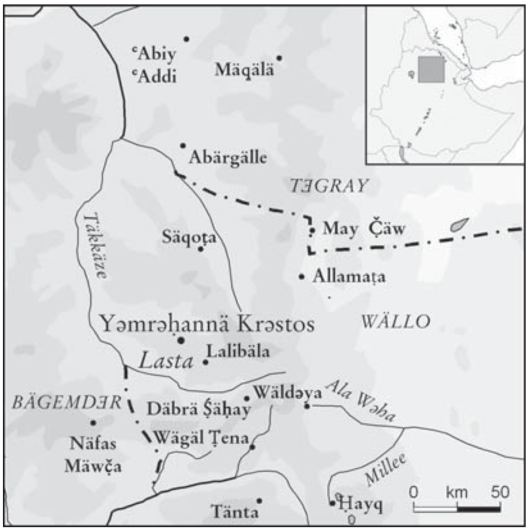
Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos

Y.K. (**ይምርሐነ ፡ ክርስቶስ**) is a church situated in a natural cave on the slopes of the Abunä Yosef massif in ↗Lasta, 17 km from ↗Lalibäla. According to hagiographic tradition, it was built by the ↗Zagʷe king ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos and dedicated to St. ↗Qirqos. Architecturally, it probably belongs to the mid-13th cent. and is contemporary to Betä Amanuʾel in Lalibäla. North of the church are two lay structures thought to have served as "royal appartments". Three tombs to the south are said to house the remains of Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos, a patriarch from Alexandria and the king's daughter or wife. The *betä ləḥem* (↗Church buildings) lies to the south-east, beside the 3 m-high wall that encloses the whole complex within the cave.

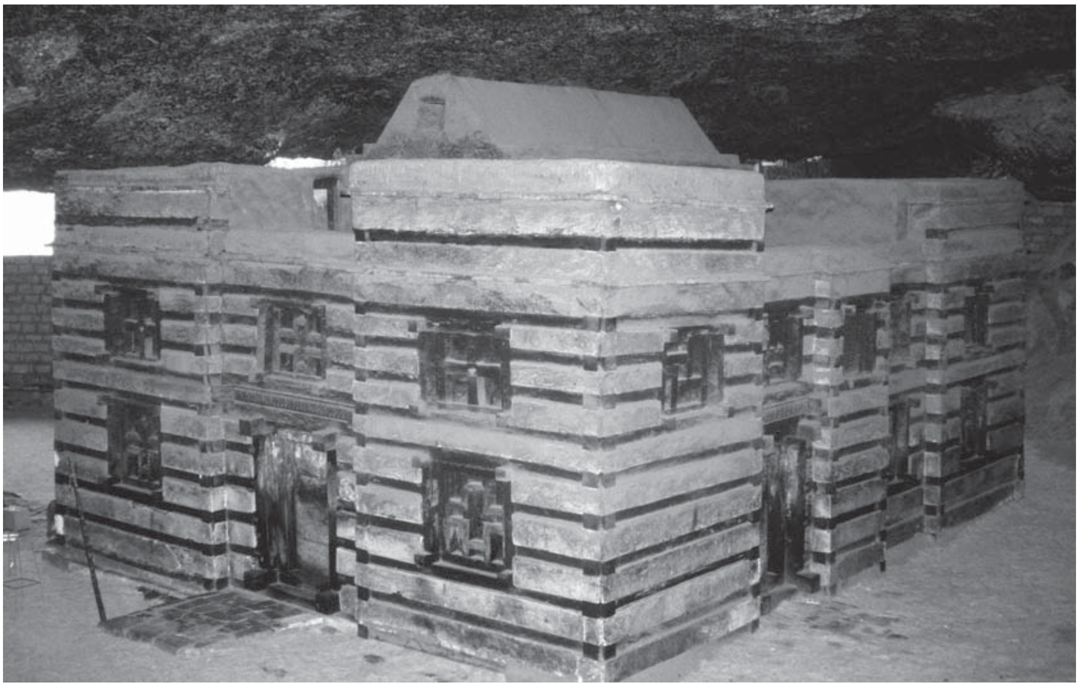
The church shows features considered common to Aksumite ↗architecture, although it frequently diverges from ancient techniques. It is constructed of split stones dressed with white stucco and with wooden planks. 90°-angle buttresses support the four corners. Quoins and buttresses render unnecessary the wall ties or "monkey heads", typical of ↗Däbrä Damo and other early churches. There are portals in the north (main entrance), south and west façades.

The church is built on a basilica plan, the interior measuring 10.6 m x 7.9 m. It consists of four bays. The eastern bay is occupied by a sanctuary flanked by two side rooms (2.9 m high), the western may be considered a pseudo-narthex. The ceilings are flat, except for the domed sanctuary and the 6.55 m high ceilings below a saddle-back roof of the second and third bays of the nave. Two pairs of stone pillars separate the nave from the aisles and support arches resting on bracket capitals. A triumphal arch stands at the entrance to the sanctuary. The church has 26 windows, of which six are blind. The windows on the north and east façades are decorated with alternating ↗wood and white-stone tracery, or carved wooden panels. In the interior, everything from the aisle ceilings and up is constructed entirely of wood. The wooden dome (2.6–2.7 m in diameter), supported on an octagonal frame, stands 7 m above the sanctuary. Stretching north-south across the centre of the saddle-back ceiling is a massive tie beam. A wooden carved door, possibly of Coptic manufacture, separates the sanctuary side-room from the north aisle.



The coffered saddle-back roof and the cupola, the central tie-beam, friezes and panels of the architrave, the arches, capitals and spandrels are adorned with geometrical and vegetal ornament in the form of wood carvings (often painted), wooden inlay and painted stucco. Two aisle ceilings at the north and west portals bear motifs: animals, fabulous creatures, and human figures. The style is reminiscent of the Copto-Islamic international style, which developed from the 11th cent. in the areas influenced by Arabic culture, and may have been brought to Ethiopia by Coptic craftsmen.

The wall ↗paintings in the northern aisle show saints and Christological scenes: northern wall: the Entry of the Holy Family into Egypt, the Baptism of Jesus, the Washing of the Apostles' Feet, the ↗Crucifixion (without Christ's body on the cross), the Holy Women at the Tomb, *Noli me tangere*, and Doubting Thomas; eastern wall: Entry into Jerusalem, Ascension – *Maiestas Domini*, Pentecost, ↗Equestrian saints (Philoteos, probably Qirqos, Sisinios and ↗Menas) and, in the south-east corner, possibly the ↗Evangelists. The style and iconography of the murals



The church of Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos, west and south façades; photo 2007, courtesy of Michael Gervers

probably points to a Coptic workshop of the mid- to late 13th cent.

Two painted panels with fantasy animals are presently fastened to the upper exterior frame of the church's north portal. When the panels were first noted by Alessandro Monti della Corte and identified as parts of a box or a small coffer, they were five in number. The provenance and dating of the object, obviously imported, cannot be established with certainty but it shows some resemblance to an Indian painting inside a shield recently discovered in the church of the Saviour of the World in ↗Lalibäla.

The only known standing civilian buildings to have survived from before the 16th cent. are found close to the north wall of the cave. They share a common east-west wall. The easternmost, probably older, structure could have served as a reception hall, and the tower-like one at the west end as a residence and treasury. The external eastern wall of the "hall" bears a painting in the 17th-cent. geometric style of Lasta: a figure with a halo holding a sword, most probably Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos, flanked by the epitomes of the ↗Sun and the ↗Moon. The double-hung door presently providing access to the church compound may once have served as the entrance portal to the "hall". It bears a low relief showing a pair of confronted horses.

The property register of the church lists some 205 objects and liturgical implements including 58 ↗manuscripts, among them the one containing the Acts of Zagʷe kings ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos, ↗Lalibäla, ↗Näʾakkʷəto Läʾab and ↗Ḥarbay, and one of the Acts of Qirqos, which also contain stories related to Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos. Both date to the 17th cent. and are illuminated in the geometric Lastan style.

Four old wooden *mänabərta tabotat* (↗*tabot*) were registered in the church, all decorated with carved floral and cross motifs, and two paintings on wood: a 16th-cent. triptych with the ↗Trinity in the central panel and two wings of a triptych belonging to the 15th-cent. school of painting associated with ↗Fəre Ṣəyon.

Among 32 ↗crosses in the possession of the church, the most valuable are: an iron staff-cross executed between the 12th–14th cent., a probably 14th-cent. shafted circular bronze cross, a 15th-cent. iron four-lobed hand cross, a shafted cross with openwork design using birds, palmettes and cross motifs and a probably 16th-cent. metal hand cross of foreign manufacture, decorated with low relief in a repoussé technique.

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar 202–05; LINO BIANCHI-BARRIVIERA, "Le chiese in roccia di Lalibelà e di altri luoghi del Lasta", *RSE* 19, 1963, 5–94, here 81–91, 115ff., fig. 55, 57f.; PAOLO

Marrassini (ed., tr.), *Il* Gadla Yemreḥanna Krestos. *Introduzione, commento critico, traduzione*, Napoli 1995 (Annali IUO 55, 4, 1995, Supplemento 85); André Miquel "Reconnaissance dans le Lasta (Décembre 1955)", *AE* 13, 1959, 131–70, here 132f., 143f., pl. lxviiic/d; Alessandro Augusto Monti della Corte, *Lalibelà, la chiese ipogee monolitiche e gli altri monumenti medievali del Lasta,* Roma 1940, 154–66, pl. xxxvii–xxxviii; Id., "Un gioiello archeologico tra le montagne del Lasta: il santuario di Imrahanè-Christos", in: *Paesi del Mondo*, Roma 1940 (= *Bollettino della Reale Società Geografica Italiana* 77), 363–68.

Lit.: Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, "Islamic Elements in Ethiopian Pictorial Tradition. A Preliminary Survey", in: Alessandro Gori – Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti (eds.), *L'Islam in Etiopia. Bilanci e prospettive,* Roma 2010 (= *Civiltà del Mediterraneo* 16–17), 109–31, here 121, 128f., figs. 1, 19, 22f.; Ead. – Michael Gervers, "The Church of Yəmräḥannä Krəstos and its Wall-Paintings: a Preliminary Report", *Africana Bulletin* 49, 2001, 9–47, figs. 1–16; Ead. – Witold Witakowski, "Praying with Holy Pictures: an Ethiopian Tryptych and Its Donors", in: Denis Searby – Ewa Balicka-Witakowska – Johan Held (eds.), *Studies in Honour of Jan Olof Rosenqvist*, Uppsala 2012 (Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 12), 63–73, figs. 1–16; Irmgard Bidder, *Lalibela. Monolithkirchen in Äthiopien*, Köln 1958, 38f., 129–32, fig. p. 10, pl. 52–62; Claire Bosc-Tiessé, "Gouverner et définir un territoire. Géopolitique, art et production manuscrite au Lāstā", *AE* 24, 2009, 87–148, here 124f., fig. 8; David Buxton, "The Christian Antiquities of Northern Ethiopia", *Archaeologia* 92, 1947, 1–42, here 14–21, pl. IVa, Va–d; Id., *Travels in Ethiopia*, London 1949, 178f., fig. 132; Ian Campbell, "An Analysis of the Architectural Canons of the Church of Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos", in: *PICES* 15, 417–27; Stanislaw Chojnacki, "Peinture pariétale, icons, manuscrits, croix et autres objects liturgiques", in: Walter Raunig (ed.), *L'art en Éthiopie,* Paris 2005, 177f., fig. 141f.; DicEthBio 183f.; Michael Gervers, "Quand la liturgie modèle les églises", *Religions & Histoire* 17: *L'Éthiopie chrétienne*, 2007, 50–59, here 53f.; GerKir [2] 109–14, figs. 110–29; Girmah Elias – Claude Lepage – Jacques Mercier, "Peintures murales du XII^{e} siècle découvertes dans l'église Yemrehana Krestos en Éthiopie", *Académie des Inscriptions et Belle-Lettres. Comptes rendus,* 2001, 311–34; Ernst Hammerschidt – Otto Jäger, *Illuminierte äthiopische Handschriften,* Wiesbaden 1968 (VOHD 15), 11; Ewald Hein – Brigitte Kleidt, *Ethiopia – Christian Africa*: *Art, Churches and Culture*, Ratingen 1999, 112–19; Otto Jäger – Ivy Pearce, *Antiquities of North Ethiopia*: *A Guide*, Stuttgart 1974, 149; KinBibl 97; Claude Lepage, "Le premier art chrétien d'Éthiopie: Les églises et leur architecture", *Les Dossiers de l'Archéologie*, 8: *Découverte de l'Ethiopie chrétienne*, Janvier–Février 1975, 34–59 here 40f., 44; Id. – Jacques Mercier, "Évolution de l'architecture des églises éthiopiennes du XII^{e} au milieu du XV^{e} siècle", *AE* 22, 2006, 9–43, here 13ff.; Jules Leroy, *L'Éthiopie. Archéologie et culture,* Paris 1973, 108, figs. 44f.; Jacques Mercier – Claude Lepage, *Lalibela*: *Wonder of Ethiopia. The Monolithic Churches and Their Treasures*, London 2012, passim; Stuart Munro-Hay, *Ethiopia the Unknown Land. A Cultural and Historical Guide*, London 2002, 225–30; Dervla Murphy, *In Ethiopia with a Mule*, London – New York 1968, 228–32; Sylvia Pankhurst, "Imrahanna Kristos", *EthObs* 4, 7, 1960, 225–28; Lothar Pasher, "Vingt-cinq siècles d'architecture. Les monuments les plus importants", in: Walter Raunig (ed.), *L'art en Éthiopie,* Paris 2005, 45–157, here 76–80, figs. 57–62; David W. Phillipson, *Ancient Churches of Ethiopia, Fourth–Fourteenth Centuries*, New Haven, CT – London 2009, 74–81, 85, 105, 188f.; Beatrice Playne, *St. George for Ethiopia,* London 1954, 118ff.; Roger Sauter, "Où en est notre connaissance des églises rupestres d'Éthiopie", *AE* 5, 1963, 235–92, here 262; Luc Stevens, *Les églises troglodytiques d'Ethiopie*: *Lalibela,* Namur 2003, 79–83, pl. IV; Jan Tromp, "Aksumite Architecture and Church Building in the Ethiopian Highlands", *Early Christian Art in its Late Antique and Islamic Contexts* 4, 2007, 49–75, here 67–71, fig. 11; **የቅዱስ ፡ ይምርሐነ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ታሪክና ፡ በአካባቢው ፡ የቅዱሳን ፡ መካናት** (*Yäqəddus Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos tarikənna bäʾakkababiw yäqəddusan mäkanat*, 'The History of St. Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos and Nearby Holy Sites'), Addis Abäba 2001.

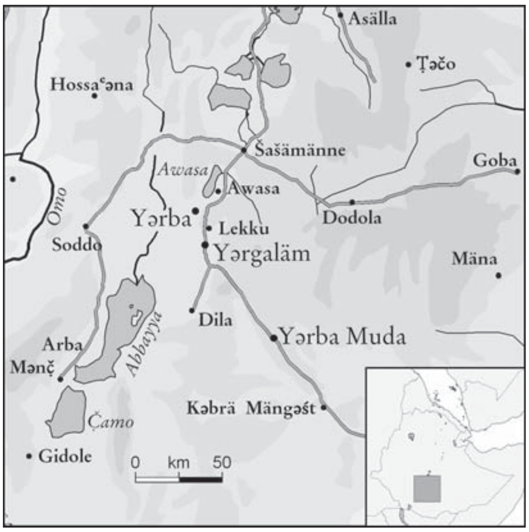
Ewa Balicka-Witakowska – Michael Gervers

Yərba

Y. (**ይርባ**, also Irba) is a small town in today's ↗Sidaama zone of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region. It is the administrative centre of Yərba-Borričča *wäräda* and has a population of 4,156 (CSA 2008).

The town came into existence in the 1880s as a traditional politico-religious centre. The central spot was the *gudumaale*, a sacred ↗sycamore tree under whose shade religious rituals and administrative meetings were held. In particular, the place served for the celebration of the *fičee*, the Sidaama New Year's ceremony. The founder of Y. was Worawo Heeyyakko, the chief notable (*balabbat*) of the Yanaase clan. As such, Y. is one of the very few towns in Sidaama zone that was not originally founded as a garrison (↗*Kätäma*).

Formerly, Y. was also known as *buʾla ama dikko* ('market for *buʾla*') because the main



item sold at its market was high-quality ↗*ənsät* starch (S. *buʾla*, Amh. *bulla*). Nowadays, Y. is an important commercial centre between Lekku and Baleela. In earlier times people from as far as ↗Allaaba and ↗Arsi regions came to trade in Y. During the Italian occupation an all-weather road was constructed which starts at Moroččo, crosses Y. and ends in Diinto, near the Bilate River.

Src.: personal communication with Higiso Baraasa, Geleelča Mälkamu Täfärra 2006; CSA 2008.

Lit.: AMBAYE OGATO, *A History of Non-Garrison Towns in Sidama. With Particular Reference to Erba Town*, B.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 2000.

Anbessa Teferra

Yərba Muda

Y.M. (Amh. **ይርባ ፡ ሙዳ**, Or. Yirbaa Muudaa, 2,491 m A.S.L.) is a small town located on the Šašämänne–Nägäle–Boräna road (for location s. map for Yərba). It is part of the Bore *wäräda* of the Boorana zone of Oromiyyaa *kəlləl*. Before the 1987-administrative reform it belonged in the Ǧämǧäm *awraǧǧa* of the ↗Sidamo province.

Y.M. was founded as a ↗*kätäma* after the Ethiopian conquest which controlled the ↗Guǧǧi Oromo highlands. Y.M. was also one of the regional ↗coffee markets. During the Italian occupation it became a stopping place on the then planned Addis Abäba–Mogadishu road. In this small administrative centre of a coffee and ↗*ənsät* region there are a school, a Norwegian mission (during the 1960s) and a few shops as well as hotels and a garage along the main street.

Y.M. is also one of the places of the Guǧǧi ↗pilgrimages (s. also ↗*abbaa muudaa*, ↗*muudaa*; ↗*qaalluu*; Van de Loo 1991: 14, 54).

Its population increased rather slowly: 915 inhabitants in 1984, 2,035 inhabitants in 2004, 2,235 inhabitants in 2007 (CSA 2008).

Src.: CSA 2004; CSA 2006; CSA 2008; CONSOCIAZIONE TURISTICA ITALIANA, *Carta dell'Africa Orientale Italiana, scala 1: 1 000 000*, no. 4, Milano (n.d.); EMAtlas; Guida 598; BERNHARD LINDAHL, *Local History of Ethiopia*, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet (ms.).

Lit.: HENRI DEHÉRAIN, “Les Katamas dans les provinces méridionales de l'Abyssinie pendant le règne de l'empereur Ménélik”, *Bulletin de la Section géographie du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* 29, 1914, 225–51; CHARLES W. MCCLELLAN, *State Transformation and National Integration: Gedeo and the Ethiopian Empire, 1895–1935*, East Lansing, MI 1988, 106; JOSEPH VAN DE LOO, *Guji Oromo Culture in Southern Ethiopia: Religious Capabilities in Rituals and Songs*, Berlin 1991 (Collectanea Instituti Anthropos 39), 14, 54.

Alain Gascon

Yərgaläm

Y. (**ይርጋለም**, also Yərga ^{c}Aläm; 6°45' N, 38° 25' E) is a town in the Sidaama zone of today's Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region (for location s. map for Yərba). The original inhabitants of the area around Y. belong to the ↗Sidaama ethnic group. According to the 2007 census the population is 30,348 (CSA 2008).

The town lies at 1,760 m A.S.L. in the ↗*wäyna däga* agro-ecological zone. Hence it enjoys a relatively mild temperature with a mean average of 19.2°C and an average annual rainfall of 1,450 mm. Y.'s topography is rugged. Its reddish-brown soil combined with the mild climate and abundant water resources make the area very suitable for the growth of ↗coffee, ↗*ənsät*, ↗maize and various fruits.

Y. is one of the largest “garrison towns” (↗*kätäma*) of the southern region. It was founded in 1933 between the watersheds of Gidawo and Woyma rivers by *ras* ↗Dästa Damṭäw. The town fell into the hands of the Italians in 1936 till its liberation in 1941. Y. became capital of the ↗Sidamo province in 1933 and remained so until the mantle was passed to ↗Awasa in 1967.

Although the Italians initiated some elements of modernity during their brief stay, the development of the town was very sluggish and remains so. In addition, its challenging terrain has hindered development. Moreover, the transformation of Awasa into the provincial capital in 1967 (later *kəlləl* and zonal capital) is another major factor in the arrested development of Y. However, since 1941 some steps towards modernization can be observed in Y. As a coffee centre the town boasts water mills for coffee processing. A secondary school, a Mekane Yesus Youth Hostel, a big regional hospital built by the Norwegian Lutheran Mission and the Gidaawo hot water springs can also be cited as example.

Since the 1990s the town has shown signs of rapid growth. The main examples which can be cited in this respect are the Furra Institute of Development Studies, the Sidaama Radio Station and the Aräggaš Tourist Lodge.

Src.: CSA 2008.

Lit.: ABABU ALIGAZ, *A History of Yergaläm Town and its Environs from 1933 to 1974*, M.A. thesis, School of Graduate Studies, Addis Ababa University 1995; BEETANA HOṬṬEESSO, **ሲዳማ ፡ ሕዝብና ፡ ባህሉ** (*Sidama ḥəzbənna bahlu*, ‘Sidama, the People and its Culture'), Addis Abäba 1983 A.M. [1990/91 A.D.]; GIRMA WOLDE SENBET, *The History of Yergaläm Town*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1984.

Anbessa Teferra

Yəsḥaq

Aṣe Y. (**ይስሐቅ**; regnal name Gäbrä Mäsqäl; r. 1414–29/30, d. August 1430) was an Ethiopian emperor. The son of *aṣe* ↗Dawit II, it is not clear which of Dawit's wives was his mother, although it may have been ↗Ṣəyon Mogäsa. Y. came to power following the death of his brother, ↗Tewodros I, who ruled for only a few months. The overall image of Y. which emerges from the sources is one of a powerful and confrontational leader who fought his enemies, both political and religious, on several fronts.

Y. did not continue his father's efforts to reintegrate the ↗Ewosṭateans into the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church, but rather strongly supported the position of the Egyptian *abunä* ↗Bärtälomewos. (Their relationship was, however, not without its difficulties, for during the time of Y., Bärtälomewos was accused of having supported the heretical Sabellian theology according to which the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit were three names but only one person.) Y.'s anti-Ewosṭatean position not only led to renewed persecution of its members, but also appears to have resulted in his support of Däbrä ᶜAsbo (later ↗Däbrä Libanos). During his reign a new church dedicated to its founder ↗Täklä Haymanot was erected. These sentiments notwithstanding, Y. is said to have honored the pro-↗Sabbath ↗Giyorgis of Sägla upon the latter's death. The ↗Stephanite movement also appears to have its origins in the pro-Sabbath position of its founder for which he was punished during the reign of Y.

Y. also pursued an aggressive policy against the Fälaša (↗Betä Ǝsraʾəl) demanding their submission, imposing tributes and ultimately initiating a process of disenfranchisement. Although some of the Betä Ǝsraʾəl leaders in the regions of ↗Səmen and ↗Dämbəya had agreed to pay tribute to Y., the local governor Bet Agir refused. Y. personally took to the battlefield against him and defeated him. While he granted *gʷəlt* to those Betä Ǝsraʾəl who had been loyal, Y. built churches in Dämbəya and ↗Wägära and sought to impose Christianity on his foes. He began to remove them from their lands, decreeing "He who is baptized in the Christian religion, may inherit the land of his father, otherwise let him be a *fälasi*" [i.e. Betä Ǝsraʾel].

However, the keynote of Y.'s policies may be said to have been his strong oppositon to ↗Islam in the region. Early in his reign, in 1415, Y. killed the Walašma *sulṭān* of ↗Ifat ↗Saᶜdaddīn Abū l-Barakāt Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ḥarb Arᶜad and conquered extensive territory reaching as far as ↗Zaylaᶜ. The members of the Walašmaᶜ family, including his sons, had to flee briefly to Yemen. (Y. fought with them again upon their return.) He also pursued military campaigns against the northern Muslim strongholds of ↗Massawa and ↗Dahlak.

Although Y. was one of the last Ethiopian rulers who did not leave behind a royal chronicle. Much detail about his reign is found in the works of al-↗Maqrīzī as well as in scattered Gəᶜəz sources, and in an early Amharic poetic text. According to the former *ḥaṭi* (*aṣe*) Y. (b. Daʾūd b. Sayf Arᶜad) was also called Abram (Ibrāhīm). During his reign, Circassian military slaves from ↗Mamlūk Egypt established workshops for making armor, swords and other weapons. An exiled Egyptian aṭ-Ṭabunġā Mufri reorganized both his army and the governance of the kingdom. A Copt, Faharwaddawla, is credited with reforming the system of tax collection and also introducing the practice of the Emperor dressing in "splendid" clothes and carrying a cross in his right hand.

Towards the end of his reign, Y. made the earliest known contact of Ethiopia with a European ruler. He sent a delegation led by a Persian merchant, at-Tabrīzī, who was accompanied by two Ethiopian monks to ↗Europe in 1427. They carried a letter proposing an alliance against the Muslims which they eventually presented to ↗Alfonso V of Aragon, in Valencia in 1428. Alfonso, who appears to have been aware of at least some elements of the Solomonic legend, responded positively by sending artisans as well as at least one priest, although they died on the way. More successful in reaching Ethiopia were a Spaniard from the Kingdom of Naples, Pietro, and an unidentified Frenchman. Y.'s delegation appears to have been detained by the Mamlūks on their way back to Ethiopia.

Y. was buried in ↗Tädbabä Maryam, like his short-lived predecessor Tewodros and successor ↗Ǝskənder. Despite the claim that Y. was assassinated (BudHist 303), Taddesse Tamrat believes that the sources have attempted to gloss over his death in battle against the Muslims (TadTChurch 153 n. 5). Al-Maqrīzī records that he was struck down by the wrath of God for proposing an anti-Muslim alliance (s. above) to the Europeans. Following his death, Ethiopia was ruled by his son Ǝndrəyas (Ǝskənder), whose reign lasted for only a few months. Y.'s brother Ḥəzbä Nañ (↗Täklä Maryam) then assumed the throne. Another son of Y. (al-Maqrīzī also mentions a short-lived ruler called Salmūn b. Isḥāq) may have ruled as well, although it appears more likely that two of his nephews Śärwe Iyäsus and ᶜAmdä Iyäsus ruled for short periods. Ultimately, it was yet another son of Dawit and brother of Y., ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob who re-established stability in the kingdom.

Src.: BudHist 303; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Le canzoni geez–amariña in onore di Re Abissini", *RRALm* ser. 4ª, 5, 1889, 53–66; HuntLand 34; ENNO LITTMANN, *Die altamharischen Kaiserlieder*, Strasburg 1914, 10–22; MaqIlmam 7–39.
Lit.: CrumLand s. index; DerDom passim, esp. 330–45; TadTChurch 153f., 201f., 220–24, 258–66, 278–81.

Steven Kaplan

Yəsḥaq

Baḥər nägaš Y. (**ይስሐቅ**; d. 26 December 1588, ᶜAddi Qorro) was one of the most prominent Ethiopian lords of the 16th cent.

There is no reliable information on Y.'s family background or the early period of his life, nor on the time when he was appointed ↗*baḥər nägaš*, the governor of the strategic coastal province, called *mədri baḥri* in Təgrəñña, with its trade routes and external links through the ↗Red Sea. The first *baḥər nägaš* known by name, before a long lacuna (during which the office did exist), seems to be ↗Ros Näbiyat, who was *baḥər nägaš* in 1524–26. Y. probably helped *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl during his flight from the Muslim forces, and was awarded with the office of *baḥər nägaš* for this service (Conti Rossini 1921: 5). It was possibly Y. who approached the Portuguese at Məṣəwwaᶜ (↗Massawa) in 1541, influencing the decision of Estevão da ↗Gama to dispatch help to *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos (Christovão da ↗Gama). He then hosted the Portuguese at ↗Dəbarwa, his capital, playing an important role in the further support of the expedition, and participated in the operation against the ruler of ↗Zaylaᶜ. Already during that period, he had established close ties to the Portuguese (s. report of ↗Castanhoso, Whiteway 1902; remarkably, Castanhoso never refers to Y. by name, but only by his title).

In 1557 Y. was seemingly not much disturbed by the landing of the Turks in Məṣəwwaᶜ; however, he repelled the inland incursion led by ↗Özdemir *pasha*, who had captured Y.'s capital Dəbarwa and burnt ↗Däbrä Damo. Y. also defeated their ally, Queen ↗Gaᶜəwa of Mäzäga (Conti Rossini 1918: 285f., 291f.; ConzGal 77 [text]). In 1557 Y. significantly extended his realm; this is seen in a charter in the *Mäṣḥafä ↗Aksum* (CRLib no. 52) referring to him as "*azmač* of Aksum, ↗*nəburä əd* of Aksum". Y. thus had both the sacred city of the ↗Ark of the Covenant and the ↗trade routes to the Red Sea under his control.

Having succeeded Gälawdewos in 1559, *aṣe* ↗Minas, reshuffling governors and offices, dismissed Y. from his position (along with *təgre mäkʷännən* Degäna; Conti Rossini 1918: 286; the Chronicle of Minas does not mention this episode) and appointed (Məlməl) Zärᵓa Yoḥannəs in his place. As a result, Y. rebelled and joined another rebel, ↗Kəflo, who was about to enthrone Täzkaro (Täzkarä Dəngəl, a son of *abeto* ↗Yaᶜəqob; DombrChr 179; Pereira 1888: 30 [text]). Minas's officer, Zärᵓa Yoḥannəs (who possibly held both the offices of ↗*təgre mäkʷännən* and *baḥər nägaš*), pursued Y. and defeated him at ↗Adyabo. In the end, however, Y. was pardoned by Minas who probably reinstalled him. Kəflo and Täzkaro, who were also supported by some of the Portuguese, were defeated, and killed.

However, Y. soon rebelled again. He received the ↗Jesuits who had been expelled from the court (shortly after 1558, including ↗Oviedo), and hosted them in Təgray (but the assumption that it was Y. who let them establish the base at ↗Fəremona is difficult to prove; cp. Girma Beshah – Merid Wolde Aregay 1964: 64f.; Dombrowski 1985: 22, probably on the basis of a letter from Oviedo, no. 56, BecRaso X, 203ff.). On the other hand, when it turned out that Portuguese military support through receiving the Jesuits was illusive, he turned to the Turks and *paša* Zemur (Əsdəmur, i.e. Özdemir, in the Chronicle of Minas; cp. Pereira 1888: 75, n. 130). This step alienated the Jesuits, but the Turks were the real power in the area, and possessed the ↗firearms. Y. and his ally Ḥarbo raised a new candidate for the throne, the young Marqos (a son of *abeto* Yaᶜəqob; Pereira 1888: 32f. [text]; Conti Rossini 1918: 287). With Turkish support, Y. advanced to Əndärta and defeated Zärᵓa Yoḥannəs in April 1562. Minas, lacking the resources to confront them, was compelled to withdraw temporarily from Təgray. In the middle of the preparation for a new campaign, he died on 30 January 1563, and the young *aṣe* ↗Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl was enthroned. Y. was thus left in full control of North Ethiopia.

In the first years of Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl's rule, Y. joined ↗Ḥamälmal Wärq (s. EAE vol. 5) and

Täklo (↗Täklä Haymanot of Damot) who did not recognize the new monarch, and even sent his officer to Goǧǧam to arrest Śärṣ̌ä Dəngəl (s. CRHist 7 [text]). Soon, however, the ambitious lords disagreed (Ḥamälmal raised his own pretender, Täklä Maryam), and Y. withdrew to Təgray. After some time, he started to look for reconciliation with Śärṣ̌ä Dəngəl, sending him tributes and contacting his relatives (Conti Rossini 1918: 287f.); the reason for that might have been Y.'s fear of the growing power of the Emperor, and/or a new, growing menace from the Turks. The final reconciliation took place in 1571 (CRHist 37f. [text]); in the following year, Y. was already in service, fighting the Turks.

Despite having re-established relations, neither Y. nor Śärṣ̌ä Dəngəl were satisfied with the outcome, and both knew that the peace would not last. By 1575, Y. was showing that he was unwilling to follow royal orders. At the same time, he was plotting with the Turks and *sulṭān* ↗Muḥammad b. Naṣīr b. ^{c}Uṯmān of ^{c}Adal. In 1577, Y. raised yet another puppet pretender to the throne, a certain Wäldä Zäṭa^{c}os, while Muḥammad b. Naṣīr also rebelled (CRHist 51f. [text]). Śärṣ̌ä Dəngəl quickly defeated Muḥammad b. Naṣīr, but the campaign against Y. was postponed. Y. missed a chance for reconciliation with Śärṣ̌ä Dəngəl, and relied upon the Turks. In 1578 Śärṣ̌ä Dəngəl started the final campaign, suddenly attacking Y. in Təgray; in November 1578, Śärṣ̌ä Dəngəl increased military pressure upon both Y. and the Turks. Although offered a last chance for peace, Y. refused to drop the alliance with the Turks. On 13 November Y. and the Turks were defeated at ↗Ǝnṭič̣č̣o; on 26 December 1578 their troops were completely crushed at ^{c}Addi Qoro, and both Y. and the Turkish *paša* were killed (the events, including Y.'s last tragic hours, are described in great detail in the seventh chapter of Śärṣ̌ä Dəngəl's Chronicle). A few days later, Śärṣ̌ä Dəngəl entered Dəbarwa.

The defeat of Y. marked the fall of the most powerful lord of North Ethiopia, and significantly strengthened royal power (which was highlighted by Śärṣ̌ä Dəngəl's ↗coronation in Aksum). After the defeat of Y., his realm was merged (though temporarily) with that of *təgre mäk^{w}ännən*, and the local centre of power shifted to Təgray. The Ottomans were substantially weakened and confined to a very small area on the coast. Śärṣ̌ä Dəngəl did not use the chance to establish full control over the coastal area; but by the late 1580s the Turkish presence on the Ethiopian side of the Red Sea was reduced to a minimum (cp. ↗Ḥərgigo). In 1588 Śärṣ̌ä Dəngəl appointed a new *baḥər nägaš*, with quite limited authority. No later ruler of the coastal province had power comparable to that of Y.

Despite narratives about Y. in the Ethiopian chronicles and some references in European sources, Təgrayan sources are silent on Y. Except for the general information that the capital of Y. was Dəbarwa, nothing is known of the internal organisation of Y.'s realm nor his local supporters or of the further fate of his family, except that his family and his treasures "fell into the hands of the King" (CRHist 77 [text]) and that two of his sons were killed by the Turks around 1565 (s. Conti Rossini 1918: 287).

Src.: BecRaso X, 203f. [no. 56], index; BegCron 35, 37; BTafA, s. index; Miguel de Castanhoso, *The Portuguese Expedition to Abyssinia in 1541–1543 as Narrated by Castanhoso*, ed., tr. by Richard Stephen Whiteway, London 1902 [repr. Nendeln/Liechtenstein 1967] (Hakluyt Society Works 2nd series, 10), s. index; CRAxum no. 52; CRHist 7, 16f., 37–40, 43, 46–49, 51–74, 77, 80, 91, 124, 134, 135, 164 (text) = 10, 20, 43–46, 50, 53-57, 58–86, 89, 92, 103, 141, 152, 154, 177 (tr.); Carlo Conti Rossini, "L'autobiografia di Pāwlos, monaco abissino del secolo XVI", *RRALm* ser. 5a, 27, 1918, 279–96; ConzGal 77 (text) = 165 (tr.); DombrChr 179, s. index; Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira (ed., tr.), **ዜና ፡ ሚናስ ።**, *Historia de Minás, ^{c}Además Sagad, rei de Ethiopia*, Lisboa 1888, 28–34 (text) = 46–51 (tr.); KrLebD 54, 56–57, 60f. (text) = 54–60 (tr.).

Lit.: AbSea, s. index; Sevir Černetsov, *Efiopskaja feodalnaja monarhija v XIII–XVI vv.* ('The Ethiopian Feudal Monarchy in the 13th–16th Centuries'), Moskva 1982, 246–49, 256–64, s. index; Carlo Conti Rossini, "La guerra turco-abissina del 1578", *Oriente moderno* 1, 1921, 634–36, 684–91; *ibid.* 2, 1923, 48–57; Franz Amadeus Dombrowski, *Ethiopia's Access to the Red Sea*, Leiden 1985, 22; Girma Beshah – Merid Wolde Aregay, *The Question of the Union of the Churches in Luso-Ethiopian Relations (1500–1632)*, Lisbon 1964, 64–68; George Wynn Brereton Huntingford, "Sartsa Dengel", in: *EncAfr* 126f.; KillHDic 442f.; Hervé Pennec, *Des Jésuites au royaume du Prêtre Jean (Éthiopie): stratégies, rencontres et tentatives d'implantation, 1495–1633*, Paris 2003, 152ff.

Denis Nosnitsin

Yəsḥaq

Abunä Y. (**ይስሐቅ**, birth name: Wäldä Kidan; b. 1878, Wag, d. 10 August 1955, ^{c}Addi Abun) was one of the first four Ethiopians who were consecrated as bishops in Cairo in 1929 and later *liqä pappasat* of ↗Təgray.

Y's parents were *märigeta* Kənfu and *wäyzäro* Färrädä Ǝšätu. Y. attended the first and second stages of traditional church ↗education at Sobəl

Säfärä Maryam under *aläqa* Tädla. Y. started the ↗*mäṣḥaf bet* at ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos. Upon receiving holy orders at ↗Žämmädu Maryam Y. proceeded to ↗Boru Meda. There he was educated by the famous *mämhər* ↗Akalä Wäld in ↗*dəggʷa* and ↗*qəne.* After teaching ↗*zema* in Wäldəya for five years Y. returned to Boru Meda and continued *mäṣḥaf bet* under Akalä Wäld. At that time Y. transcribed the orally transmitted commentary (↗*Andəmta*) of *mämhər* Akalä Wäld. On completing all levels of traditional education, Y. went to ↗Näᵓakkʷəto Läᵓab in ↗Lasta and later to Č̣agal Mädḫane ᶜAläm in ↗Šäwa where he taught mainly exegesis.

Y.'s knowledge was highly esteemed and even caught the attention of the palace. *Ǝtege* ↗Zäwditu appointing him head of ↗Ankobär Mikaᵓel Church and later of ↗Mänbärä Mängəśt Qəddus Gäbrəᵓel.

After Y.'s ordination as bishop in 1929 his diocese covered ↗Eritrea and Təgray. When ↗Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1935 Y. joined the patriotic front in Təgray which was led by *ras* ↗Śəyyum Mängäša (↗Resistance). During an attack by Italian soldiers Y. was captured along with other patriots. He was first imprisoned on Nokra island near ↗Massawa and then taken to Naples, Italy, where he stayed for two years until he was able to return to Addis Abäba due to the intervention of *abunä* Abrəham who was the authorized Archbishop at the time.

After *abunä* Abrəham died and *əč̣č̣äge* Yoḥannəs was made patriarch, Y. was appointed *əč̣č̣äge* of ↗Däbrä Libanos in 1939 and stayed there until the liberation in 1941. When Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I returned to power, one of his reforms was to revive relations between the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church and the ↗Coptic Church. The latter insisted that the bishops who had been consecrated during the Italian occupation was to be excommunicated, but allowed Y., who had been consecrated earlier, to continue his service. Thus, Y. was given ↗Goǧǧam, ↗Gondär, Təgray and ↗Illubabor as his dioceses and served until he was transferred to Wällo in 1948.

In his final years, Y. returned to the diocese of Təgray and continued his service at ↗ᶜAddi Abun. After a brief illness, he died in 1955 and was buried in ↗Aksum Ṣəyon.

Src.: GebMolIyas 531f., 536, 538.

Lit.: CerDLib III, 168; MÄRŠA ALÄḴÄÑÑ, **ዜና ፡ ጳጳሳት ፡ ኢትዮጵያውያን** (*Zena p̣ap̣p̣asat ityop̣yawəyan*, 'History of the Ethiopian Patriarchs'), Addis Abäba 1997 A.M. [2004 A.D.], 94–99; MÄRSƎᶜE ḪAZÄN WÄLDÄ QIRQOS, **የዘመን ፡ ታሪክ ፡ ትዝታዬ ፡ ካየሁትና ፡ ከሰማሁት** 1896–1922 (*Yäzämän tarik təzzətaye kayyähutənna käsämmahut 1896–1922*, 'The Modern History According to my Memory as Seen and Heard 1896–1922'), ed. by AMḪA MÄRSƎᶜE ḪAZÄN, Addis Abäbä 1999 A.M. [2006/07 A.D.], 363f.

Mersha Alehegne

Yəsḥaq

Abunä Y. (**ይስሐቅ**) was an Egyptian monk who was appointed metropolitan of Ethiopia during the 13th cent.

After the dismissal of ↗Mikaᵓel II of Fuwa, *aṣe* ↗Lalibälä sent the Ethiopian ambassador to Egypt to demand the designation of a new metropolitan. The Egyptian patriarch John VI (1189–1216) selected the brothers Y. and Yosef from the tribe of Bešaṭmir (Perruchon 1899: 84 = SawHist vol. 3, 2, vi), pious monks who had achieved the higher degree of holiness in the monastery of St. Anthony in Egypt. Y., who was more learned than his younger brother, was ordained metropolitan in a consecration ceremony held in Cairo on 7 March 1210, while Yosef was ordained priest.

According to Taddesse Tamrat (TadTChurch 62 and n. 2), Y. died during the reign of ↗Näᵓakkʷəto Läᵓab (MHAlex 196).

Src.: JULES PERRUCHON, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie. Extrait de la vie d'abba Jean, 74e patriarche d'Alexandrie, relatif à l'Abyssinie", *RevSem* 6, 1898, 267–71, 366–72; *ibid*. 7, 1899, 76–88, here 84; SawHist vol. 3, 2, vi (tr.).

Lit.: MARIUS CHAÎNE, *La chronologie des temps chrétiens de l'Égypte et de l'Éthiopie*, Paris 1925, 268; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Sul metropolita Yĕsḥaq d'Etiopia (secolo XV–XVI)", *RRALm* ser. 8a, 1, 1946, 7–17, here 17; CRStor 308; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Le liste dei Metropoliti d'Abissinia", *Bessarione* 4, 1899, 1–17; ARTHUR K. IRVINE, "Yeshaq", in: *DicEthBio* 185–86; MHAlex 181–86; TadTChurch 62; TedEthPrel II, 1008.

Antonella Brita

Yəsḥaq

Abunä Y. (**ይስሐቅ**, also referred to as Y. II; d. ca. 1500) was the metropolitan (↗*P̣appas*) of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church from ca. 1480 to ca. 1500. He succeeded *abunä* Gäbrəᵓel (d. ca. 1458; ↗Gabrəᵓel and Mikaᵓel) after a long vacancy of the Ethiopian Episcopal throne.

Y. arrived in Ethiopia during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Ǝskəndər in ca. 1481 (133 of the "Era of the Martyrs"; s. KolTrad I, 54), with another Coptic bishop, ↗Marqos, the coadjutor bishops Mikaᵓel and Yoḥannəs, and *qomos* Yosef (Kur 1972: 88 [text]; s. also Guidi 1899: 3 [text]). Information about Y.'s episcopacy is fragmentary in Ethiopian documents. According to the Acts of ↗Märḥa Krəstos, 9th *əččäge* of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa, Y. accompanied King Ǝskəndər to Däbrä Libanos, ordained several priests and proceeded to the consecration of Märḥa Krəstos granting him authority over all the churches of Ethiopia (Kur 1972: 88). This consecration seems to be a *topos* in hagiographical works originating from the Däbrä Libanos scriptorium. Similar kinds of grants of authority are described in the hagiographies of ↗Täklä Haymanot and ↗Filəppos and refer to the claim of Däbrä Libanos monastery to hold authority over the whole of ecclesiastical life in Ethiopia (Budge 1906: 69f., 206ff.; Turaiev 1905: 193–98 [text]).

Y. is mentioned in Stephanite hagiography, e.g., in the Acts of ↗^{c}Ǝzra of ↗Gundä Gunde, where he revokes the long-standing excommunication of Stephanite adherents (Caquot 1961: 81f. [text]). Y. is the bishop who ordained ↗Gäbrä Mäśiḥ, head of the Stephanite movement between 1476 and 1522, as a priest in ca. 1481–84 (Beylot 1991: 8).

Y. has long seemed to have played a role in ↗Gə^{c}əz literature; the translation of the life of St. ↗P̣änṭälewon and a hymn in honour of the Virgin Mary being ascribed to him (↗*Wəddase Maryam*; Conti Rossini 1946: 7). Yet, the life of P̣änṭälewon is already attested in 14th-cent. manuscripts.

Y. died during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Na^{c}od and was buried at ↗Bärara in Šäwa (Caquot 1961: 88; Guidi 1899: 3). According to the available Ethiopian sources, Y. was succeeded by *abunä* Marqos (Caquot 1961: 88; Guidi 1899: 3). But some foreign sources – Portuguese and Arabic – clearly state that *abunä* ↗Ya^{c}əqob assumed the role of metropolitan between the episcopacies of Y. and Marqos (Fiaccadori 2004: 686ff.).

Src.: ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE (tr.), *The Life and Miracles of Tâklâ Hâymânôt in the Version of Dabra Lîbânôs …*, London 1906, 69f., 206ff.; ANDRE CAQUOT (ed., tr.), “Les actes d’Ezrā de Gunda-Gundē”, *AE* 4, 1961, 69–121, here 81f., 88 (text) = 106f., 115 (tr.); IGNAZIO GUIDI, “Le liste dei metropoliti d’Abissinia”, *Bessarione* 6, 1899, 3 (text) = 9 (tr.); STANISLAS KUR (ed., tr.), *Actes de Marḥa Krestos*, Louvain 1972 (CSCO 331, 331 [SAe 62, 63]), 88f. (text) = 80f. (tr.); KolTrad I, 54; BORISSUS TURAIEV (ed., tr.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*. II. *Acta S. Aronis at S. Philippi*, Louvain 1908 (CSCO 30, 31 [SAe 13, 14]), 193–98 (text) = 174–77 (tr.).

Lit.: ROBERT BEYLOT, “Les actes de Gabra Masiḥ I (ca 1419–1522), troisième chef du movement stéphanite”, *RSE* 35, 1991, 5–11, here 8; CerPal 388; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, “L’omilia di Yohannes, vescovo d’Aksum, in onore di Garimâ”, in: *Actes du XI^{e} congrès International des orientalistes, Section Sémitique*, Paris 1899, 139–77; ID., “Pergamene di Debra Dammó”, *RSO* 19, 1940, 45–57, here 50ff.; ID., “Sul metropolita Yĕsḥaq d’Etiopia (secolo XV–XVI)”, *RRALm* ser. 8^{a}, 1, 1946, 7–17; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, “Sul ms. Parigi, B.n.F., d’Abb. 78 (C.R. 38) e i metropoliti Yesḥaq, Yā^{c}qob e Mārqos d’Etiopia (sec. XV–XVI)”, *RANLmor* ser. 9^{a}, 15, 2004, 679–90; MHAlex II, 42–49; TedEthPrel II, 1015f.

Stéphane Ancel

Yəsḥaq: Gädlä Yəsḥaq

G.Y. (**ገድለ ፡ ይስሐቅ**, ‘Contending of Isaac’ or ‘Testament of Isaac’) is the second of the “Testaments of the three Patriarchs”, modelled after the well-known *Gädlä ↗Abrəham* (the third being *Gädlä ↗Ya^{c}əqob*).

As the death of Isaac approaches, the Archangel Michael is sent to tell him that he should make his will and set his house in order. Subsequently, Isaac informs Jacob of his near death. Jacob wants to accompany his father, but Isaac encourages him to stay and tells Jacob of his genealogy, beginning from Adam and ultimately leading to Jesus, the Messiah. He speaks extensively about the strict obligations on all priests. Isaac is then taken to the eternal world. First, an angel takes him on a tour through hell, where he sees the tortures inflicted on sinners. This vision is modelled after similar tours of hell (cp. *Apocalypse of ↗Peter*). Afterwards, he is taken to heaven, where he sees his father Abraham. A conversation between God and Abraham ensures compassion and forgiveness for every believer who does good works, especially for those who keep the memorial day of Isaac, 28 *Näḥase*. Back in his bed, Isaac dies, and his soul travels to heaven in a holy chariot, cherubs and seraphs singing before it.

The G.Y. is extant only in Coptic (Sahidic and Bohairic, the second being a more or less literal translation of the first), Arabic (a literal translation of the Bohairic Version) and ↗Gə^{c}əz (Haelewyck 1998: 56–61; Heide 2012a: 29–34). Usually, the G.Y. is viewed as having been composed originally in Greek somewhere between the 2nd and 4th cent. A.D., but no Greek textual witness of the G.Y. is known. In addition, the specific introduction to the Bohairic, Arabic and Ethiopic versions of the *Testament of Abraham* (*Gädlä Abrəham*) is missing from all Greek textual witnesses and from the Sahidic version (4th cent. A.D.) of the *Gädlä Abrəham* (Heide 2012a: 41–50). This introduction points not only to the G.Y. and the *Gädlä Ya^{c}əqob*, but also to the commemoration day of the patriarchs on 28 *Näḥase*. This commemoration day is reflected in the text of G.Y. 6: 10–23 (Heide 2000: 262f., 289f.). These facts strongly suggest a common origin of the Coptic introduction to the

Gädlä Abrəham and of the Coptic composition of the G.Y. The Coptic version of the G.Y. cannot have been made before the 4th cent. A.D. (Heide 2012a: 37–50; 2012b). In contrast to the *Gädlä Abrəham*, the author of the G.Y. emphasized asceticism and good works, against the threat of the tortures of hell and in strict obeisance of the holiday of the patriarchs. The G.Y. has to be viewed as of Christian origin. Although the introduction to the Bohairic, Arabic and Ethiopic Testament of Abraham mentions ↗Athanasius as the author of all three Testaments, the G.Y. and *Gädlä Yaʿəqob* were never copied outside the Coptic, Arabic and Ethiopian Orthodox Church nor outside the Beta Ǝsraʾel, respectively.

The Gəʿəz Version of the G.Y. can be divided into three types:

a) a literal translation from the Arabic, extant in at least five manuscripts (Gundä Gunde 142, 15th cent., Gundä Gunde 67, 18th cent., and EMML nos. 1496 [15th cent., cp. EMML IV, 630ff.], 8812 and 7040 [both 18th–19th cent.] and probably some additional manuscripts [cp. Erho 2012]; Heide 2012a: 12–17, 32ff.). The text transmitted in these manuscripts is also reflected in the popular edition (Täklä Mikaʾel 1986; Heide 2000: 9–14, 38–44);
b) the "Fälaša-Version", evidently based on the aforementioned text-type and extant in at least six late manuscripts only from the 18th–20th cent. (Tel Aviv, Sourasky Central Library, Faitlovitch 9, 10, 12, 13; Cambridge, University Library, Or. 1878; EMML no. 7703bis; s. Heide 2012a: 18–25, 34; 2000: 10; Erho 2012);
c) a free translation from Arabic, preserved in only one manuscript, BN Éth. 134, 15th cent. (ZotBNat 200–03; Heide 2000: 9, 30ff.).

Another 15th-cent. manuscript has been reported to come from ↗Däbrä Ṣəyon in Gärʿalta (Caquot 1988).

Src.: mss. BN Éth. 134 (ZotBNat 200–03); Cambridge Or. 1878 (EDWARD ULLENDORFF – STEVEN WRIGHT, *Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library*, Cambridge 1961, 64); EMML no. 1496 EMML nos. 1496 (EMML IV, 630ff.), 7040, 8812, 7703bis, probably also 7083, 7699, 7875, 8223 and 8317 (TED M. ERHO, "New Ethiopic Witnesses to Some Old Testament Pseudepigrapha", *BSOAS* 76, 2013, 75–97); Gundä Gunde 67 (HMML GG-016), 142; Tel Aviv Faitlovitch 9, 10, 12, 13; ERNST TEODOR ANDERSSON AKMAR (tr.), "Isak's Vermächtnis", *Sphinx, revue critique embrassant le domaine entier de l'égyptologie* 7, 1903, 77–95; PAUL-RICHARD BERGER (tr.), *Die Testamente Isaaks und Jakobs. Übersetzung und Kommentar*, Siegen 2000; MAURICE GAGUINE (ed., tr.), *The Falasha Version of the Testaments of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob*, Ph.D. thesis, Manchester 1965; IGNAZIO GUIDI (ed.), "Il Testamento di Isacco e il Testamento di Giacobbe", *RRALm* ser. 5a, 9, 1900, 223–64; MARTIN HEIDE (ed., tr.), *Die Testamente Isaaks und Jakobs – Edition und Übersetzung der arabischen und äthiopischen Versionen*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 56; Lit.); ID., *Das Testament Abrahams. Edition und Übersetzung der arabischen und äthiopischen Versionen,* Wiesbaden 2012a (AeF 76; Lit.); KARL HEINZ KUHN (ed.), "The Sahidic Version of the Testament of Isaac", *The Journal of Theological Studies* 8, 1957, 225–39; ID. (tr.), "An English Translation of the Sahidic Version of the Testament of Isaac", *ibid.* 18, 1967, 325–36; *abba* TÄKLÄ MIKAʾEL (ed., tr.), **የአብርሃም ፡ ገድል ፤ የይስሐቅ ፡ ገድል ፤ የያዕቆብ ፡ ገድል ፤ የሣራ ፡ ገድል** (**ድርሳነ ፡ ኤፍሬም**) (*Yäʾabrəham gädl, yäyəsḥaq gädl, yäyaʿəqob gädl, yäśara gädl* [*dərsanä Efrem*]), 'The Contending of Abraham, the Contending of Isaac, the Contending of Jacob, the Contending of Sarah [Homily by Ephraem]), Addis Abäba 1979 A.M. [1986 A.D.].

Lit.: CAVT 56–61; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "Une homélie éthiopienne attribuée à Saint Mari Éphrem sur le séjour d'Abraham et Sara in Égypte", in: RENÉ-GEORGE COQUIN – ENZO LUCCHESI – Gérard TROUPEAU (eds.), *Mélanges Antoine Guillaumont: contributions à l'étude des christianismes orientaux* …, Genève 1988 (Cahiers d'Orientalisme 20), 173–85; MATHIAS DELCOR, *Le Testament d'Abraham*, Leiden 1973 (Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha 2; with translations); WILLIAM FRANKLIN STINESPRING (tr.), "Testament of Isaac", in: JAMES HAMILTON CHARLESWORTH (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, New York 1983, 903–11; MARTIN HEIDE, "The Tradition and Transmission of the Ethiopic Testaments of the Three Patriarchs", in: *AfrHorn* 190–98; ID., "The Coptic, Arabic and Ethiopic Versions of the *Testament of Abraham* and the Emergence of the *Testaments of Isaac and Jacob*", in: JAMES HAMILTON CHARLESWORTH – LEE MARTIN MCDONALD (eds.), *"Non-Canonical" Religious Texts in Early Judaism and Early Christianity*, London 2012b, 61–72.

Martin Heide

Yəsḥaq Täwäldä Mädḫən

Mämhər Y. (**ይስሐቅ ፡ ተወልደ ፡ መድኅን**; b. 27 August 1889, Gäläb, d. 8 July 1978, Asmära) was a famous Eritrean publicist, teacher and educator.

Y. was the son of Pastor ↗Täwäldä Mädḫən Gäbrä Mädḫən and *wäyzäro* Amätä, daughter of Pastor Zärʾa Ṣəyon Muse, one of the founding fathers of the Evangelical Church of Eritrea (ECE). His brother *blattengeta* Efrem Täwäldä Mädḫən was a civil servant and diplomat under *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I.

Y. was educated at the schools of the Swedish Evangelical Mission (SEM; ↗Evangeliska Fosterlands Stiftelsen; s. also ↗Sweden) in ↗Gäläb (s. EAE vol. 5) and Asmära. He received his higher education in Italy and at the American University of Beirut in 1913. Later he taught at the SEM schools in both Gäläb and Asmära for 20 years.

After the colonial government shut down all SEM's schools, Y. moved to Mərara, where he worked as a farmer and entrepreneur during

Mämhər Yəsḥaq Täwäldä Mädḫən; photo ca. 1973, courtesy of the family

↗World War II. He returned to teaching and writing on issues related to pedagogy and the ↗Təgrəñña language during the ↗British Military Administration in post-war Eritrea under Major H. Kinneston Snell, head of Department of Education. There Y. was instrumental in helping Snell to recruit and train teachers. He compiled articles, stories, sayings, puzzles from the *Nay Erətra Sämunawi Gazeṭa*, added his own stories and published the book *Ḥaṣṣir mäšḥaf nəbab bətəgrəñña – arbəᶜan arbaᶜtän zanta* in 1943.

In 1944 he was part of a team that called a symposium to discuss the standardization of the writing and pronunciation of Təgrəñña letters and words. The same year he published the first book of arithmetic in Təgrəñña, *Mäbaᵓta qʷəṣri bətəgrəñña*, and became known as an innovator in the field of abbreviations and equivalents of weights and measures as well as the standardization of punctuation marks in Təgrəñña. Furthermore he promoted the enrolment of girls in schools and was instrumental in the opening of the Adulis School for Girls in Asmära and two other schools for girls in the lowlands (*mätaḥət*). Y. encouraged the establishment of Parents' Committees in schools and was involved in the establishment of a middle school in Bet Gärgəš. He was an active member of the Evangelical Church of Eritrea.

Src.: YƎSḤAQ TÄWÄLDÄ MÄDḪƎN, **ሓጺር ፡ መጽሓፍ ፡ ንባብ ፡ ብትግርኛ ፡ ዓርብዓን ኣርባዕተን ፡ ዛንታ** (*Ḥaṣṣir mäšḥaf nəbab bətəgrəñña ᶜarbəᶜan arbaᶜətän zanta*, 'A Short Reader in Təgrəñña – Forty-four Stories'), Asmära 1943 A.M. [1950/51 A.D.]; ID., **መባእታ ፡ ቍጽሪ ፡ ብትግርኛ** (*Mäbaᵓəta qʷəṣri bətəgrəñña*, 'Beginner's Arithmetic in Təgrəñña'), Asmära 1944 A.M. [1951/52 A.D.].

Lit.: ROSA HOLMER, *Twoldo Medhen. nägra bilder ur hans händelserika liv*, Stockholm 1938, 61–65 et passim; YƎSḤAQ YOSEF, **ሓጺር ፡ ዛንታ ፡ ሕይወት ፡ መምህር ፡ ይስሓቅ ፡ ተወልደ ፡ መድኅን ፡ ቃልሲ ፡ ምጥፋእ ፡ ድንቍርና** (*Ḥaṣṣir zanta ḥəywät mämhər Yəsḥaq Täwäldä Mädḫən. Qalsi məṭfaᵓ dənqʷərənna*, 'A Short Biography of the Teacher Yəsḥaq Täwäldä Mädḫən: War on Illiteracy'), Asmära 1986 A.M. [1993/94 A.D.], frontispiece [ill.]; SWEDISH EVANGELICAL MISSION, *Missions Tidning*, Stockholm 1913, 85.

Ezra Gebremedhin

Yətbaräk

Y. (**ይትባረክ**; r. 1240[?]–68) was the last king of the ↗Zagʷe dynasty. Son of *aṣe* ↗Lalibäla by his wife, ↗Mäsqäl Kəbra, Y. is believed to have succeeded his cousin ↗Näᵓakkʷəto Läᵓab, son of Lalibäla's brother ↗Ḥarbay.

A text entitled *Gädlä Yətbäräk* is mentioned by Taddese Tamrat as "a curious composition [...] a collection of numerous anachronisms and contradictory traditions", to which "the Lalibäla community [...] did not give official recognition" (TadTChurch 63, n. 4). This manuscript (now in private possession) seems to be a copy of an original from a monastery dedicated to Y. at Mäkanä Satwa, in Təgray (the site is still unidentified). According to Taddese Tamrat, this text is mainly concerned with "the dispossession of [Y.'s] rightful place in Lasta tradition", and also tells how Lalibäla and Mäsqäl Kəbra forced Y. to go to Təgray, where he lived in poverty. Taddese Tamrat also sees this connection of Y. with Təgray reflected in the tradition about the migration of the ↗Adkämä Məlgaᵓ from ↗Säraye to Eritrea, because, according to the texts quoted by Conti Rossini (1911–12), Y. was the grandfather of their ancestor, Amotagär. In these traditions Y. is cited as the son of Lalibäla and father of a certain Gare Mariàm (Gäbrä Maryam) who was killed during a Šäwan invasion. Several manuscripts of the Acts of Y. are mentioned by Kinefe-Rigb (KinBibl 97, no. 175); a manuscript has been recorded in the collection of the church of ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos (Balicka-Witakowska – Gervers 2001).

The well-known legendary tradition is reported in the ↗*Bəᶜəlä nägäśt* and in the *Gädlä* ↗*Iyäsus Moᵓa* (24 [text] = 19f. [tr.]): a cock was heard singing that the person who eats its head shall become king. Y. asked advice from *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot (or Iyäsus Moᵓa, respectively) and was told to eat the head immediately. He ordered the cock to be cooked for him, but the unknowing servant threw the head away, and ↗Yəkunno Amlak, at that time a boy in the service of the King (or of a rich man in the *Gädlä Iyäsus Moᵓa*), found and ate it. Of course no historical conclusion can be drawn from such a story – besides, similar motifs seem fairly common in African and international folklore (cf. Huntingford 1965: 5ff. and Basset 1918: 240, referred to also in Conti Rossini 1922: 291f. n. 2).

The historical elements in these and other texts (e.g., the Acts of Lalibäla and of Näᵓakkʷəto Läᵓab, the documents in CRDLib, etc.) can perhaps be the following: 1) there was a struggle for power between Y. and Näᵓakkʷəto Läᵓab – the two are mentioned, alongside Lalibäla and Mäsqäl Kəbra (who was possibly also involved in this struggle, s. TadTChurch 63), in the context of contacts between Egypt and Ethiopia at the time of John, the 74th patriarch of Alexandria (*History of the Patriarchs*, s. Perruchon 1899: 85, SawHist^2 vol. 3, part 2, 193); 2) Y. may have had "some responsibility" in Təgray; 3) on Lalibäla's death, Näᵓakkʷəto Läᵓab first defeated Y. in the armed struggle for succession, but soon Y. regained the throne; 4) Yəkunno Amlak was a servant of Y.; 5) according to the *Gädlä Iyäsus Moᵓa*, Yəkunno Amlak was accused before Y., and was imprisoned by Y. on a mountain called Mälot, for a period which is not clearly indicated; "after many days" he escaped by a rope made of monkey hair, and went to Iyäsus Moᵓa on Lake Ḥayq (where the saint, according to the same story, had arrived 20 years earlier, in the first year of Y.'s reign); 6) at last, in 1268 (but s. for the dates CerDLib II–III and XI), Yəkunno Amlak defeated Y. and killed him in the precinct of the church of Qirqos, in the "country of Ansäta which is part of Gayənt", in ↗Bägemdər; 7) after the death of Y., a certain Dəlanda, surely a Zagʷe prince, continued with the help of six generals to fight against Yəkunno Amlak for two more years (1268–70).

Y.'s entire life seems to be shrouded in mystery: Taddese Tamrat speaks repeatedly of his name being erased from historical documents (TadTChurch 62, 68 n. 1), and his nickname *əlmäknun* 'the hidden one' (obviously an Arabic one, although we do not know the exact reason for the usage of Arabic in this context, found in the *Bəᶜəlä nägäśt*, s. Conti Rossini 1922: 299f. [text] = 306f. [tr.]) points to the same direction.

Src.: texts of *Gädlä Iyäsus Moᵓa, Gädlä Näᵓakkwəto Läᵓab, ↗Bəᶜəlä nägäśt*; CRDLib 193f. no. 9, 194f. no. 10, 195f. no. 11; JULES PERRUCHON, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie. Extrait de la vie d'abba Jean, 74e patriarche d'Alexandrie, relatif à l'Abyssinie", *RevSem* 6, 1898, 267–71, 366–72; *ibid*. 7, 1899, 76–88 here 85 [= SawHist^2 vol. 3, part 2, 109–15 (text) = 184–93 (tr.)].

Lit.: EWA BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA – MICHAEL GERVERS "The Paintings of Yəmrəhannä Krəstos. A Report", *Africana Bulletin* 49, 2001, 9–47; RENÉ BASSET, [Review of CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il libro delle leggende e tradizioni abissine dell'ecciaghié Filpòs", *RRALm* ser. 5^a, 26, 1917, 699–718], *Revue des traditions populaires* 33, 8, Sept.–Oct. 1918, 240, here n. 2; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Studi su popolazioni dell'Etiopia. 2. La seconda migrazione Agau dell'Eritrea", *RSO* 4, 1911–12, 599–651; ID., "La caduta della dinastia Zagué e la versione amarica del Beᶜela Nagast", *RRALm* ser. 5^a, 31, 1922, 279-314 [offprint 1923]; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, "'The Wealth of Kings' and the End of the Zāguē Dynasty", *BSOAS* 28, 1965, 1–23; KinBibl 97, no. 175; KINEFE-RIGB ZELLEKE – BELAYNESH MICHAEL, "Yetbaräk", in: *DicEthBio* 186–87; TadTChurch 53–67, esp. 55 n. 3, 62–67; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "Yetbaräk", in: *EncSan* vol. 2, 1359 (Lit.).

Paolo Marrassini

Yoftaḥe Nəguśe

Qäññ geta Y.N. (ዮፍታሔ ፡ ንጉሤ; b. 1892/93, Däbrä Gännät Elyas, Goğğam, d. 1946/47 Addis Abäba) was a prolific writer with a pronounced background in traditional church ↗education and a pioneer of Ethiopian ↗theatre and ↗Amharic drama.

Y.N. had completed three stages of traditional education (↗*nəbab bet,* ↗*zema bet* and ↗*qəne bet*) at ↗Däbrä Libanos by the age of 14. He also started ↗*mäṣḥaf bet,* but did not finish it, because of administrative tasks he had begun to receive. He was first appointed ↗*mäččäne* and *qäññ geta,* later the head of Dəmaḥ Gännät ᶜAlämayyähu Šašu parish. In 1917/18 he became ↗*däbtära* and later ↗*aggafari* of Däbrä Gännät Abbo.

In 1923/24 he was employed as an Amharic teacher at the ↗Mənilək II Secondary School. At this time he started to write his first literary works. Prior to the Italian invasion in 1935, Y. became one of the founders of the Ethiopian Patriotic Association (↗Hagär Fəqər Tiyatər). During the occupation, Y.N. fled to the Sudan, where he wrote patriotic plays and poems. After the Liberation, he returned to Addis Abäba and was appointed Vice President of the Senate.

Y.N. is said to have written many literary works, however many of them are missing, and still others are not yet analyzed or even catalogued. In fact, the only play that was published during his life time was *Gʷäbäz ayyän*, a drama promoting patriotic sentiment in the face of the looming Fascist menace. Among his other notable plays are *Ṭəqəm yalläbbät č̣äwata*, staged in 1930, and also *Yäḥod amlaku qəṭat*, as well as *Affaǧǧäšəññ*. Y.N. authored the lyrics for the Imperial National Anthem that was in use between 1930 and 1974.

Most of his works contain nationalistic motifs. He preached the unity of the people, speculated on the topics of truth and justice and scorned the mismanagement of the country's resources which, in his opinion, had made Ethiopia one of the poorest countries in the world.

Although new in genre, most of his works were quite traditional in linguistic form: many of his poems were composed using standard ↗*qəne* forms, or otherwise reveal an extensive usage of ↗Gə^{c}əz words.

Action in Y.N.'s plays was rudimentary; his characters designated social types, not real people. This can be explained by the fact that theatre was completely lacking roots in Ethiopian tradition. Y.N. was thus among the forerunners of modern drama in Ethiopia, introducing a new form of literature, which had not been practised until that time: the propagandistic genre. With his works, he also showed how literary forms characteristic of Gə^{c}əz could be integrated into modern Amharic poetry.

Src.: Yoftaḥe Nəguśe, **ጥቅም ፡ ያለበት ፡ ጨዋታ** (*Ṭəqəm yalläbbät č̣äwata*, 'Play Containing Something Useful'), Addis Abäba 1923 A.M. [1930/31 A.D.]; Id., **የሆድ ፡ አምላኩ ፡ ቅጣት** (*Yäḥod amlaku qəṭat*, 'The Punishment of Belly-is-his-God'), Addis Abäba 1925 A.M. [1932/33 A.D.]; Id., **ጐበዝ ፡ አየን** (*G^{w}äbäz ayyän*, 'We Saw the Brave Man'), Addis Abäba 1928 A.M. [1935/36 A.D.].

Lit.: Amsalu Aklilu, **አጭር ፡ የኢትዮጵያ ፡ ሥነ ፡ ጽሑፍ ፡ ታሪክ ፡** (*Aç̣ç̣ər Yä'ityoṗya śənä ṣəḥuf tarik*, 'A Short History of Ethiopian Literature'), Addis Abäba 1976 A.M. [1983/93 A.D.]; Bahru Zewde, *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia: the Reformist Intellectuals of the Early Twentieth Century*, Oxford – Athens, OH – Addis Ababa 2002, 73; Martin Banham – Errol Hill – George William Woodyard (eds.), *The Cambridge Guide to African and Carribean Theatre*, Cambridge 1994, 37; FanTarik 627ff.; KaneLit 10, 12; MolLit 232, 402; Mulugeta Śəyyum, **የቀኝ ፡ ጌታ ፡ ዮፍታሔ ፡ ንጉሤ ፡ የሕይወት ፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäqäññ geta Yoftaḥe Nəguśe yäḥəywät tarik*, 'The Biography of *qäññ geta* Yoftaḥe Nəguśe'), Addis Abäba 1964 A.M. [1973/74 A.D.], passim.

Maxim Zabolotskikh

Yoḥannəs

Abunä Y. (**ዮሐንስ**; Y. I; Yūḥannā) was a metropolitan of Ethiopia during the 9th cent. The main source of information on him is the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, where he is the first metropolitan of Ethiopia to be mentioned. He also appears in the chronicles of Ǧirǧis al-Makīn b. al-^{c}Amīd (tr. 1625: 183) and Abū Šākir b. Abī l-Karam Buṭrus b. ar-Rāhib (tr. 1903: 139, cp. CRAbb 195f.).

Y. was consecrated by Jacob (Ya^{c}qūb), the 50th Patriarch of Alexandria (819–30 A.D.), but he held office mainly after Jacob's death, during the patriarchates of Simeon II (Šim^{c}ūn, 830 A.D.) and Joseph I (Yūsāb, 831–49 A.D.). The biography of Joseph – written by his prison-mate – relates two episodes concerning Y. In the first, Y. was chased away by the Ethiopians while the king was at war, and, in disagreement with canon ↗law, was replaced by a new metropolitan chosen by the people themselves. Thereupon Y. retired to the Egyptian monastery of Dayr al-Baramūs (Wādi Ḥabīb) where he became a monk. Subsequently, God sent a violent epidemic upon Ethiopia, the king was defeated by his opponents, and all his followers were killed. On his return, the king discovered that Y. had been expelled on the order of the queen. He wrote to Joseph asking for Y. to return to Ethiopia. The patriarch thus sent Y. back to Ethiopia with a few of reliable aides. The second account relates that, some time after Y.'s return to Ethiopia, a group of critical clerics complained about the metropolitan's not being circumcised and insisted, together with the king, that Y. undergo this operation. However, when Y. was stripped bare to be circumcised, he was miraculously found to bear traces of circumcision – as if he had indeed been circumcised on the eighth day after his birth.

The first episode can be possibly dated to the first years of the patriarchate of Joseph (838 A.D.), when a violent bovine pestilence befell Egypt (Tedeschi 1967: 269).

Src.: BudSaint 185f.; CRAbb 195f.; Basil Thomas Alfred Evetts (ed., tr.), *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, IV: *Mennas I to Joseph* (*849*), Paris 1959 (PO X/5), 508–12; Ǧirǧis b. al-Makīn, *El-Makin*: *Historia Saracenica*, ed., tr. Thomas Erpenius, Leyden 1625, 183 (tr.); Petrus ibn Rahib, *Chronicon Orientale*, ed., tr. Louis Cheikho, Leuven 1903 (CSCO 45, 46 [Scriptores Arabici 1, 2]), 139 (tr.); Salvatore Tedeschi, "L'Etiopia nella storia dei patriarchi alessandrini", *RSE* 23, 1967 [1968], 232–71, here 262–69.

Lit.: BudHist 275f.; Edith L. Butcher, *The Story of the Church of Egypt*, London 1897, 444; CRStor 284; Montague Fowler, *Christian Egypt – Past, Present and Future*, London 1901, 151f.; Arthur K. Irvine, "Yoḥannes", in: *DicEthBio* 188; MHAlex 123ff.; TedEthPrel I, 1001.

Antonella Brita

Yoḥannəs

Əč̣č̣äge Y. [I] (**ዮሐንስ**; d. ca. 23 March 1559) was the 14th abbot of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa, a contemporary of *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos (CerDLib II, 153, 155f.).

The main source on Y.'s life are his Acts (*Gädlä Yoḥannəs*), composed in the 18th cent., two centuries after Y.'s death. Some mentions are also preserved in the sources on Gälawdewos's reign.

According to the Acts (↗*Gädl*), Y. was a native of Šäwa from a place called Dablat (RicEnbYoh IV, 137, 175, 202); the exact location of this place is uncertain. His four siblings, the brothers Ṗeṭros and Tewoglos and his sisters Dibora and Ǝfrata Maryam, also chose the monastic life (RicEnbYoh V, 177f.). Y., the youngest child, had to stay with his parents until their death (RicEnbYoh V, 174).

Y. completed the first stages of a traditional church ↗education at Däbrä Nägʷädgʷäd, between ca. 1524 and 1531. He also seems to have received recognition as a specialist in ↗*dəggʷa* (RicEnbYoh I, 138, 147).

After spending a number of years as an ascetic, Y. was appointed *mämhər* of Däbrä Libanos in 1541/42 under the metropolitan *abunä* ↗Ṗeṭros (ConzGal 54 [text]; BegCron 31; RicEnbYoh V, 190). As the term ↗*əč̣č̣äge* was not used for the abbot of Däbrä Libanos before the 17th cent., Y. is, in fact, never referred to as such. In his Acts, Y. is only "*abba* of Däbrä Libanos", whilst the chronicle of Gälawdewos designates him *liqä mənet* (↗*Liq*; ConzGal 54 [text]): the difference may be due to the specifics of the respective text genres.

In April 1552 Y. was present at the consecration of the royal church of ↗Tädbabä Maryam by *abunä* Ṗeṭros (RicEnbYoh V, 136, 142; ConzGal 54 [text]).

Y. was an active participant in the Emperor's wars against ↗ᶜAdal. He took part in the 1552 campaign (RicEnbYoh V, 183f.), and, according to his Acts, in the 1559 battle against ↗Nūr b. Muǧāhid (RicEnbYoh V, 192; FotiCr 105; BassÉt 113 [tr.]). According to his hagiographer, Y. fell in that battle, which makes him a martyr (↗Martyrdom; s. also CerDLib II, 153). According to other sources, however, he died at Däbrä Libanos. Y. was succeeded by *abba* Yoḥannəs [II].

Y. is credited with the authorship of a ↗*mälkəᵓ* in honour of St. ↗Täklä Haymanot (BegCron 33).

Besides providing information on Y.'s life, his *gädl* is an important source of religious and political information about Gälawdewos's reign. It contains many details on the Emperor's court and family and on other contemporaries, such as ↗Fanuᵓel, and reflects the hagiographer's anti-Catholic stance directed against the ↗Jesuits at Gälawdewos's court. It also mentions events such as the destruction of Däbrä Libanos by ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ) in 1532 (RicEnbYoh V, 181) and alludes to the ensuing Oromo invasion: Y. had to escape the Oromo threat fleeing Däbrä Libanos ca. 1556/57 (RicEnbYoh IV, 142, 171), possibly more than once (RicEnbYoh I, 191).

The Acts reflect the beginning of a period of transition in the history of the community of Däbrä Libanos, as it was during that period that they moved in the direction of the ↗Gondär area (Rossignol 2004: 122). It seems to be a transitional period for the Däbrä Libanos community and for its evolution. The importance of this change may be among the reasons for the composition of the hagiography.

Src.: BassÉt 20ff. (text) = 113ff. (tr.); BegCron 31, 33; CerDLib II, 153, 155f.; ConzGal 54, 105 (text) = 153, 180 (tr.); FotiCr 105; GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Monastic Genealogy of the Line of Takla Haymanot of Shoa", *RSE* 29, 1982–83, 7–38, here 16 (text) = 32 (tr.); RicEnbYoh I–V, esp. V, 136, 142, 171, 174, 177f., 181, 183f, 190ff.

Lit.: ELSA ROSSIGNOL, *L'aqqabé saᵓat et l'eč̣č̣ägé: deux hauts dignitaires éthiopiens entre l'Église et l'État (16ème–18ème s.)*, M.A. thesis, Université de Paris I 2004, 122, 148ff.

Elsa Rossignol

Yoḥannəs

Abunä Y. (**ዮሐንስ**, also known as Y. II; fl. early 14th cent.) was metropolitan (↗*P̣ap̣pas*) of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church from ca. 1310–30. He succeeded *abunä* ↗Qerəllos. The date of Y.'s arrival in Ethiopia is still unknown, but his episcopacy can be approximately placed in the last period of the reign of *aṣe* ↗Wədəm Räᶜad and the first half of that of ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I.

Y. appears twice in Ethiopian hagiographical texts, in the Vitae (↗*Gädl*) of *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot (Budge 1906: 69f., 206ff.) and *abunä* ↗Bäṣälotä Mikaᵓel (Conti Rossini 1905: 22). His name also appears in a land charter granted by ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon to the monastery of ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos (Taddesse Tamrat 1970: 97).

In the hagiographical context, Y. played an ambiguous role. On the one hand, he represents the decadence of the religious spirit at the royal court denounced by Bäṣälotä Mikaᵓel. According to his acts, Bäṣälotä Mikaᵓel publicly accused Y. of simony for demanding payment for administrating the sacraments and ordaining priests.

On the other hand, Y. represents the allegiance of the high ecclesiastical hierarchy of the state with the reform established by the monastic world of these times. According to his Vita, Täklä Haymanot was proposed by Y. to be bishop of half of the kingdom. The monk declined the offer, but could consecrate churches and ↗*tabot*. The same proposal was made to ↗Filəppos, second successor of Täklä Haymanot by the metropolitan *abunä* ↗Yaᶜəqob (Turaiev 1905: 174–77), and to the 9th abbot of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa ↗Märḥa Krəstos by *abunä* ↗Yəsḥaq (Kur 1972: 88 [text]). No further information about Y. is available except these two episodes and the land charter. The date of Y.'s death is unknown; he was succeeded by *abunä* Yaᶜəqob.

Src.: Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge (tr.), *The Life of Tâklâ Hâymânôt in the Version of Dabra Lîbânôs*, London 1906, 69–70, 206–08; Carlo Conti Rossini (ed., tr.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*, I. *Acta s. Baṣalota Mikāᵓēl et s. Anorewos, seu Acta sancti Honorii*, Louvain 1905 (CSCO 28, 29 [SAe 11, 12]), 22 (text) = 20 (tr.); Stanislas Kur (ed., tr.), *Actes de Marḥa Krestos*, Louvain 1972 (CSCO 330, 331 [SAe 62, 63]), 88–89 (text) = 80–81 (tr.); Boris Turaiev (ed., tr.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*. II. *Gadla Aron, seu Acta sancti Aronis. Gadla Filpos seu Acta sancti Philippi*, Louvain 1905 (CSCO ser. 2, 20; repr. 1955–61, CSCO 30, 31 [SAe 13, 14]), 193–98 (text) = 174–77 (tr.). **Lit.**: MHAlex II, 9–12; Taddesse Tamrat, "The Abbots of Dabra-Hayq 1248–1535", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 87–117, here 97; TadTChurch 190; TedEthPrel II, 1010.

Stéphane Ancel

Yoḥannəs I

Aṣe Y., (**ዮሐንስ**, regnal name Aᵓəlaf Sägäd; d. 19 July 1682, Ṭädda) was a Gondärine king (r. 17 October 1667–19 July 1682; ↗Gondärine kingdom). In contrast to his father and predecessor, *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs, Y. was pliant, weak-willed, and shunned controversy and confrontation. He was dominated by the strong personalities around him, especially first minister *blattengeta* Mälkəᵓa Krəstos and *ətege* ↗Säblä Wängel, Y.'s wife. His reign was marked by religious strife and almost constant warfare.

In his first year (1668), Y. executed two Catholic priests who had appeared in ↗Bägemdər (CrumLand 82). That same year, he convoked a synod which issued momentous decrees. The "Franks" (↗*färänğ*), descendants of the Portuguese soldiers who had entered the kingdom in the early 1540s (↗Portugal: Luso-Ethiopians), as well as remnants of the ↗Jesuit converts of the 1620s, were offered the choice of conversion to Orthodoxy or expulsion from the kingdom (GuiIohan 9f. [text] = 8f. [tr.]). Muslims and the ↗Kayla Betä Ǝsraᵓel, long-settled in Gondär, were to live separately in their own quarters; and Christians were forbidden to intermarry or be employed by either group. Accordingly, the following April, the Catholics, living collectively in ↗Ṭaqussa, were escorted to the frontier with ↗Sinnār, disarmed, and forced across the border—the end of Portuguese presence and influence in the kingdom. Muslims and the Betä Ǝsraᵓel were settled below town on the banks of the Qaḥa (cp. ↗Kayla Meda and ↗Fälaša Bet; Perruchon 1899: 173; GuiIohan 9f., 35f. [text] = 8f., 36 [tr.]; DombrChr 59 [text] = 205 [tr.]).

During the reign of Y., who was a ↗*Qəbat* partisan, the quarrel between the *Qəbat* and ↗*Täwaḥədo* clerical camps matured and flared up in ecclesiastical debates. In pursuit of doctrinal supremacy, the court appointed and dismissed several ↗*əččäge* as it sought to weaken the *Täwaḥədo* opposition, and, in 1671, it went so far as to install a new metropolitan, *abunä* ↗Sinoda, while his predecessor, *abunä* ↗Krəstodolu II, favourable to *Täwaḥədo*, was still alive and active (Perruchon 1899: 173; DombrChr 59 [text] = 207 [tr.]; BassÉt II, 292). Thereafter, a succession of synods dealt with doctrinal questions (↗Christology) but also with ↗canon law as it related to marriage, and in particular, to the royal union. Säblä Wängel was a first-cousin or half-cousin of Y., a fact that produced heated controversy resulting in decrees of excommunication from *Qəbat* and *Täwaḥədo* monasteries and even an attempt on Y.'s life by extremist *Qəbat* monks in 1674, who accused Y. of failing to respect the laws and customs of Orthodoxy. The matter was not settled until a synod in 1678 in which both *abunä* Sinoda and the Alexandrine patriarch announced their recognition of the marriage as legitimate (GuiIohan 9f. [text] = 8f. [tr.]; CrumLand 82). Y. and Säblä Wängel had several children together; among the best known are Yosṭos (d. 1676, cp. GuiIohan 18 [text] = 18 [tr.], Bosc-Tiessé 2008: 120f.), Amlakawit (d. 22 January 1669, grandmother of *aṣe* ↗Yosṭos), ↗Ǝleni, *aṣe* ↗Tewoflos, and *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I (CrumLand 90).

Despite his anti-foreign behaviour towards the Jesuits and Portuguese, Y. entertained diplomatic relations with foreign rulers just as his father had done. In 1671 he sent the Armenian merchant *ḫoğa* ↗Murād on a mission to the Great Moghul in India (DonMurad 38), and in 1672 to the Dutch governor-general in Batavia

(Jakarta; DonMurad 25, 47ff.). In 1679 the Armenian Yovhannēs T^{c}iwt^{c}iwnči, archbishop of Šemiramakert (Van) and perhaps *kat^{c}ołikos* (bishop) of Ał^{c}amar (1663–83), brought to Gondär a bone of the hand of ↗Ewosṭatewos. It was apparently the same Murād who was given the task of interrogating Yovhannes in order to prove the relics' authenticity (GuiIohan 38f. [text] = 39f. [tr.]; DonMurad 182).

Much of Y.'s reign was taken up with warfare. His armies raided the ↗"Šanqəllä" for booty and slaves, and campaigned against the Oromo (Perruchon 1899: 172). The years 1669 to 1674 saw almost annual campaigns in the ↗Agäw country south of Lake Ṭana. Y. personally led his armies, which ravaged ↗Mätäkkäl in central ↗Agäw Mədər, killing, plundering, carrying off captives and cattle, and forcing conversions to Christianity, a process whereby Y. imposed Orthodoxy upon much of Agäw Mədər (DombrChr 60 [text] = 209 [tr.]). So devastating were the raids in 1670 that the Agäw of Gam begged to be Christianized and agreed to pay tribute to avoid further attacks (GuiIohan 12 [text] = 12 [tr.]).

From 1676 to 1681 the kingdom was torn by religious internal wars, first in ↗Angot and ↗Lasta, then in southern ↗Təgray. These were *Täwaḥədo* lands whose clerics, nobles, and peasants rose in revolt against Y. The Lastan insurrection was bitterly fought and led to bloodshed not seen since the days of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos and the Catholics. By 1678 the *Täwaḥədo*-inspired rebellion had engulfed districts in Təgray, where two nobles, ↗Fares, future *ras bitwäddäd* under Iyasu I, and ↗Zämaryam supported a pretender to the throne, Maḫdäro Krəstos (DombrChr 59 [text] = 207f. [tr.]; GuiIohan 26f. [text.] = 26f. [tr.]). After campaigns that devastated southern Təgray led by Y's commander, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Dəlbä Iyäsus of Ǝndärta, Zamaryam defected and Fares was captured and submitted in 1681.

The death of Y.'s first minister Mälkəʾa Krəstos in 1680 set the stage for a reversal of court policies (Perruchon 1899: 175). A synod in May 1680 affirmed the divinity of Christ by union, the *Täwaḥədo* creed, and at another in October 1681, *Qəbat* and its clerical adherents were condemned, a development in which Y. acquiesced. Meanwhile, discontented nobles rallied around Iyasu, the heir apparent, perhaps impatient for the throne and partial toward *Täwaḥədo*. In January 1681 they staged an unsuccessful revolt, during which Iyasu fled across the Abbay to Oromo country. He returned in May only after Y. promised him protection; even so, Iyasu attempted a second flight following the 1681 synod, this time unsuccessfully. Despite these events, Iyasu's succession was assured and with it the ascendance of *Täwaḥədo*.

Y. built a castle beside that of Fasilädäs, completed in the last year of his reign, and the churches of Ṭädda Ǝgziʾabəḥer-Ab and Məṣraḥa Maryam on an island of Lake Ṭana, where he and his relatives are buried (GuiIohan 40, 49f.). Y. and Säblä Wängel are remembered in Gondär as a saintly couple who, rather than tax their subjects, supported themselves by weaving and selling mats and rugs. Y. had begun his reign with an amnesty for prisoners, cancelling a tax on cattle, and emptying the royal treasury by alms-giving, an act he repeated just before he died. Because of such deeds, he is known as *Ṣadəqu*, "the Righteous", but his personal piety must be weighed against the religious intolerance and bloody campaigns that characterized his reign.

Src.: interview with Täsfu Gäbrähəwot (age 53) in Gondär, October 23, 1972; BassÉt II, 138ff., 292; BegCron 53ff.; BruNile II, 423ff.; DombrChr 58–61 (text) = 204–12 (tr.); DonMurad 25, 38, 47ff., 179–82; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Le liste dei metropoliti d'Abissinia", *Bessarione* 6, 1899–1900, 1–17, here 12 (tr.); GuiIohan esp. 9f., 12f., 16f., 18, 26f., 35f., 38f., 48f., 61f. (text) = 8f., 12, 16, 18, 26, 36, 39f., 49f., 60 (tr.); MANFRED KROPP, "Petite histoire de Yohannès I^{er} 'Retrouvée dans un autre pays'", *AE* 15, 1990, 85–109; JULES PERRUCHON, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie: le règne de Yohannes (I^{er}), roi d'Éthiopie de 1667 à 1682", *RevSem* 7, 1899, 166–76.

Lit.: LAVERLE BERRY, *The Solomonic Monarchy at Gonder, 1630–1755: an Institutional Analysis of Kingship in the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, Boston University 1976, 403 (Lit.); CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ, *Les îles de la mémoire. Fabrique des images et écriture de l'histoire dans les églises du lac Ṭānā, Éthiopie,* XVII^{e}–XVIII^{e} *siècle*, Paris 2008, 119ff., 124–29, 192, s. index; CrumLand 81ff.; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, "Yohannes I", in: *EncAfr* vol. 1, 151f.; MHAlex II, 91–96; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Processes of Ethnic Interaction and Integration in Ethiopian History: the Case of the Agäw", *JAH* 29, 1, 1988, 13–16.

LaVerle Berry

Yoḥannəs II

Aṣe Y. (**ዮሐንስ**; b. ca. 1696/97, d. 15 October 1769, Gondär) was one of the short-lived puppet kings installed by *ras* ↗Mikaʾel Səḥul at the beginning of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*. Y. was one of the two sons (alongside ↗Dawit III) of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I and his favorite concubine ↗Qəddəste. Iyasu's sons with other concubines, *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa (with

Maryamawit) and *aṣe* ↗Täklä Haymanot I (with ↗Mäläkotawit), also sat on the throne in the course of time.

The violent death of Iyasu in 1706 caused the rival forces in ↗Gondär to fight over his succession. What followed were decades of unrest, changing coalitions and unstable rulers, giving room for such powerful figures as *ətege* ↗Bərhan Mogäsa (Məntəwwab) and *ras* Mikaʾel Səḥul. Finally, at the beginning of May 1769, Mikaʾel Səḥul murdered *aṣe* ↗Iyoʾas, Məntəwwab's grandson (GuiIyas 251 [text] = 260 [tr.]; BruNile II, 706). A few days earlier Y., who had already passed the age of 70 and had spent most of his life in custody (in 1721 he spent the rainy season with his brother Bäkaffa; cp. Shiferaw Bekele 2002: 97), was fetched from the royal prison of ↗Wähni Amba and put on the throne by Mikaʾel Səḥul. He was crowned on 10 May. Y. was also given Mikaʾel Səḥul's granddaughter Wälättä Śəllase (regnal name Ṣədəq Mogäsa) in marriage. He had, however, previously been engaged to other women, and his four children had different mothers. Apparently his sons ↗Täklä Giyorgis, ↗Täklä Haymanot II (his mother was *wäyzäro* Abalä Maryam, ms. BritLib Orient. 511, fol. 26) were both born in Wähni Amba, and brought to the Gondärine court with their father.

Y. was a weak and old emperor, who merely served as Mikaʾel Səḥul's puppet. Having spent his life praying and studying the Holy Scriptures, Y. had little interest in politics. He refused to lead the army into the battle, and allegedly preferred to return to Wähni Amba. His request was, however, rejected by Mikaʾel Səḥul, and discontent between the two grew.

Y. only reigned for five months. He died in the morning hours after a long period of illness. He was buried at Täklä Haymanot church in the same grave as his half-brother Bäkaffa, secretly and without a mourning ceremony. Y. was succeeded by his 15-year-old son Täklä Haymanot on 18 October, again only due to the intervention of Mikaʾel Səḥul.

The general source material on Y. should be viewed carefully, since most of it was copied from the accounts of James ↗Bruce (BruNile), who, however, did not arrive in Gondär until a few months after the Emperor's death and had to rely on hearsay. He reports that Y. was poisoned by Mikaʾel Səḥul during breakfast (BruNile II, 709), which seems unlikely (cp. Shiferaw Bekele 2002: 101). According to another account passed down by Bruce but probably more reliable, Y. was one-armed/handed (cp. ibid. 103f.). The second hand had allegedly been amputated by his own brother Bäkaffa when Y. tried to flee his custody. This story has admittedly found its way into Ethiopian historiography (cp. ms. EMML no. 1706 fol. 50; Getatchew Haile in PICES 10, 370 [text] = 372 [tr.]). In the chronicle of Bäkaffa numerous accounts of amputations and punishments are featured, Y. is, however, not mentioned (s. Shiferaw Bekele 2002: 104).

Src.: mss. BritLib Orient. 511, 821; ms. EMML no. 1706; BlunChr 1 (text) = 203 (tr.); BruNile III, 315–18; GuiIyas 251 (text) = 260 (tr.); Manfred Kropp, *Die äthiopischen Königschroniken in der Sammlung des Däğğazmač Ḫaylu*, Frankfurt am Main et al. 1989 (Heidelberger Orientalistische Studien 13), 62ff. (text) = 75ff. (tr.).

Lit.: CrumLand 112, 292; FanTarik 616f.; Getatchew Haile, "Builders of Churches and Authors of Hymns. Makers of History in the Ethiopian Church", in: *PICES* 10, 369–75, here 370 (text) = 372 (tr.); Shiferaw Bekele, "Yohannes II (r. May 10, 1769–October 1769)", *Aethiopica* 5, 2002, 89–105; TSTarik III, 201ff.

Sophia Dege

Yoḥannəs [III]

The metropolitan *abunä* Y. (**ዮሐንስ**; d. 15 November 1761, Gondär) succeeded *abunä* ↗Krəstodolu III and was a contemporary of emperors ↗Iyasu II and ↗Iyoʾas I.

The royal chronicles preserve a detailed account of Y.'s arrival in Ethiopia. Several years after Krəstodolu's death, in 1744, Iyasu II sent a delegation to Egypt, with a gift of 450 ounces of ↗gold, in order to ask for a new metropolitan. The mission, formed by ↗Giyorgis the Egyptian, *aläqa* Tewodros of Däbrä Sälalo, *abba* Lukyanos of Azäzo and three Muslims, had difficulties from the very beginning. The ↗*nāʾib* of Massawa required one half of the entire gold as compensation for permission to board ship. At Jeddah, during the long wait for the next ship, Lukyanos converted to ↗Islam, so that it was only *aläqa* Tewodros who reached Cairo and forwarded Iyasu's request to the Coptic patriarch, John XVII (1727–45). On 1 October 1743, a monk from Scete (Askät; Wādī n-Naṭrūn) was finally selected and consecrated metropolitan for Ethiopia, assuming the name of Y. On 18 April 1744, Y. and Tewodros reached Massawa, but were again halted by the *nāʾib* who wanted to be paid for permission to pass. However, by November the new metropolitan was established in the monastery of ↗Däbrä Bizän, having brought with him everything necessary for his episcopal service, including *meron*, liturgical vestments and books. He subsequently met the emperor, and on 23 January 1745, he finally reached his seat in ↗Gondär.

Around this time a Syrian priest appeared who, supported by *ras* ↗Mikaᵓel Səḥul of Təgray, claimed to be the legitimate metropolitan appointed by the patriarch of Antioch. In 1747 the pretender was put on trial by Y. and expelled from the country.

In 1752, the Franciscans Remedius ↗Prutky and Martin Lang arrived at the Ethiopian court with the mission of reaching an accord between the Catholic and the Ethiopian Orthodox Churches. As a result of strong opposition from Y. and the Ethiopian clergy, Iyasu II had to expel the Franciscans.

In 1755, Y. was in charge of the ↗coronation of Iyoᵓas as the new emperor. In 1758 he blessed the relics of emperors ↗Bäkaffa and Iyasu II on the occasion of their translation, following the orders of queen Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa) to ↗Däbrä Ṣ́äḥay Qʷəsqʷam.

In October 1761, Y. was confronted with the emergence of the ↗*Ṣägga* doctrine. He condemned the followers of the teaching proposed by the monk *abba* Ǝšäte – and supported by *əč̣č̣äge* Henok.

Y. was buried in the Gondärine church of Aṣṣaṣame Qəddus Mikaᵓel. He was succeeded, eight years later, by *abunä* ↗Yosäb.

Src.: J. Henry Arrowsmith-Brown – Richard Pankhurst (eds.), *Prutky's Travels to Ethiopia and Other Countries*, London 1991 (Hakluyt Society Works, Second Series 174), 228f., 236ff., 249, 304, 307f., 310, 465, 467, 519; BruNile II, 642-47; CerDLib III, 153; Ignazio Guidi, "Le liste dei metropoliti d'Abissinia", *Bessarione* 6, 1899, 1–17, here 13 n. 4; Id., "Uno squarcio di storia ecclesiastica di Abissinia", *Bessarione* 7–8 [49–50], 1900–01, 10–25, here 20–24; GuiIyas 127–30.

Lit.: Ayele Teklehaymanot, "The Egyptian Metropolitan of the Ethiopian Church", *OrChrP* 54, 1, 1988, 175–222, here 188f.; CrumMis 20-24; Zbyněk Malý, "The Visit of Martin Lang, Czech Franciscan, in Gondär in 1752", *JES* 10, 2, 1972, 17–25; Osvaldo Raineri, "Le relazioni fra Chiesa etiopica e Chiesa romana (Lettera di Remedio Prutky missionario in Etiopia nel 1752–1753)", *Nicolaus. Rivista di teologia ecumenico-patristica* 8, 1980, 351–64; Id., "La breve relazione del viaggio in Etiopia di Remedio Prutky, scritta il 15–12–1756", *QSE* 3–4, 1982–83, 176–93, here 189f.; TedEthPrel II, 1028ff.; TrIslam 105.

Osvaldo Raineri

Yoḥannəs III

Aṣe Y. (**ዮሐንስ**, *nəguśä nägäśt*, s. RubActa I, 213; b. ca. 1797, d. 1873/74, Aksum) was the last titular puppet ruler of the ↗Gondärine empire during the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*.

Son of *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis I, Y. first ascended the throne on 29 August 1840, with the help of his much older wife *ətege* ↗Mänän of Wärrä Himano, the de-facto ruler of Gondär. He was deposed a year later because of his support for *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam (which displeased Mänän's son and co-regent *ras* ↗Ali Alula; CRNuov 381), but became the titular ruler again in 1844/45. His wife's political fate also affected him: when she was captured in June 1847 by her grandson-in-law *däǧǧazmač* Kaśa (later ↗Tewodros II), Y. was likewise detained (cp. d'Abbadie 1868:24). He was back on the throne in 1850/51, and then continued to claim it, in competition with *aṣe* ↗Śahlä Dəngəl and his step-son *ras* Ali "*nəguśä* Ḥabäša", who in 1852 ratified the treaty of 2 November 1849, concluded between the "king of Abyssinia" (meaning *ras* Ali or Y.) and Great Britain, with his and the puppet Emperor's seal (RubActa I, 187f., 193). Y. was dethroned in 1851 by Kaśa, who took over Y.'s titles in 1855 (Y., however, continued to use the titles ↗*nəguś* and *ḥaṣe* [↗*Aṣe*] in his correspondence, s. RubActa I, 248, III, 14f.). Once dethroned, Y. separated from Mänän, had to leave the palace, and lived in a separate house in poverty. In 1854, he asked Napoléon III of ↗France to help him.

From his letters we know that Y. entertained good relations with the d'↗Abbadie brothers (calling Arnauld *ras*, perhaps a title conferred by him?), which included sympathy for their religious aims, i.e. furthering a Catholic mission in Ethiopia. Antoine d'Abbadie describes him as an "élite personality" and "a good king" (d'Abbadie 1868:24f.). In 1851 Y. converted to ↗Catholicism (CrumMis 79; OMahPh 69, 89, 117). Given his lack of influence and power, however, this did not cause any major unrest. In 1854, Y. renounced ↗Catholicism and returned to the Orthodox faith (RubActa I, 248).

A de-facto-hostage of Tewodros II for 13 years (RubActa III, 14: letter of 1869 to Napoléon III), at times detained at ↗Mäqdäla, Y. disappeared from the records; it was even speculated that he died in 1851 (s. BudHist 483, who characterized him as a drinker, passing most of his time in his "harem"). Y. was liberated by the ↗Napier expedition in April 1868. He went to Təgray, where he established himself at Aksum, as his father had done before him (RubActa III, 14).

When the power-struggle between the former *wag šum*, *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis II, the *rəʾəsä mäkʷanənt* Kaśa Mərč̣a of Təgray (later *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV), and *däǧǧazmač* ↗Kaśa Golǧa, from another Solomonic line, reached its peak in 1871, Y. tried to use this chance to regain the throne with the help of ↗France. In an unpublished correspondence with the French government he suggested that Kaśa Golǧa would be nominated head of government under French protection, with himself as Emperor, and ↗Samuʾel Giyorgis as chief minister. On paper they formed a "counter-government", but due to the French lack of involvement in the region following the Franco–Prussian war of 1871 this plot had no repercussions.

Y. had no known children, but brought up his brother's orphaned son *ləǧ* Täsämma Zärubabel and educated him in the Catholic faith. In a letter, written from the Catholic mission of ↗Kärän, the prince suggested that Y. had remained Catholic (RubActa II, 187). Y. figures in a recent American novel (Kurtz 2003).

Src.: Archives des Lazaristes, Paris; CRNuov 380–81; CRReal 63f.; RubActa I, II, III, index (Lit.).

Lit.: ANTOINE D'ABBADIE, *L'Abyssinie et le roi Théodore*, Paris 1868, 24f.; AbPrince 128f.; BudHist 483; CrumMis 72, 74ff., 78f., 100; JANE KURTZ, *Saba, Under Hyena's Foot*, Middleton 2003; OMahPh 69, 89, 117; RubInd, s. index.

Wolbert Smidt

Yoḥannəs IV

I. Origin and rise to power
II. Internal policy
III. Religious policy
IV. Foreign relations
V. Personal life
VI. Yoḥannəs IV in Ethiopian imagination

Aṣe Y. (**ዮሐንስ**, birth name Kaḥśay [better known under its Amharic form, Kaśa], horse name "Abba Bäzbəz", "Wärrəsaw"; b. between 1831 and 1837, May Bəḥa, Tämben, d. 10 March 1889, Mätämma; ruler of ↗Təgray 1867–71, "King of Zion" and "King of Kings" of Ethiopia [as shown in his seal] 1872–89) is remembered as one of the leading architects of the modern state of Ethiopia.

I. Origin and rise to power

On the side of his father, ↗Mərč̣a [or Mərrəč̣a] Wäldä Kidan, Y. descended from the ruling dynasty of ↗Tämben where both his father and grandfather bore the traditional title of *šum tämben*, while his mother, Səllas Dəmṣ́u, was a daughter of *balgäda* Dəmṣ́u of ↗Ǝndärta and Tabotu Wäldu of ↗ʿAgamä, hence a niece of ↗Säbagadis Wäldu. He thus descended from the ruling families of Tämben, ʿAgamä and Ǝndärta. He also had connubial connections with some notables who came to his aid in the early stages: his cousin, Amläsu Arʾaya Śəllase, married *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda who remained loyal to Y. throughout his life; another cousin, Alṭaš Wahəd, married *ras* ↗Wäldä Mikaʾel Sälomon who fought on his side in the second half of the 1860s, though later he became his opponent. His sister, ↗Dənqənäš, was married first to Gobäze (later *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis) who supported his rebellion against *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II in the late 1860s and later to *ras bitwäddäd* Gäbrä Kidan, one of the leading supporters of Y. His chroniclers further remotely connect him genealogically to the branches of the ↗Solomonic dynasty in ↗Gondär and ↗Šäwa. All these relationships contributed toward Y.'s rise to power in the 1860s and 70s.

The story of the first half of his life is poorly documented. Even the date of his birth is uncertain; various sources place it between 1831 and 1837. The available sources merely indicate that he was the youngest of his siblings, that he had a seriously ailing childhood, that he received some church ↗education, and that he was initiated to manhood after killing some wild animals (lions and/or elephants) for trophies. The first mention of his appearance in the political arena comes up in connection with his visit to the imperial court of Tewodros in 1864–65 in the company of his brothers, Gugsa and Maru. Gugsa was given the title of ↗*däǧǧazmač*, and Maru that of ↗*fitawrari*. The lowest title, of ↗*balambaras*, was bestowed upon Kaśa, who was subsequently assigned to administer a sub-district within the governorship of his elder brother, Gugsa.

Shortly after their return to Təgray, Kaśa rebelled against the rule of Tewodros. What prompted his rebellion is not well established. Often two explanations, which are not essentially contradictory, are forwarded by the sources: the first is related to his dissatisfaction with the rank and function given to him by the sovereign, while the second interprets his rebellion as a response to the appeal of *abunä* ↗Sälama who in 1867 wrote from prison to many notables condemning the injustices of Tewodros. In any case, for some time he (together with his followers) retired to the eastern lowlands and found refuge among the ᶜAfar, from which ethnic group he married a Muslim after she had been baptized with the name Ṭəbäba Śəllase. Returning to the highlands, he raised more men and began his military campaign: in the years 1864-67, he consecutively defeated *šum Ṣəraᶜ* Gäbrä Mikaʾel, *däǧǧazmač* Baryaʾu Gäbrä Ṣadəq of ᶜAdwa and *däǧǧazmač* Täklä Giyorgis Qawlos of Šire. Baryaʾu transferred his allegiance to Kaśa whom he served faithfully until he was killed in a battle some ten years later. Täklä Giyorgis (who had killed Kaśa's mother, Səllas) fell in battle, and Kaśa subsequently assumed his title of *däǧǧazmač*. Kaśa then formed an alliance with *wag šum* Gobäze Gäbrä Mädḫən of Lasta against Tewodros and began to harass the imperial representatives on both sides of the ↗Märäb. He defeated the governors of ↗Säläwa and ↗Kələttä Awləᶜalo. In ↗Ḥamasen, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Ḫaylu Täwäldä Mädḫən, who contemplated resistance, was confined and replaced with *däǧǧazmač* (later *ras*) ↗Wäldä Mikaʾel Sälomon who had actively participated in Kaśa's military campaign against the imperial officials in Təgray.

By the time the British ↗Napier expedition against Tewodros arrived in the region, Kaśa had attained full control of most of the then province of Təgray as well as of the Christian highlands of Eritrea. He had even begun to conquer the regions west of the ↗Täkkäze including ↗Ṣällämt, ↗Wälqayt, ↗Ṣägäde and parts of ↗Səmen. Thus, the British needed his permission to cross his territory and reach ↗Mäqdäla. Kaśa allowed them free passage as well as the privilege to purchase provisions from the local markets on condition that they left the country immediately after the mission. Upon their return from the Mäqdäla expedition, the British expressed their gratitude by giving him weapons for a present: "a battery of mountain guns and mortars and sufficient smooth-bore muskets for one regiment" (ZewYohan 29).

Following the death of Tewodros, his brother-in-law Gobäze Gäbrä Mädḫən had himself crowned as *nəguśä nägäśt* ↗Täklä Giyorgis II. He successfully suppressed rebellions of *ras* ↗Wäldä Maryam of Bägemdər and Fares Ali of ↗Yäǧǧu, and reached a peace agreement with Mənilək of Šäwa (future *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II). Kaśa, however, refused to acknowledge the new emperor. Moreover, he had the new metropolitan *abunä* ↗Atnatewos sent from Alexandria in June 1869, and kept him in his dominion. Finally, on 11 July 1871, Täklä Giyorgis confronted Kaśa in a battle in the vicinity of ᶜAdwa (battle of ᶜAssäm), but was defeated and confined to ↗Ǝnda Abba Sälama, Tämben, where he would die two years later. Upon vanquishing the rebellions of Wäldä Iyäsus in ᶜAzäbo and ↗Kaśa Golǧa on the northern peripheries, on 21 January 1872 Y. was crowned in Aksum as Y. IV (↗Coronation). His ↗seal also changed from "... *rəʾəsä mäkʷanənt*" ['head of the notables'] to "... *nəguśä Ṣəyon, nəguśä nägäśt zäʾItyopya*" ['King of Zion, King of Kings of Ethiopia'].

II. Internal policy

The principle of Y.'s internal policy was to unite and aggrandize Ethiopia, a traditional ideal which had been revived by Tewodros II after almost a century of dissension and decline. To insure the realization of this policy, he toured each region and appointed governors, usually from the local nobility, regardless of their former attitudes toward him, as long as they submitted and expressed to him their unflinching loyalty. He thus managed, as the contemporary English vice-consul put it, "to hold the scales of justice with a firm and even hand"; "it was in 1884 the boast of King Johannes that a child could pass through his dominions unharmed" (Wylde 1901:7, 31, 33). In the first six years of his reign, he succeeded in achieving the unity of the predominantly Christian provinces, including ↗Wag and ↗Lasta, ↗Səmen and ↗Bägemdər, Amhara ↗Sayənt, ↗Goǧǧam, ↗Wällo and ↗Šäwa. He crowned Mənilək king of Šäwa in 1878 and ↗Täklä Haymanot king of Goǧǧam and Käfa in 1881 and encouraged them to expand the empire to the south, east and west. However, this advice created rivalry between the two regional kings, which came to a climax in the battle of ↗Ǝmbabo in June 1882. Y. reprimanded both of them for fighting without his permission, punished them by taking away a province from the jurisdiction of each of them and defined the direction of territories to be conquered by each of the two kings.

In the first ten years Y. had no fixed capital for his empire. He camped for about two and a half months in Aksum at the time of his coronation, but there is no indication that he would make it the imperial capital. It seems that he intended to revive the tradition of a mobile capital of medieval Ethiopia. There were, nonetheless, three centres which he frequented: ᶜAdwa where he usually celebrated ↗*Mäsqäl*, ↗Amba Č̣ara and

Sämära (↗Däbrä Tabor), both of which were located in Bägemdər. In the early 1880s, however, he chose ↗Mäqälä (Ǝndärta) as his centre where he had a palace erected by an Italian craftsman, Giacomo ↗Naretti.

III. Religious policy

Y. inherited the empire encumbered with three religious questions which provoked him to seek a solution: the internal dissensions of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOC), the threat of ↗Islam to the state and Christianity, and foreign missionary activities (↗Missions). He regarded all of them as menaces to the unity and stability of the state.

By 1878, Y. was ready to tackle the problems by summoning a council at ↗Boru Meda, Wällo. Most of the high dignitaries and notables of Ethiopia were present at the council. The leading theologians of the three major disputing groups of the EOC – ↗*Karra* (predominant in the north), ↗*Ṣägga* or *Śost Lədät* (prevalent in Bägemdər and Šäwa) and ↗*Qəbat* (based in Goǧǧam and Lasta) – tried to defend their respective doctrines. The discussion was doomed to be biased, and some of the prominent ecclesiastical masters were brought in chains to the council. On the other hand, chronicler Gäbrä Śəllase notes (cf. BTafY, ch. 27) that Y. readily accepted corrections made by a notable on procedural matters. Apparently, he had a long-prepared plan for the council, as he had a letter from the patriarch of Alexandria read out at the end of the disputation which endorsed the imperial tenet. All those who did not adhere to the doctrine of Alexandria were punished with mutilation of the tongue or were forced to go in exile to Jerusalem and Rome. The policy transcended Y.'s reign, though there were indications that the suppressed tenets had by no means been eradicated.

Immediately following the council of Boru Meda, Y. appointed a couple of church scholars to conduct the Christianization of Muslim Wällo (↗Conversions). He had Muḥammad Ali, the governor of ↗Wärrä Himano, baptized under the name of ↗Mikaʾel (*ras*, later *nəguś*) and he himself became his godfather, while Mənilək sponsored Amäde Libän "Abba Waṭäw" (renamed Ḫaylä Maryam) of Wärräbabo. In the same year, a coercive decree was issued obliging Muslims to convert to ↗Christianity. Y.'s justification for his measure was allegedly that ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ") had Islamized the country by the power of the sword; likewise, he should apply force to Christianize the people. Nonetheless, the consequence was ruinous: many Muslims emigrated to the Sudan; foreign ↗trade, which was predominantly in the hands of Muslims, sharply declined; and several dignitaries of the empire were unwilling to enforce the decree. The measure also attracted criticism from foreign powers, a circumstance which turned out to be detrimental to Y.'s foreign policy. Two years later, the project was abandoned and Y. began to deny in his correspondence that an application of force had ever taken place.

Another stumbling block to Y's foreign policy was his relation with foreign missionaries. Both Protestant and Catholic missions had been established in the distant north long before Y. was crowned. There is no indication that Y. resented their presence as long as they were not involved in politics. Some of the French Catholic missionaries in ↗Akkälä Guzay could not, however, remain neutral. A contemporary document (cf. Bairu Tafla 2007: 190ff.) asserts that they exacted a particular annual tribute which was traditionally due to the ↗*liqä kahənat* of the Orthodox Church. At the time Kaśa and Gobäze were threatening to fight each other, the missionaries ridiculed the leaders by naming their dogs after them and making them occasionally fight for fun. A letter from the missionaries inviting Kaśa's rival to attack is also said to have been found in the possession of Täklä Giyorgis when he was taken captive in 1871. But the most serious provocation was that the native converts were advised to refuse payment of tax and to seek French protection. In the late 1870s, Y. sent a military contingent against them and destroyed several Catholic villages and looted their possessions. The missionaries withdrew to ↗Massawa for their safety and were not allowed to return, while the inhabitants of Akkalä Guzay surrendered to Y.'s rule. The Protestants were denied permission to teach in the empire and, hence, remained on the peripheries. When external criticism persisted and hardly any friendly diplomatic co-operation with Christian Europe was in sight in the late 1880s, Y. exerted pressure on Mənilək to expel all European missionaries, including those who conducted their activities in Muslim and/or areas where traditional religions dominated.

IV. Foreign relations

Another concern of Y. was the retrieval of lost territories, the delimitation of the boundaries of his empire, and the defence of the sovereignty of the state against the threat and interference of foreign powers. He visualized his country as an island of Christianity in a sea of Islam. With this in mind, he made friendly overtures to several powers including ↗Russia, ↗Italy, ↗Germany, ↗Austria, ↗France, ↗Greece, and the ↗United Kingdom soliciting their peaceful involvement in settling his dispute with ↗Egypt through negotiation. The reaction of the West was, however, rather apathetic, as it had more interest in Muslim Egypt than in Christian Ethiopia.

The first threat came from Egypt which, with the help of European and American adventurers, attempted the military control of all the African territories lying south-east of the Sudan. Y. defeated the invading forces at ↗Gundät and ↗Gura^{c} in 1875 and 1876, respectively. Two immediate by-products of these victories were the capture of a quantity of modern weapons and the consecration of a Coptic metropolitan together with three bishops for Ethiopia (↗Egyptian-Ethiopian war). More importantly, he attained respect for the sovereignty of his country, and for the first time European powers began to send delegations to his court, though their indifference to Y.'s cause never changed.

On behalf of Egypt, Great Britain negotiated an agreement known as the Treaty of ^{c}Adwa or the ↗Hewett Treaty of 1884 by which Y. was promised the right to import weapons through the port of Massawa and to take over some territories which were under Egyptian control, provided that he granted safe conduct to the Egyptian garrisons threatened by the ↗Mahdists of the Sudan. Y. fulfilled his obligation, but Great Britain conceded the occupation of Massawa by Italy, a non-signatory of the treaty. Still worse, Great Britain proposed the cession of certain coastal territories and an apology from Y. when in February 1887 *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda, the governor of the Eritrean highlands (↗Märäb Məllaš), attacked an intruding Italian army contingent at ↗Dog^{c}ali and killed over 400 of its soldiers. Y. refused the request, as he saw no reason why he should apologize for fighting the invaders of his country. For him, the cession of territories, regardless of their size or importance, could not be a point of discussion. Nonetheless, the Italians occupied the greater part of Eritrea two years later when Y. mobilized his men and marched to ↗Mätämma in the north-west to encounter the Mahdists of the Sudan who had invaded Bägemdər and destroyed Gondär. He was fatally wounded in the heat of the battle on 9 March 1889 and died the next day. Upon his death, the army, which was on the point of victory, disintegrated and fled. The Mahdists cut off Y.'s head and brandished it in Khartoum.

V. Personal life

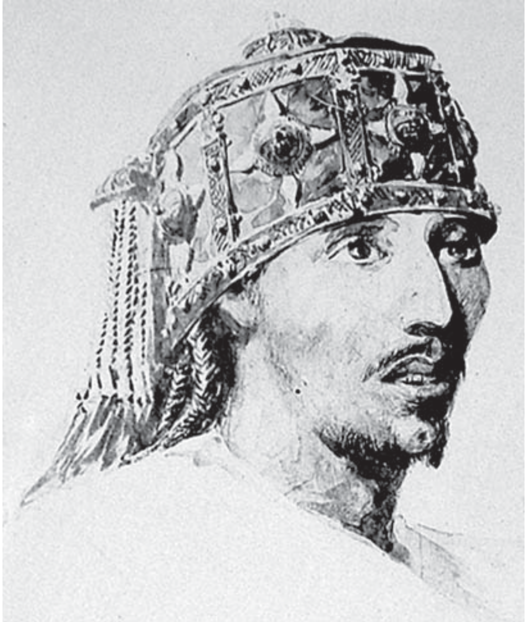
Prior to and during his reign, Y. had numerous internal and external critics who either recorded stories about him in their books or spread anecdotes by word of mouth. Many of the criticisms were, however, exaggerated, deliberately distorted, or total fabrications with sinister designs, as later studies discovered (cf. Wylde 1901: 43ff.; Zewde Gebre-Sellassie in EncAfr 251ff.).

Y. had some personal peculiarities which gave rise to some of the criticisms. One of them was his resentment towards ↗tobacco. Even if, according to Wylde (1901: 44f.), who knew the sovereign well, the rumours of Y.'s "cruelty to smokers [...] are greatly exaggerated", on several occasions smokers "had their lips and nose slightly scarified so as, until the slight wound healed, they could not use tobacco". It is not clear whether he resented tobacco for its smell or on account of religious belief. Whatever the cause, no decree banning the plant or its use is known to have been issued.

Y. was also known to have been averse to alcoholic ↗drinks, though he offered them lavishly to his guests at banquets (↗*Gəbər*). In general, he was inclined to disciplinary self-denial. He lived in celibacy after the death of his wife, Ṭəbäbä Śəllase, and mother of his only son, ↗Ar$^{\supset}$aya Śəllase, whose sudden death in 1888 at the age of 18 caused him inexpressible grief. It appears that this grievous loss, coinciding with the impending troubles – the encroachment of the Italians from the north, the incursions of the Mahdists from the north-west, and the desertion of *nəguś* Mənilək and *nəguś* Täklä Haymanot in the central highlands – drove him to despair so that he fought in Mätämma unconventionally in the front and, like Gälawdewos, became a martyr. He received women in audience only in the ↗*addaraš* during working hours, a practice which once offended a lady of high birth (*wäyzäro* Laqäčč, sister to *aṣe* Täklä Giyorgis and wife of *nəguś* Täklä Haymanot) who arrived at the court late in the afternoon and, hence, was obliged to wait until the next day to be received. In this connection, *aläqa* ↗Lämläm speculated (and probably it was also a prevalent contemporary rumour) that the sovereign had a monkish cap which he put on at night (cf. ChMonV no. 72, ms. BN Éth. 259, fols. 18v–19r, ed. Chaîne 1913) There is, however, no evidence that Y. had a prejudice of any degree against ↗matrimony.

The story of Y.'s ethical life has nonetheless been tainted by a political legend coined after his death that he had a second son (cf. ↗Mängäša Yoḥannəs) by his elder brother's wife, and the legend eventually crept into history as a fact. Although a tradition of the country allowed the taking over of a brother's widow under certain strict conditions, there is no indication whatsoever that Mängäša was born after the death of Gugsa which occurred in 1869 (according to ZewYohan 280). 1867 is given as the birth date of Mängäša in the above-mentioned article, although other sources place it two years earlier (cf. Zewde Gebre-Sellassie in EncAfr 104; PrRosDic 223). Rohlfs, one of the most reliable European writers, did not refer to him as a 13-year-old child when he met him as a full-fledged imperial official in Šire in January 1881. He discussed with him a financial matter which Y. had planned for the envoy. But as far as the personality of Mängäša was concerned, he merely mentioned that he was "a nephew of the Negus" (cf. Rohlfs 1883:292). Perhaps the first foreigner who stated that Mängäša was "a son of the Emperor John" without mentioning his source was the British archaeologist Bent (1896:2) who visited Aksum in 1893. Some years later, the British vice-consul to the Red Sea region, Wylde, claimed to have received his information from an Ethiopian priest who was allegedly present in Mätämma at the time the sovereign died and stated, that Y. acknowledged Mängäša as his son on his death-bed, though no succession was properly agreed upon (Wylde 1901:42). These versions of the legend were retained by subsequent foreign writers, and the descendents of Mängäša were proud of their royal consanguinity.

The Ethiopian published sources and the oral traditions collected by Bairu Tafla from Šire, Aksum, ᶜAdwa, May Mägälta and Ǝndärta in 1970–73 slightly differ from the foreign sources. There are two versions of the story: the first alleges that the dying emperor summoned Mängäša and nominated him as his successor to the throne and, according to one source written by a northerner at the turn of the 20th cent. (cf. Yaqob Beyene 1987:119), the Emperor obliged his councillors to take an oath to obey Mängäša. The second version alleges that the Emperor demanded the summoning of *ras* Ḫaylä Maryam, an elder brother of Mängäša, not knowing that he had fallen in the battle, and when his officials told him that he had been wounded, Y. assumed that Ḫaylä Maryam was dead and he nominated Mängäša to be his successor to the throne instead (cf. Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase 2006/07:186; Täklä Ṣadək Mäkʷərya 1989/90:544 and 1990/91:64). In either case, the sovereign was interested in bequeathing the throne rather than in acknowledging a son. Most of the sources allege that the dying sovereign used the traditional Amharic expression – "my son and friend" – when nominating Mängäša which the foreigners understood to be a sign of acknowledgement of his natural son whereas the Ethiopians understood it as a common polite expression of elderly speakers often employed to impress the addressee. Empress ↗Ṭaytu used exactly the same phrase in her letter addressed to Mängäša a couple of years thereafter, although she was by no means his mother. In his futile attempt to mobilize the people of Təgray, Mängäša declared himself in his new seal that he was "The Son of Yoḥannəs, King of Zion, King of Kings of Ethiopia" (GueCopMen 355). He was unable to rally all dignitaries of his predecessor including some of his close kinsmen.


Portrait of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV; from Acton 1886:42

Y. was consistently placid even at crucial moments, a situation which led observers to underestimate his ability. He preferred peaceful negotiations to war and, hence, he repeatedly wrote to his enemies and to the European powers to settle impending conflicts by negotiation. To the surprise of his opponents and observers, however, he maintained his composure and remained steadfast, both in negotiation and battle.

The records scarcely reveal his exercise of vengeance against vanquished enemies, two cases (once against two officials and once against two regions) being exceptions. These are the blinding of Kaśa Golǧa and the life imprisonment of *ras* Wäldä Mikaᵓel Sälomon of Ḥamasen. The former had rebelled against Y. and fought him several times in the late 1860s and early 1870s, while the latter had killed two of Y.'s governors. His army caused considerable devastation in Akkälä Guzay when the Catholics refused to pay tax in 1878–79, and in Goǧǧam when *nəguś* Täklä Haymanot rebelled in 1888–89.

Y. was averse to war, particularly the shedding of Christian blood, as he often noted in his letters, and he took time before confronting his challengers. But at crucial points he fought with determination and full military tactics as in the case of *aṣe* Täklä Giyorgis's assault in 1871 and those of the Egyptians in 1875–76.

VI. Yoḥannəs IV in Ethiopian imagination

Y. has been remembered in Ethiopia as one of the great leaders of the country, though his history received little attention until the second half of the 20th cent. 30 years after Y.'s death, ↗Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase noted in his biographical dictionary that, "Wishing that God counts him among the martyrs, *aṣe* Yoḥannəs is being praised until today for sacrificing his blood on behalf of his country and religion" (HerTar 84). Apart from the legendary Queen of Sheba (↗Makəda) and Tewodros II, Ethiopian sovereigns are scarcely the subject of dramatic or novelistic writing. Nonetheless, there is one novel about Y. in Amharic by Mammo Wəddənäh (1992) which covers the sovereign's entire life emphasizing his devotion to the church, his heroic actions and his patriotic zeal. Quite a few poems of various types and historical anecdotes reflecting Y.'s character have also been transmitted by word of mouth, some of which were recorded in writing in the 20th cent. Most of them are related to his courage and skill in hunting when he was a young man and his military successes in the second half of his life as well as to his religious faith and practice throughout his life. In other poems his victories over the Egyptian army in Gundät and Guraᶜe as well as his expeditions to Bägemdər, Goǧǧam and Šäwa are repeatedly mentioned (cf. Getie Gelaye in PICES 16 [online], 1349–63; Täklä Ṣadəq Mäkʷərya 1989/90: 548). Even his fighting in the front at Mätämma in which his life was sacrificed is regarded as an expression of his bravery.

Among the poems collected and published by Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase (1910) one underlines Y.'s personal discipline that he abstained from alcoholic drink which "whirl the head", as the poet put it, while another one among the unpublished collection of Conti Rossini (preserved in the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei in Rome) admires his consistent avoidance of sexuality after the death of his wife. There are also a couple of poems which praise him for his generosity in giving feasts and being a friend of the English (cf. Getie Gelaye in PICES 16 [online]).

Y.'s moral integrity and his devotion to his religion, at least according to a contemporary narrator, are told in a couple of anecdotes. *Aläqa* Lämma Wäldä Tarik (1868–1966) relates that a man was accused of serving ↗*ṭäǧǧ* which was exclusively the privilege of imperial appointees. Y. released him because he did not steal the honey and did not invite the public. Another anecdote told by the same narrator relates that the twin provinces of Mäqet and Šädäho were infested with criminals including looters and murderers, but Y. avoided leading a punitive imperial expedition to the regions, because he did not wish to hurt the Christian inhabitants (cf. Mängəśtu Lämma 1959: 43–47).

But this kindness does not seem to have extended to regions whose rulers had rebelled. In 1877 Y.'s army struck Šäwa, and in 1888–89 devastated Goǧǧam, both of which were predominantly Christian. The decimation of the cattle and the burning of grain severely hurt the inhabitants of Goǧǧam and many people expressed their sorrow in critical poems. (cf. Mammo Wəddənäh 1992: 331; Täklä Iyäsus 2009/10: 113–89). At least one couplet, associated with the death of *wag šum* ↗Täfäri Wäsän who had accompanied the sovereign, expresses the composer's wish that Y. should also depart:

> The trees are denuded and stones cleared
> May the *nəguś*, too, go the *wag šum*'s road.

Not all the composers have been listed by name. However, among the poets specified by their appellations were Y.'s sister, Dənqənäš and a certain Gäbrä Śəllase, both of whom had received him with a crowd when he returned from hunting wild animals.

As far as images of Y. in ↗photography or ↗painting are concerned, the available publications offer very little. The few representations that have been reproduced in books were originally drawings of European travellers such as ↗Bianchi, ↗Vigoni and ↗Massaja (the last author drew mainly the palaces of the sovereign). Unfortunately, no attempt seems to have been made on the part of scholars to examine the churches and monasteries built or frequented by the sovereign for portraits of their famous benefactor. From among the reproduced engravings, the earliest seems to be the profile of the late 1860s or early 1870s in which his face is slightly turned leftward (cf. Pankhurst – Ingrams 1996: 87) borrowed from Roger Acton's collection of the British Expedition to Mäqdäla. Some ten years later the Italian traveller Vigoni drew a profile of the Emperor with his face inclining to the right. The German envoy Rohlfs reproduced it on the title page of his book published in 1883. It seems that the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde in Munich reproduced a miniature of the same picture in its exhibition catalogue (Girma Fisseha 2002, no. 11), but no source is given. The most majestic portrait of the sovereign in a royal gown, the crown on his head and holding the regal staff was published in the late 20th cent. (cf. RubInd, between pages 84 and 85). The author photographed a painting which hung on the wall of the Mäqälä residence of the governor of Təgray which was probably also the palace of Y. Unfortunately, none of the above-mentioned works tries to comment what aspect of the sovereign's character is supposed to have been depicted in the pictures (cp. also images in Pankhurst 1960: 24, 27; Girma Fisseha – Raunig 1985, no. 42; Biasio 2006, no. 150).

Src.: BTafY (Lit.); BAIRU TAFLA (ed.), "Troops, Missionaries and an Anonymous Observer – a Presentation of an Evidentiary Document", *Eritrean Studies Review* 5, 1, 2007, 183–209; ELISABETH BIASIO, *Heilige und Helden: Äthiopiens zeitgenössische Malerei im traditionellen Stil*, Zürich 2006, no. 150; ENRICO CERULLI, "Canti popolari amarici", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 25, 1916, 563–658; MARIUS CHAÎNE (ed., tr.), "Histoire du règne de Iohannes IV, roi d'Éthiopie (1868–1889)", *RevSem* 21, 1913, 178–92 [by *aläqa* Lämläm, after ms. BN Éth. 259, cp. ChMonV no. 72]; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed.), "Epistolario del debterà Aseggachègn di Uadlà", *RRALm* ser. 6^{a}, 1, 1925, 449–90; GIRMA FISSEHA , *Äthiopien. Christentum zwischen Orient und Afrika*, München 2002, no. 11; ID. – WALTER RAUNIG, *Mensch und Geschichte in Äthiopiens Malerei*, Innsbruck – Frankfurt am Main 1985, nos. 32, 34, 42; GueCopMen s. index; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Le canzoni geez–amariña in onore di Re Abissini", *RRALm* ser. 4^{a}, 4, 1889, 53–66; KolTrad I; MasMis VII; WILLIAM MCE[NTYRE] DYE, *Moslem Egypt and Christian Abyssinia, or Military Service under the Khedive, in his Provinces and Beyond their Borders, as Experienced by the American Staff*, New York 1880, ^{2}1969; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Some Notes for a History of Ethiopian Art", *EthObs* 10, 1, 1966, 5–80, here 24, 27; ID. – LEILA INGRAMS, *Ethiopia Engraved. An Illustrated Catalogue of Engravings by Foreign Travellers from 1681 to 1900*, London 1988, 87; GERALD HERBERT PORTAL, *An Account of the English Mission to King Yohannis of Abyssinia,* Winchester 1888 (= ID., *My Mission to Abyssinia*, London 1892, repr. Westport 1975); ACHILLE RAFFRAY, *Abyssinie*, Paris, 1876; GERHARD ROHLFS, *Meine Mission nach Abessinien auf Befehl Sr. Maj. des Deutschen Kaisers, im Winter 1880–81,* Leipzig 1883; LANFRANCO RICCI (ed.), "Una cronaca breve in amarico sul regno di Yoḥannĕs IV, re d'Etiopia", *RSO* 22, 1947, 47–59; RubActa III; EDWARD ULLENDORF – ABRAHAM DEMOZ, "Two Letters from the Emperor Yohannes of Ethiopia to Queen Victoria and Lord Granville", *BSOAS* 32, 1, 1969, 135–42; WILLIAM WINSTANLEY, *A Visit to Abyssinia. An Account of Travel in Modern Ethiopia*, 2 vols., London 1881; AUGUSTUS B. WYLDE, *Modern Abyssinia,* London 1901; YAQOB BEYENE (ed.), *Fesseha Giyorgis - Storia d'Etiopia*, Napoli 1987.

Lit.: ROGER ACTON, *The Abyssinian Expedition and the Life and Reign of King Theodore* (*Engravings from the London Illustrated News*), London 1886, 42 (ill.); ADHANA MENGSTAAB, "Yohannes IV and Keren", in: TADDESE BEYENE – RICHARD PANKHURST – SHIFERAW BEKELE (eds.), *Kaśa and Kaśa*: *Papers on the Lives, Times and Images of Tewodros II and Yohannes IV* (*1855–1889*), Addis Ababa 1989, 247–52; ID., "The Occupation of Keren by the Egyptians, 4 July 1872–10 April 1885", in: *PNCES* 367–81; BAIRU TAFLA, "Between Religion and Politics. Reflecting on the Agelong Religious Policy of Imperial Ethiopia", in: WALTER RAUNIG – ASFA-WOSSEN ASSERATE (eds.), *Juden, Christen und Muslime in Äthiopien – ein Beispiel für abrahamische Ökumene*, Dettelbach 2010 (Orbis Aethiopicus 13), 45–56; RICHARD A. CAULK, "Yohannes IV, the Mahdists, and the Colonial Partition of North-East Africa", *TransAfrican Journal of History* 1, 2, 1971, 23–42; ID., "Religion and State in Nineteenth Century Ethiopia", *JES* 10, 1, 1972, 23–42; ID., "*Between the Jaws of Hyenas*": *A Diplomatic History of Ethiopia* (*1876–1896*), ed. by BAHRU ZEWDE, Wiesbaden 2002 (AeF 60); GETIE GELAYE, "Amharic Praise Poems Related to Emperors Tewodros II and Yohannes IV", in: *PICES* 16 [*online*], 1349–63; HerTar; ḪƎRUY WÄLDÄ ŚƎLLASE, **ኢትዮጵያና ፡ መተማ ፡ የአፄ ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ ታሪክ ፡ ባጭሩ** (*Ityopyanna Mätämma. Yäʾaṣe Yoḥannəs tarik baččəru*, 'Ethiopia and Mätämma. A Short History of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs'), Addis Abäba 1910 A.M. [1917/18 A.D.]; ID., **የኢትዮጵያ ፡ ታሪክ ። ከንግሥተ ፡ ሳባ ፡ እስከ ፡ ጣላቁ ፡ የዓድዋ ፡ ድል** (*Yäʾityopya tarik: känəgəśtä Saba əskä ṭallaqu yäʿAdwa dəl*, 'A History of Ethiopia from the Queen of Sheba to the Great Victory of Adwa'), ed. by SÄNNAYT TÄKLÄ MARYAM, Addis Abäba 1999 A.M. [2006/07]; MAMMO WƎDDƎNÄH, **ዮሐንስ ። በታሪክ ፡ ላይ ፡ የተመሰረተ ፡ ልብወለድ** (*Yoḥannəs. Bätarik lay yätämäsärrätä ləbwälläd*, 'Yoḥannəs. An Historical Novel'), Addis Abäba 1985 A.M. [1992 A.D.]; MÄNGƎŚTU LÄMMA, **መጽሐፈ ፡ ትዝታ ፡ ዘአለቃ ፡ ለማ ፡ ወልደ ፡ ታሪክ** (*Mäṣḥafä təzzəta zäʾaläqa Lämma Wäldä Tarik*, 'The Book of Reminiscences of aläqa Lämma Wäldä Tarik), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M.

[1966/67 A.D.] (^{2}2003 A.M. [2010/11 A.D.]); REIDULF KNUT MOLVAER, “Some Ethiopian Historical Poems”, *Aethiopica* 9, 2006, 147–63; RICHARD PANKHURST, “Three Nineteenth Century Ethiopian Profiles: Sahle Sellassie, Ras Wube and Yohannes IV”, *EthObs* 9, 3, 1965, 202–08; PrRosDic; RubInd; SHIFERAW BEKELE, “Kasa and Kasa: The State of their Historiography”, in: TADDESE BEYENE et al. op. cit. 1989, 289–347; *aläqa* TÄKLÄ IYÄSUS, **የኢትዮጵያ ፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäʾityop̣ya tarik*, ‘A History of Ethiopia’), ed. by SƎRGƎW GELAW, Addis Abäba 2002 A.M. [2009/10 A. D.]; TÄKLÄ ṢADƎQ MÄKʷƎRYA, **ዐፄ ፡ ዮሐንስና ፡ የኢትዮጵያ ፡ አንድነት** (*ᶜAṣ́e Yoḥannəsənna yäʾityop̣ya andənnät*, ‘*Aṣ́e* Yoḥannəs and Ethiopian Unity’), Addis Abäba 1982 A.M. [1989/90 A.D.]; ID., **ዐፄ ፡ ምኒልክና ፡ የኢትዮጵያ ፡ አንድነት** (*ᶜAṣ́e Məniləkənna yäʾityop̣ya andənnät*, ‘*Aṣ́e* Mənilək and Ethiopian Unity’), Addis Abäba 1983 A.M. [1990/91 A.D.]; ZEWDE GEBRE-SELLASSIE, “Mangasha Yohannes”, in: *EncAfr* 104–05; ID., “Yohannes IV”, *ibid.* 152–53; ZewYohan.

Bairu Tafla

Yoḥannəs I

Liqä p̣ap̣p̣asat Y. (**ዮሐንስ**, birth name Ḥaddis Täkle, later *nəburäʾəd* Täklä Haymanot; b. 1883, Šäwa, d. 10 June 1956, Addis ᶜAläm) was subsequently *mälʾakä bərhan*, ↗*nəburäʾəd*, ↗*əč̣č̣äge*, bishop (↗*p̣ap̣p̣as*) of Šäwa and, finally, archbishop (*liqä p̣ap̣p̣asat*) of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC).

Born in the present North Šäwa diocese, Ḥaddis Täkle began his education at ↗Addis ᶜAläm Ṣəyon and at ↗Däbrä Libanos monastery and subsequently studied ↗*zema* and ↗*aqqʷaqʷam* in ↗Gondär, ↗*qəne* in Goǧǧam and came back to Gondär to follow the ↗*tərgʷame* teaching of *mämhər* Täklä Maryam. After having been the student of *mämhər* Täsfu in ↗Däbrä Tabor, Ḥaddis Täkle started his carreer at the church of ↗Maḫbärä Śəllase in Gondär. Later, he administrated the Lədäta church of Gondär. Called by *ras* ↗Gugsa, Ḥaddis Täkle became part of his court at Däbrä Tabor. From 1925 on, he became associated with the circle of the metropolitan *abunä* ↗Matewos, spent some time in Jerusalem and came back to administer the Mikaʾel church in ↗Ankobär. In 1929/30, he became the head of the church of Mäkanä Śəllase of Addis Abäba as *mälʾakä bərhan*. He stayed there only one year and in 1931 he replaced *däǧǧazmač* Wäldä Ṣadəq (1929–31) as *nəburäʾəd* of Addis ᶜAläm church assuming the name Täklä Haymanot.

During the occupation of Ethiopia (↗Africa Orientale Italiana), ↗Italy decided in November 1937 to cut the link of the ↗Coptic Church with the EOTC by appointing the former bishop of Goǧǧam Abrəham as the first Ethiopian archbishop of Ethiopia. Abrəham started consecrating Ethiopian bishops himself, and decided to make *nəburäʾəd* Täklä Haymanot both bishop of the newly-created diocese of Šäwa and *əč̣č̣äge* of Däbrä Libanos. On this occasion, Täklä Haymanot assumed the name Yoḥannəs I.

On 21 July 1939, Abrəham died and Y. succeeded him as archbishop of Ethiopia. Y. immediately consecrated five new Ethiopian bishops. During his tenure also a new administrative system for the EOTC was decided through the establishment of an ecclesiastical constitution.

After the liberation of the country in 1941, Y. was excommunicated by the Coptic authorities. Not recognized by ↗Ḫaylä Śəlasse I, he stayed under house arrest in Addis ᶜAläm until his death.

Src.: ANON., *Oriente Moderno* 17 (12), dicembre 1937, 638; GÄRIMA TAFFÄRÄ, **ጎንደሬ ፡ በጋሻው ፡ ለግርማዊ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ ቀዳማዊ ፡ ኃይለ ፡ ሥላሴ ፡ ለ፳፮ኛው ፡ የዘውድ ፡ በዓል ፡ መታሰቢያ** (*Gondäre bägaššaw, lägərmawi nəguśä nägäśt qädamawi Ḫaylä Śəllase lä-26äññaw yäzäwd bäᶜal mättasäbiya*, ‘Gondäre Bägaššaw, Commemoration of the 26th Anniversary of the Ascension to the Throne of His Majesty, King of Kings Ḫaylä Śəlasse’), Addis Abäba 1949 A.M. [1956/57 A.D.], 92–102.

Lit.: ADUGNA AMANU, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church Becomes Autocephalous*, B.A. thesis, Haile Selassie I University, Addis Abäba 1969, 62; AmhChurchD vol. 1, 90; STÉPHANE ANCEL, *Episcopat et encadrement des pratiques religieuses en Ethiopie chrétienne contemporaine: caractéristiques et évolutions*, Ph.D. thesis, Paris 2006, 131f., 146, 153f.; CerDLib III, 168; HAGGAI ERLICH, “Identity and Church: Ethiopian-Egyptian Dialogue: 1924–1959”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 32, 1, 2000, 23–46; YOLANDE MARA, *The Church of Ethiopia, The National Church in the Making*, Asmara 1972, 46; MÄRŠA ALLÄḴÄÑÑ, **ዜና ፡ ጳጳሳት ፡ ኢትዮጵያውያን** (*Zena p̣ap̣p̣asat ityop̣yawəyan*, ‘History of the Ethiopian Patriarchs’), Addis Abäba 1997 A.M. [2004 A.D.], 105–08; MURAD KAMIL, “La dernière phase des relations historiques entre l’Église copte d’Égypte et celle d’Éthiopie (jusqu’en’1952)”, *Bulletin de la société d’archéologie copte* 14, 1950–57, 1–22; CALVIN E. SHENK, “The Italian Attempt to Reconcile the Ethiopian Orthodox Church: The Use of Religious Celebration and Assistance to Churches and Monasteries”, *JES* 10, 1, 1972, 125–35; ID., *The Development of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and its Relationship with the Ethiopian Government from 1930 to 1970*, Ph.D. thesis, New-York University, New York 1972, 141–155.

Stéphane Ancel

Yoḥannəs Admasu

Y.A. (**ዮሐንስ ፡ አድማሱ**; b. 9 October 1936, Addis Abäba, d. 13 June 1976, Harärge) was a famous poet and well-known scholar of ↗Amharic literature and poetry.

He attended the Ḫaylä Śəllase I Day School, (popularly known as *kokäbä ṣəbaḥ*, ‘The Morning Star’), both for his primary and secondary education, which he completed in July 1958.

After he completed a four year teachers training programme at the secondary level, he fulfilled the mandatory one year teaching service the following academic year (1958–59) at the Wäyzäro Səhin Secondary School (one of the earliest "modern" schools to be opened in the country in the 1920s) in ↗Däse.

Y.A. then joined the Addis Ababa University College in the academic year of 1959/60. After the abortive ↗Coup de état of December 1960 (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081), the college formed the nucleus of the new Haile Selassie I University (HSIU; ↗Addis Ababa University).

At the time, the ↗student movement was beginning to intensify on campus. Y.A. immersed himself in political activism, which was also reflected in his poems. Eventually he was suspended from the university in the academic year 1962/63.

In 1963 Y.A. went back to teaching at Wäyzäro Səhin Secondary School. Although he was readmitted to HSIU the subsequent year, he left for the USA before the end of 1963 and joined the University of California at Los Angeles. Here he studied alongside other senior Ethiopian students (e.g. ↗Abrəham Dämoz, ↗Habtä Maryam Marqos among others), who were focusing on various Ethiopian languages in their linguistic studies, under the guidance of Wolf ↗Leslau. Y.A. assisted Leslau compiling examples for *An Amharic Conversation Book* and his *Amharic Textbook*.

Y.A. returned to Ethiopia in 1965, rejoined the HSIU in 1966/67 and obtained his B.A. degree in 1967. The following year Y.A. was retained by the HSIU as a graduate assistant to teach in the Department of Ethiopian Languages and Literature.

During this period Y.A. collaborated with three of his department colleagues to produce a college level textbook for the teaching of Amharic, which is still extant as an unpublished ms.

Besides his teaching in the university and significant poetic contributions to modern Amharic literature, Y.A. engaged in research and critical writing on Amharic literature (e.g. ↗*Sämənna wärq*). His articles on contemporary Amharic fictional works in newspapers and magazines, aimed at the wider public, are seminal.

Y.A. did continuous research on the lives and works of Ethiopian intellectuals such as ↗Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam and ↗Yoftaḥe Nəguśe, who had largely contributed to the study of Ethiopian history and literary heritage.

Y.A. died under unknown circumstances in the Harärge region. His significant contribution, **ቀኝ ፡ ጌታ ፡ ዮፍታሔ ፡ ንጉሤ ፣ አጭር ፡ የሕይወትና ፡ የጽሑፉ ፡ ታሪክ**, is posthumously published in 2013 by the Addis Ababa University Press.

Src.: YOḤANNES ADMASU et. al., **አማርኛ ፡ ለኮሌጅ ፡ ደረጃ ፡ የተዘጋጀ** (*Amarəñña läkolleğ däräğa yätäzägağğä*, 'Amharic Designed for College Level'), Addis Abäba n.d.; ID., "**ቃላትና ፡ ኪነ ፡ ጽሑፍ** (*Qalatənna kinä ṣəḥuf*, 'Words and Artistic Writing')", *Addis Zämän*, October 13, 1973; ID., **ቀኝ ፡ ጌታ ፡ ዮፍታሔ ፡ ንጉሤ ፣ አጭር ፡ የሕይወትና ፡ የጽሑፉ ፡ ታሪክ** (*Qäñ Getta Yoftahe neguśe, aččər yäḥəywätənna*, 'Qäñ Getta Yoftahe, A short history of his Life and Work'), Addis Ababa 2006 A.M. [2013 A.D.]; WOLF LESLAU, *An Amharic Conversation Book*, Wiesbaden 1965, vii; ID., *Amharic Textbook*, Wiesbaden 1968, xviii.

Lit.: RANDI RØNNING BALSVIK, *Haile Sellassie's Students*: *The Intellectual and Social Background to Revolution, 1952–1974*, Addis Abäba 1985, 108; PAULOS MILKIAS, *Focus in Africa*: *Ethiopia*, Santa Barbara, CA 2011, 312f.

Asfaw Damte

Yoḥannəs Afä Wärq ↗John Chrysostomos

Yoḥannəs Käma

Ǝččäge Y.K. (**ዮሐንስ ፡ ከማ**; 15th cent.) was the seventh head of the monastery of Däbrä ᶜAsbo (↗Däbrä Libanos) of Šäwa, successor of Yoḥannəs Śəwwər and a contemporary of *aṣe* ↗Yəsḥaq.

The tenure of Y.K. marks an important phase in the development of Däbrä ᶜAsbo and its literature. As reported in the *Zena Däbrä Libanos*, Y.K. ordered the construction of a church in which the relics of Täklä Haymanot were installed (CerDLib II, 141; Turaiev 1906: 352f.; DerDom 332f.). Besides, he was the first abbot of Däbrä ᶜAsbo who accepted lands granted from the royal court (CerDLib II, 142; Turaiev 1906: 353; DerDom 338–41).

It is usually thought that the acts of *abba* ↗Filəppos, third abbot of the monastery, were written during the tenure of Y.K. (CerDLib I, 234f.), just like the so-called first version of the acts of ↗Täklä Haymanot or the Ḥayq version (Derat and Nosnitisn do not agree on this point: cp. DerDom 76f; DerDomTh 77; Nosnitsin 2003: 149, n. 40). *The History of the Translation of the Body of Täklä Haymanot* may be added to these texts written during his tenure, even if there is still no clear evidence of a connection between the redaction of this text and Y.K. (CerDLib II, 142; Nosnitsin 2003: 153). According to the *History*, Y.K.'s tenure seems to have played a crucial role in the new stance of the monastery towards royal power and other monastic communities claiming a spiritual link to the teaching of Täklä Haymanot.

It is interesting to see that the acts of ↗Märḥa Krəstos, the 9th abbot, contrast the peaceful end of

Y.K. with the martyrdom of the abbots Filəppos and Ǝndrəyas, pointing to the close relations between Y.K. and the royal power at the time (Kur 1972: 93). In the northern part of Ethiopia, Y.K. is considered as the founder of the church Ǝnda Yoḥannəs Käma. Recently, new documents concerning Y.K. were found in Təgray (Nosnitsin 2012, in preparation). Y.K. was succeeded by Ǝndrəyas.

Src.: GÉRARD COLIN (ed., tr.), *Vie de Georges de Saglā*, Louvain, 1987 (CSCO 492, 493 [SAe 81, 82]), 31–32 (text) = 23–24 (tr.); GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Monastic Genealogy of the Line of Takla Haymanot of Shoa", *RSE* 29, 1982–83, 7–38, here 32ff.; STANISLAS KUR (ed., tr.), *Actes de Marḥa Krestos*, Louvain 1972 (CSCO 331, 332 [SAe 62, 63]), 103 (text) = 93 (tr.); SERGEW HABLE SELLASSIE, "Sources for the History of Dabra Libanos", *Journal of the Archives of Ethiopia* 1, 2, 1993, 1–107; BORISSUS TURAIEV, **ዜና ፡ ደብረ ፡ ሊባኖስ**. *Povestvovanie o Dabra-Libanosskom monastyre* ('*Zena Däbrä Libanos*. The History of the Däbrä Libanos Monastery'), St. Petersburg 1906 (Pamyatniki efiopskoy pismennosti 4), 352f.

Lit.: CerDLib I, 234ff., II, 141ff.; DerDom 129–135, 154, 162, 332f., 338–341; DerDomTh 77; DENIS NOSNITSIN, "Mäṣḥafä fəlsätu lä-abunä Täklä Haymanot: a Short Study", *Aethiopica* 6, 2003, 137–167; ID., "Ethio-SPaRe, Cultural Heritage of Christian Ethiopia: Salvation, Preservation and Research. Fifth Mission Report May–June 2012", Hamburg University 2012, 11; ELSA ROSSIGNOL, *L'aqqabé saʾat et l'eččägé: deux hauts dignitaires éthiopiens entre l'Église et l'État (16ème–18ème s.)*, M.A. thesis, Université de Paris I 2004, 76.

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Yoḥannəs Mädäbbär ↗John of Nikiu

Yoḥannəs Məśraqawi

Y.M. (**ዮሐንስ ፡ ምሥራቃዊ**, 'John the Oriental', also Ǝč̣č̣ä Yoḥannəs, Yoḥannəs of Ṣägäro; cp. KinBibl 98f., no. 182) is an Ethiopian saint credited with the evangelization of the region of ↗Mänz.

The main source on Y.M. is his Vita (↗*Gädl*), known from five manuscripts, all of which seem to derive from the same archetype: VatLib Cerulli Etiop. 175, 121 fols., 20th cent.; EMML no. 119, 169 fols., 19th cent. [?]; EMML no. 1303 [IES 38], 189 fols., 20th cent.; EMML no. 4165 (from the church of Safəǧ Yoḥannəs, Angoläla, Šäwa), 127 fols., 20th cent. (all four used in the edition, Marrassini 1981); and VatLib Cerulli Etiop. 6, 165 fols., 17th cent. (with some differences; it was not considered for the edition, s. Marrassini 1988).

The Acts do not contain any clear historical allusions except for many (mostly unidentified) personal and place names, and a mention of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob (ed. Marrassini 1981: 250, 408 [text]), who gives lands up to the River ↗Täkkäze to Y.M. (ibid. 252). This mention has become widely known thanks to an extensive treatment by Cerulli (CerLett 78ff., with a lengthy quotation [ed. 78–86]). The text is mainly made of fantastic elements, frequently of a high literary level (e.g., the saint's trip to the seven parts of the earth, ed. 282–94), and follows a general scheme for an Ethiopian *gädl* (s. Marrassini 1981: xxxiii–cix).

The life of the saint is followed from his birth (in Palestine, *Fəl*[*əs*]*ṭ*, from Levite parents; his father's name is given as Dilasor, which is the original name of ↗Kiros) to his death (in Gond in Bäläsa, ed. 264, 294–316) and translation (to Egora, ibid. 316–32). A period of novitiate in Egypt (ibid. 112–62) is followed by travels to different Ethiopian places or monasteries (↗Däbrä Libanos, Safəǧ, ↗Azälo, Ṣägäro, Gäro, Egora, Gond in Bäläsa), whilst the maximum attention is given to Däbrä Libanos (ibid. 182–98); also the narrative of the torture of ↗Täklä Haymanot by ↗Motälämi in Ṭomä Gərar is reproduced (twice, ibid. 162–82 and 334–54). The *gädl* is completed by 21 miracles (cp. ↗*täʾammər*).

From the hagiographical and historical points of view, two other personages should be taken into account, Ǝč̣č̣ä Yoḥannəs and Yoḥannəs of Wifat. Ǝč̣č̣ä Yoḥannəs is clearly identified with Y.M. by the Acts (ibid. 296). In the story, Y.M. is made head of Däbrä Libanos for seven days to replace the dead *əč̣č̣ä* (clearly an abbreviation from ↗*əč̣č̣äge*) Agnaṭewos "son of Täklä Haymanot", and is called by the community Ǝč̣č̣ä Yoḥannəs. In a ↗*sälam* to Ǝč̣č̣ä Yoḥannəs (ms. EMML no. 659, fols. 217r–219r, 18th or 19th cent.), there is a salutation to his fingers, "who searched fire, when [he] exercised his function in the house of Täklä Haymanot", which reflects a deed accomplished by Y.M. in Däbrä Libanos (ed. Marrassini 1981: 194ff.), when he stirred with his bare forearm a soup which was burning. The identification is also supported by the oral traditions of Mänz (cp. the story of the pregnant woman, and the false accusation against Ǝč̣č̣ä Yoḥannəs, summarized, in two versions, in Levine in PICES 2, 209f., cp. ed. Marrassini 1981: 256ff.; the place of Fərkut(t)a, widespread in oral tradition, does not appear in the Acts). These oral traditions put the life of Ǝč̣č̣ä Yoḥannəs in the time of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I, for which time an *əč̣č̣äge* ↗Agnaṭəyos is also documented; thus, a historical personage Ǝč̣č̣ä Yoḥannəs should be put at the end of the 17th cent.

The connection between Y.M. and Yoḥannəs of Wifat, who lived at the time of the 15th-cent. *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, is more difficult to demonstrate. Very few elements of what we know about Yoḥannəs of Wifat correspond to those of the Acts of Y.M. According to the latter text, the Saint was the godfather of Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob's son, ↗Bäᵓədä Maryam, who must have been born in 1448 (he died in 1478, when he was 30 years old, s. PerrZarY 182), whereas according to the "short chronicles", Yoḥannəs of Wifat died ten years after Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob's accession to the throne, i.e. in 1444 (BassÉt I, 326 [text] = II, 96 [tr.]). In a manuscript illumination accompanying a *sälam* to the martyr Yoḥannəs of Wifat (ms. BN d'Abbadie 102, fol. 84r, 17th cent.; CRAbb no. 51; *sälam* quoted in Fiaccadori 1988:141, fig. after p. 144), he is shown dwelling in a kind of a barrel and giving his flesh to the birds; in the Acts of ↗Täklä Ḥawaryat, the protagonist meets Yoḥannəs of Wifat closed in a cell (ed. Conti Rossini 1910:71 [text] = 64 [tr.]) – none of these elements appear in the *gädl* of Y.M. On the other hand, the glorification of Däbrä Libanos, and the building of a church in the time of Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob (reported by oral traditions) could be in keeping with the age of this Emperor. Besides, in the monastic genealogy of Kəlᵓat (EMML no. 2353, fol. 88v, 19th cent., tr. in Getatchew Haile 1982–83:34), Y.M. is credited with fathering *əč̣č̣äge* ↗Yoḥannəs Käma, another tradition that may hint at the 15th cent. for the saint's chronology (s. Fiaccadori 1988:141f., where the identification of Y.M. with the 14th-cent. Yoḥannəs of Kəlᵓat is proposed).

A tentative (although very mechanical) conclusion could be that the hagiographer, writing the 17th- (or rather 18th-) cent. Acts of Ǝč̣č̣ä Yoḥannəs, merged two traditions on two different personages with the same name.

Src.: mss. VatLib Cerulli Etiop. 6 and 175 (RaiCer 23f., 129); EMML nos. 119, 659, 1303, 2353, 4165; ms. BN d'Abbadie 102 (CRAbb 77, no. 51); BassÉt I, 326 (text) = II, 96 (tr.); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed., tr.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*, I. *Acta sancti Abakerazun*, II. *Acta sancti Takla Hawāryāt*, Louvain 1910, repr. 1962 (CSCO 56, 57 [SAe 24, 25]); GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Monastic Genealogy of the Line of Täklä Haymanot of Shoa", *RSE* 29, 1982–83, 7–38; PAOLO MARRASSINI (ed., tr.), Gadla Yoḥannes Mesraqawi – *Vita di Yohannes l'Orientale*, Firenze 1981 (Quaderni di Semitistica 10; Lit.); ID., "Su un nuovo codice del *Gadla Yoḥannes Meśrāqāwi*", *RSE* 31, 1988, 247–51.

Lit.: CerDLib II, 180; CerLett 78ff.; ROGER COWLEY [review of Marrassini 1981], *BSOAS* 47, 2, 1984, 357–39; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Nota su Yoḥannes Meśrāqāwi", *Quaderni utinensi* 6 [11–12], 1988 [1991], 141–50; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, [review of Marrassini 1981], *Orientalia* nova ser. 59, 1, 1990, 91–95; KinBibl 98f. no. 182; MANFRED KROPP, [review of Marrassini 1981], *OrChr* 67, 1983, 225–26; DONALD LEVINE, "On the History and Culture of Manz", in: *PICES* 2, 204–11; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "Una nuova versione geez della disputa fra Takla Haymanot e Motalami", *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 3, 1980, 260–98; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Yoḥannes Meśraqawi", "Yoḥannes of Wifat", in: *EncSan* vol. 1, 1161–62, 1198.

Paolo Marrassini

Yoḥannəs of Däbrä Bizän

Y. (**ዮሐንስ**; ca. 1371–1449) was the second abbot of ↗Däbrä Bizän, the disciple and successor of the founder of the monastery, *abba* ↗Filəp̣p̣os.

According to his *Gädl*, Y.'s grandfather Qäso emigrated from Aḥsəᵓa, ↗Šire, the original place of his ancestors (*śəyumanä Sire*, 'prefects of Sire'), to ↗Bur, where he founded a village in the vicinity of Mayä Bäläsle with the same name of Aḥsəᵓa. Y. was born as Zärᵓa Haymanot to Qäso's son Gäbrä Krəstos and the latter's wife Akrosya. After meeting Filəp̣p̣os of Däbrä Bizän Y. changed his life, was accepted at the age of 15 into the monastery together with a certain Yonas and was taught by a certain Yəsḥaq. One year later he received the monastic habit and the new name of Y. At the death of Filəp̣p̣os, Y. was designated as his successor at the age of 23 notwithstanding the strong opposition of some of the older monks (Yəbarəkännä Krəstos, Erməyas, Fəre Mənaṭos, Sälwanos), whose resistance ceased only after the outbreak of plague.

Necessities of cohabitation and sometimes of confrontation with the Muslims are the peculiar features of Y.'s regency at Däbrä Bizän, where he is said to have founded three new churches (Mar Məhnam, Gäbrəᵓel, Mikaᵓel) and widely displayed his piousness and monastic qualities. Y. headed the community for 45 years till his death, in the years when the ↗Ewosṭateans faced confrontation with the monarchy, but also finally enjoyed the latter's favour. He was succeeded as abbot by ↗Śäräqä Bərhan.

The *Gädlä Yoḥannəs* is still unpublished in its entirety, though briefly summarized and partially published in excerpts only, with no translation, by Conti Rossini (1900:127–49 [text]) on the basis of fols. 63r–110r of a manuscript of the 18th/19th cent. "from a small village in the vicinity of Asmära", also containing the *Gädlä Filəp̣p̣os* on fols. 2r–62v. Both texts – not necessarly by the same author – probably date to the 15th cent., i.e. immediately after the narrated events, as evidenced by a final note where the author claims to have witnessed some episodes of Y.'s life and to have learned details from his disciples. A second manuscript of *Gädlä Yoḥannəs* (now ANLin Conti Rossini 10, 20th cent., fols. 1r–26ra, s. StrANL 31f.) was acquired in the course of time by the main investigator of Y.'s dossier, i.e. Conti Rossini, who had it copied in Eritrea from an exemplar different from that of the published excerpts. The early dating of the text of the *Gädl* is now confirmed by two more manuscript witnesses in the monastery of Däbrä Bizän (BauEr II, 42–47, nos. 8, 9), dating respectively *ante* 1531 and *ante* 1539. Both contain the *Gädlä Filəppos* (no. 8, fols. 1–78v; no. 9, fols. 3r–74) and *Gädlä Yoḥannəs* (no. 8, fols. 79r–152; no. 9, fols. 75r–139v), plus *Gädlä ardəʾt* (i.e. 'Vita of the disciples [of Däbrä Bizän]', in ms. no. 8, fols. 153–60, as a later-added fascicle; no. 9, fols. 140r–169r).

Y. is commemorated in the ↗*Sənkəssar* on 14 *Ḫədar* (ColSyn VIII, 74f.; BudSaint 245, which is the only occurrence of Däbrä Bizän in this edition of the *Sənkəssar*), but on 13 *Ḫədar* according to his *Gädl* (cp. Conti Rossini 1900: 148). The integral publication of the *Gädlä Yoḥannəs* in its entirety still remains an important desideratum of historical and hagiographical research.

Src.: ms. ANL in Conti Rossini 10, fols. 1r–26ra (StrANL 31f., no. 10); BauEr II, 42–47 (mss. nos. 8, 9); BudSaint 245; ColSyn VIII, 74f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il Gadla Filpos e il Gadla Yohannes di Dabra Bizan", *MRALm* ser. 5ª, 8, 1900, 62–170; PAUL PEETERS, [review of Conti Rossini 1900], *ABoll* 25, 1906, 391–92; ID., "De S. Johanne presbytero abbate Montis Bizen in Aethiopia", in: *Acta Sanctorum*, XI: *Novembris* Tomus 4, Bruxellis 1925, 247–67.

Lit.: BHO 112 (no. 503); KinBibl 98 (no. 177); LusStud 106f.; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Giovanni di Dabra Bizan", in: *EncSan* vol. 1, 1118–21.

Alessandro Bausi

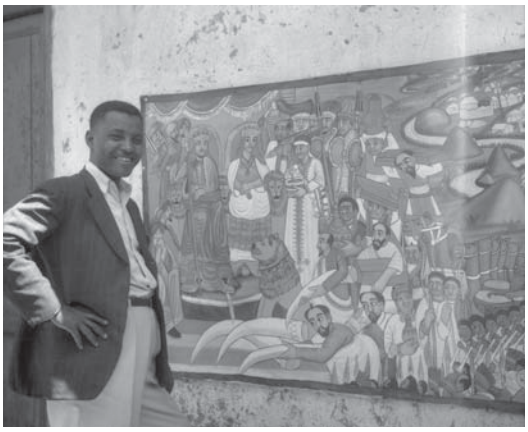
Yoḥannəs of Wifat ↗Yoḥannəs Məśraqawi

Yoḥannəs Täsämma

Y.T. (**ዮሐንስ ፡ ተሰማ**; b. 1914 [Björnesjö 1980: 54] or 1916 [Raineri – Riva 2008: 11], Bəčäna Giyorgis, Goǧǧam, d. 28 June 1972, Addis Abäba) was an eminent Ethiopian painter (↗Art s. EAE vol. 5).

Y.T. was the grandson of a priest, received a traditional church education, learned some Gəᶜəz and spent many years in the Giyorgis church in Bəčäna in the service of the priests. Already as a child he had a strong desire to draw. According to the painter – and godchild of Y.T. – *qes* Adsamu Täsfaw, he studied painting with *qesä gäbäz* Antänäh Gäbru, who also taught ↗ᶜAlämu Ḫaylä Maryam. Around 1933 Y.T. moved to Addis Abäba, where he started to work together with ᶜAlämu's brother Yətbaräk. They began to make a living by producing paintings on paper for ↗*ṭäǧǧ* houses. In 1937 Y.T. painted in the workshop of the Georgian adventurer Djougashvilli, who called himself Prince Amiradjibi, where among others ↗Bälaččäw Yəmär, Yətbaräk Ḫaylä Maryam, ᶜAlämu Ḫaylä Maryam and ↗Bərhanu Yəmänu were employed. After a couple of years Y.T. left, and in 1953 he became a teacher of drawing at the Empress Mänän Handicraft School. In 1957 he was awarded a diploma of honour and a silver medal from *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. He was the first Ethiopian painter to offer one of his paintings to the UNICEF.

Y.T. was also a major commercial artist in the city and was well connected with the expatriate community and the royal family. At the beginning of his career he was especially interested in religious themes. Later, in the 1960s, Y.T. was also interested in actual events. According to Addamu Täsfaw, Y.T. directed him to produce paintings commemorating the visits to Ethiopia of Queen Elizabeth II in 1965, and President Charles de Gaulle in 1966. Adamu produced these works from photographs in magazines. However, Y.T. put his own signature on them (cp. Silverman 2005: 34).



Yoḥannəs Täsämma with one of his paintings, Addis Abäba; photo 1950/52, by Elisabeth Pauli, courtesy of the Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt am Main (23–Pa66–001–01)

Y.T. also continued to paint such traditional subjects as battle and court scenes, the legend of the Queen of Sheba (↗Makədda), and, above all, scenes from everyday life. Examples of his works are reproduced in a number of publications (e.g., Biasio 2006: 126f.; *EthObs* 7, 3, 202–09; Pankhurst 1966: 53ff.; Girma Fisseha – Raunig 1985: 165f., fig. 48, 184f., fig. 91; Ricci 1989: 49; Appleyard 1993: 108–11 and Raineri – Riva 2008: 154–220).

Lit.: DAVID APPLEYARD, *Ethiopian Manuscripts*, London 1993, 108–11; ELISABETH BIASIO, *Heilige und Helden. Äthiopiens zeitgenössische Malerei im traditionellen Stil*, Zürich 2006, 126f.; Brita Björnesjö, “Yohannes Tesema: Un pittore etiopico tradizionale”, *QSE* 1, 1980, 54–57; *EthObs* 7, 3, 1964, 202–209; Girma Fisseha – Walter Raunig, *Mensch und Geschichte in Äthiopiens Volksmalerei*, Innsbruck – Frankfurt am Main 1985, 165f., fig. 48, 184f., fig. 91; Richard Pankhurst, “Some Notes for a History of Ethiopian Secular Art”, *EthObs* 10, 1, 1966, 5–80, here 44f., 53ff.; Osvaldo Raineri, **ክብረ ፡ ነገሥት** *Kebra Nagast. La gloria dei re. Salomone e la regina di Saba nell’epopea etiopica tra testo e pittura*, traduzione del testo etiopico (geᶜez) di Osvaldo Raineri, miniature di Yohannes Tesemma presentate da Renata Riva, Roma 2008, 11–13; Lanfranco Ricci, *Pittura etiopica tradizionale*, Roma 1989, 49; Raymond A. Silverman, *Painting Ethiopia: The Life and Work of Qes Adamu Tesfaw*, Los Angeles, CA 2005, 34, 39, n. 38.

Elisabeth Biasio

Yoḥannəs Wäldä Giyorgis

Y. (**ዮሐንስ ፡ ወልደ ፡ ጊዮርጊስ**; b. 27 December 1921, ᶜAlitena, d. 18 September 2002, Addis Abäba) was Vicar Apostolic of Mäqi (Hayqočč-Butağira). He was the great-great-grandson of *ḥanta* Ṣaᶜru, representative of the Buknáyte ᶜÁre clan of the ↗Irob, who had welcomed Giustino De ↗Jacobis when he visited the area in September 1845.

After attending the Lədäta School, ᶜAlitena, Y. continued his primary education from 1935 to 1941 at the Catholic school in ↗Gʷalᶜa. In 1942, he entered the seminary in Addis Abäba. In 1947, he went to the Ethiopian College at the Vatican (↗Santo Stefano dei Mori), where, on 31 October 1954, he was ordained a priest. He was sent to Cambridge, England, for further studies and returned to Ethiopia in October 1957. From 1957 until 1969 he was Vice-Rector of the diocesan college in ↗ᶜAddigrat and from 1969 until 1981 he was the administrator of the parishes around ᶜAlitena on behalf of the Eparchy of ᶜAddigrat.

While in ᶜAlitena, in addition to his pastoral commitments, Y. initiated a variety of development projects, notably the building of roads to open up the mountainous countryside to transport, the most significant stretch, of 36 km, being that from Zälä Anbäsa to ᶜAlitena. Y. also promoted the building of the first clinic, which was served by nuns with medical qualifications.

On 8 December 1981, *abba* Y. was appointed Prefect Apostolic of Mäqi. When Mäqi was elevated to an Apostolic Vicariate, he was consecrated the first bishop of the Vicariate on 25 January 1992. Subsequently, Y. became actively engaged in establishing primary, senior and high schools as well as a school for the blind. In addition, he also opened a number of Women Promotion Centres, clinics, a hospital and the local congregation of nuns “The Daughters of Mary Immaculate”.

Yoḥannəs Wäldä Giyorgis; photo ca. 1992, from the ᶜAddigrat Diocesan Archives, courtesy of the author

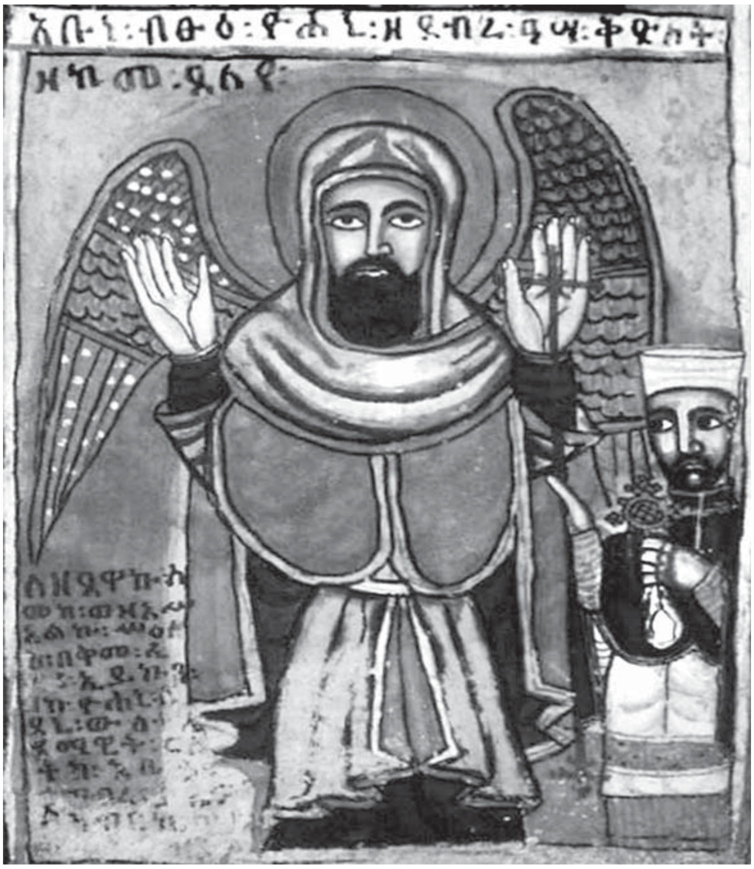
Src.: Giustino De Jacobis, *Scritti*, vol. 2: *Epistolario*, Roma 2003, 727.
Lit.: Abraha Baraki, *A Brief Biography*, ms., Mäggi, 20 September 2002.

Kevin O’Mahoney

Yoḥanni of Däbrä ᶜAśa

Abba Y. (**ዮሐኒ**) was a Təgrayan monk primarily associated with the monastery of Däbrä ᶜAśa in ↗Tämben, also known as ↗Abba Yoḥanni (s. EAE vol. 5). He should not be confused with *abba* ↗Yoḥanni of Däbrä Damo, a contemporary and teacher of the 13th-cent. saint ↗Iyäsus Moᵓa.

Y.’s life is known from his Acts (↗*Gädl*), edited, as the very first ↗hagiography of an Ethiopian saint published in Europe, by Basset (1884) from ms. BN Éth. 132 (fols. 39–42; 19th cent.; ZotBNat 198f.). Other known witnesses include BritLib Add. 16,230 (fols. 5–8; DillmLond 51, n. XLVII), a copy made for Conti Rossini ca. 1900 (ANLin Conti Rossini 125, fols. 2r–5r; StrANL 308; s. Virgili 1983:309f.), mss. EMML nos. 1734 (fols. 106r–110r; early 19th cent.), 3445 (fols. 21r–26r; 18th cent.), 4268 (fols. 92r–93v; 16th cent.); a copy was reportedly kept in Abba Yoḥanni (KinBibl 99, no. 184), but it is not there today.



Yoḥanni of Däbrä ᶜAśa, cloth mural, 18th cent., church of Däbrä ᶜAśa, Tämben; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

Y. is also evoked in a number of hymnological compositions; they may follow upon the Acts (e.g., ms. EMML no. 1734, fol. 110rv, ↗*sälam* to Y. and ↗Kiros) or appear separately in homiletic collections (e.g., ms. EMML no. 591: 5, 18th/19th cent., *sälam* to ↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus, Y. and Kiros). Hymns to Y. are included in many antiphonary collections: a ↗*Zəmmare* manuscript (BN Éth. 372 [Griaule 68], 18th cent.) includes four hymns to Y. (fols. 25v–27v) preceded by a hymn to his disciple Abaydo (fol. 25rv); cp. also ↗*Mäwaśəᶜət* (e.g., Ṭānāsee 79 = Dabra Māryām 21, fols. 19v–20r, 18th cent.; Ṭānāsee 92 = Rēmā 3, fol. 7v, 17th cent.; BritLib Add 14,227, fol. 9v; BritLib [Dillmann XXIX], fol. 13v; also ed. 1993/94: 30ff., 16f.), ↗*Məᶜəraf* (s. VelMe 138, 219) and also ↗*Dəggʷa* (e.g., Uppsala O Etiop. 36, fols. 40v–41r, preceded by a *wazema* on Abaydo; LöfUpp 69, no. 24). A homily (↗*Dərsan*) in honour of Y. authored by "Minas bishop of ↗Aksum" follows upon the saint's Acts in mss. BN Éth. 132 and StrANL no. 125; it is also transmitted in the homilies collection in ms. EMML no. 1763 (fols. 35v–37v; 1336/40).

Y. is commemorated in the ↗*Sənkəssar* on 5 *Ḫədar* (cp. ColSyn VIII, 252f.), his spiritual father *abba* Ammoni on 20 *Gənbot* and his disciple *abba* Abaydo (in some mss. Obaydo, s. Vat. Aeth. 111, fol. 57, BN Éth. 126, fol. 64r) on 4 *Ḫədar* (ColSyn VIII, 250f.).

According to his Acts, Y. was born to a wife of a *šum Tämben* as a result of her being raped by her brother-in-law during her husband's military campaign against the ↗Noba and Soba (s. ↗Soba noba, EAE vol. 5). She blamed the pregnancy on the hermit from Däbrä ᶜAśa, *abba* Ammoni, who subsequently brought Y. up. Y. remained in the desert after Ammoni's death, copying ↗manuscripts. Fleeing a confrontation with his mother, who was trying to seduce him, Y., with the help of the Holy Spirit and St. Gabriel, escaped to Heaven where he met Enoch and Elijah. Y. remained in Paradise, and St. Gabriel descended to tell Y.'s disciple *abba* Abaydo to write down his teacher's Acts. The narration ends with Abaydo's death.

The similarity of some text motifs with the ↗*Bärälam wäyəwasəf* may indicate a composition after the latter's translation into Gəᶜəz ca. 1553; however, the passages may have been inspired by other, earlier, sources (s. Basset 1884: 434–38). Basset (ibid. 439f.) tentatively identified Y. with the 14th-cent. metropolitan *abunä* ↗Yoḥannəs (X), a contemporary of *aṣe* ↗Dawit. He saw supporting evidence in the fact that in some manuscripts the Vita is followed by a homily by Minas (s. above) – who in this case could be identical with *abunä* Yoḥannəs's successor, Minas (IV). There is, however, no evidence to support the interchangeability of the names Yoḥannəs and Yoḥanni. Moreover, the same homily – ascribed by the tradition to the 4th/6th cent. bishop ↗Minas of Aksum – is transmitted in a much earlier manuscript (EMML no. 1763, not known to Basset), making this identification highly questionable.

The short hagiography falls typologically into the "Egyptian" type (s. Marrassini 2005). Interestingly, it is often transmitted in similar manuscripts that sometimes contain lives of saints of the ↗Aksumite period, or of other so-called "Egyptian" saints (e.g., Abib, Gäbrä Krəstos and Gärima in BN Éth. 132, Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus in EMML nos. 1734 and 3445, s. also the joint hymnological compositions above). This could be an indication that tradition itself places Y. in the Aksumite period.

It is not known whether there exists a connection with (another) *abba* ↗Yoḥanni of Däbrä Sina who is believed to have arrived from Egypt and founded ↗Däbrä Sina in Sänhit during the reign of the 6th-cent. Aksumite king ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl (he is possibly listed, as João, alongside the Nine Saints by Luis dos Anjos in 1612; s. Brita 2010: 50, n. 148); some of the hymns may have been originally dedicated to this Yoḥanni, or to still another figure of the same name.

According to the local traditions of Tämben, Y. founded further 42 churches in the area, invisible to the eyes of mortals.

Src.: RENÉ BASSET, "Vie d'Abbâ Yohanni", *Bulletin de correspondance africaine* 3, 1884, 433–53; ColSyn VIII, 250-54; DillmLond 51 (Add. 16,230); EMML II, 337 (no. 591), V, 184 (no. 1734: 4), 219 (no. 1763: 10), VIII, 269 (no. 3445), X, 92f. (no. 4268); GrébGriaule III, 121, 214 (no. 372); GréTisVat 413–28 (Vat. Aeth. 111); HamTana II, 96 (Ṭānāsee 79), 122 (Ṭānāsee 92); LöfUpp 69 (no. 24); StrANL 308 (no. 125, xiii, 4); VelMe 138, 219; ZotBNat 198f. (no. 132); **ዝማሬ ፡ ወመዋሥዕት** (*Zəmmare wämäwaśəᶜət*, '*Zəmmare* and *mäwaśəᶜət*'), Addis Abäba 1986 A.M. [1993/94 A.D.]), 30a–32a (*Zəmmare zäᵓabba Yoḥanni*), 16b–17b (*Mäwaśəᶜət zäᵓabba Yoḥanni*).

Lit.: ANTONELLA BRITA, *I racconti tradizionali sulla "seconda cristianizzazione dell'Etiopia". Il ciclo agiografico dei Nove Santi*, Napoli 2010 (StAfEt 7), here 50; KinBibl 99 (no. 184); PAOLO MARRASSINI, "The 'Egyptian Saints' of the Abyssinian Hagiography", *Aethiopica* 8, 2005, 113–29; STUART MUNRO-HAY, "Saintly Shadows", in: *AfrHorn* 137–68, here 150; SALVATORE TEDESCHI, "Yoḥanni", in: *EncSan* vol. 2, 1360-62; MARIA LUISA VIRGILI, "Note testuali all'ᵓAbba Yoḥanni di Dabra ᶜĀśā", *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 6, 1983, 309–23.

Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Yoḥanni of Däbrä Damo

Abba Y. (**ዮሐኒ**, fl. 13th cent.) was, according to some medieval Ethiopian sources, an abbot of the monastery of ↗Däbrä Damo and a spiritual teacher of both of the prominent monastic leaders of Ethiopia during the late 13th–early 14th cent. – ↗Iyäsus Moᵓa of ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos and ↗Täklä Haymanot of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa. No hagiographic sources that feature Y. as the protagonist are known. The only texts that provide information about his life and activities are: the so-called *Homily* in honour of Iyäsus Moᵓa, the *Acts of Iyäsus Moᵓa*, the *Acts of Täklä Haymanot* (the Däbrä Libanos recension) and his commemoration note in the ↗*Sənkəssar*; and the *Acts of* ↗*Zämikaᵓel Arägawi*. These sources refer to Y. mainly in connection with the role allegedly played by him in the monastic investitures of both Iyäsus Moᵓa and Täklä Haymanot (cp. ↗*Śərᶜatä mənkʷəsənna*; ↗Monasticism).

The name Y. could be a Coptic vernacular form of the name of John, attested in Greek papyri of Egyptian provenance alongside such forms as Pawli, Ammoni, Absadi, etc. (cf. Preisigke 1922: 155; Marrassini 1999: 328). However, it is also possible that the name is of native Ethiopian origin, deriving from the Gəᶜəz verbal form *yäw(wə)ḫanni* 'He (i.e. God) has shown clemency to me' (for the verbal root and its derivatives s. LesCDic 628). Indeed, the variant form *yäwḫanni* as a personal name has been recorded on wall ↗paintings in the ancient ↗Gännätä Maryam church near Lalibäla (Balicka-Witakowska 1998–99: 198, n. 56; s. Nosnitsin in VarAeth 200, n. 9).

The *Gädlä Iyäsus Moᵓa* is the only source providing "hagio-biographical" data on Y. According to the text, during his life as a layperson Y. was "a great judge, administering judgment after the king" (i.e. second in authority only to the [unnamed] king himself). The king gave his daughter in marriage for Y. and appointed him the second highest official in his kingdom. Nonetheless, Y. denounced the worldly riches, willing to be rather a soldier (*ḫara*) of Christ than of king. Notwithstanding the opposition on the part of the king, Y. left the royal court for Däbrä Damo where he spent the rest of his life. He died at an unknown age on 8 *Gənbot* (KurMoa 20 [text]; or on 9 *Gənbot*, according to the *Acts of Zämikaᵓel Arägawi*, s. Guidi 1895: 35).

Y. first encountered Iyäsus Moᵓa, the future head of Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos, when the latter arrived at Däbrä Damo as a novice. It was Y. who conferred upon Iyäsus Moᵓa the "monastic garb" (*albasä mənkʷəsənna*) and the girdle (*qənat*) (or scapular [*askema*] and girdle, according to the *Homily* in honour of Iyäsus Moᵓa whose composition predates that of the Acts, cf. Marrassini 1986: 179, Nosnitsin in VarAeth 225).

When Täklä Haymanot, having spent seven years as a novice at Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos, went to Däbrä Damo, his teacher Iyäsus Moʾa asked him to bring him the scapular which Y. had reserved for Iyäsus Moʾa. Täklä Haymanot returned with the scapular (after seven years) and placed it upon the ↗*tabot*, so that his master could pick it with his own hands. On Iyäsus Moʾa's insistence ("no one is able to receive grace by himself, if it is not given to him from Heaven", KurMoa 38 [text] = 31 [tr.]), Täklä Haymanot is persuaded to give the scapular to his teacher.

According to the Däbrä Libanos recension of the *Acts of Täklä Haymanot*, Täklä Haymanot spends ten years at Däbrä Ḥayq where he was vested by Iyäsus Moʾa with the "monastic garb" (*albasä mənk^{w}əsənna*; Budge 1906: 69 [text]), and then he goes to Däbrä Damo. Täklä Haymanot is instructed by an angel to ask Y. for the monastic cap (*qob^{c}*) and *askema* and thus to have his investiture completed. Iyäsus Moʾa asks Täklä Haymanot to bring the cap and scapular also for him, since he had left Däbrä Damo without receiving these parts of the monastic habit. At Däbrä Damo Y., having learned that Täklä Haymanot is a disciple of Iyäsus Moʾa, states that Täklä Haymanot is "the (spiritual) son of his son" and bestows upon him the *qob^{c}* and *askema* (Täklä Haymanot is also represented as having received his monastic habit from Y. in a monastic genealogy found in ms. BritLib Add. 16, 253 and in another genealogy published in Conti Rossini 1901, where Y. is called the spiritual father of both Iyäsus Moʾa and Täklä Haymanot). Y. also gives Täklä Haymanot the cap and scapular for Iyäsus Moʾa which the latter receives from the former, declaring: "from this time onwards [...] I will be thy son, and thou shalt be [my] father" (Budge 1906: 76f. [text]). These words of the compiler of the Acts are sometimes interpreted as the claim that Iyäsus Moʾa openly acknowledged the spiritual superiority of his disciple, Täklä Haymanot, over himself.

The historiographic notes concluding the *Acts of Zämikaʾel Arägawi* (Guidi 1895: 34ff.) present somewhat contradictory picture of the activities of Y. as spiritual father of Iyäsus Moʾa and Täklä Haymanot: Y. confers the scapular upon Iyäsus Moʾa (Guidi 1895: 34) who thereafter returns to Däbrä Ḥayq. After a short while, Y. receives also Täklä Haymanot who comes "dressed like a soldier" (*läbiso ləbsä ḥara* [?]), confers upon him the scapular and cap and orders him to stay at Däbrä Damo. After 12 year, Täklä Haymanot returns to Däbrä Ḥayq, bringing with him the scapular and cap for Iyäsus Moʾa which the latter allegedly did not receive while staying at Däbrä Damo because he left "for the sake of the eager desire for righteousness, loving toil and seclusion" (Guidi 1895: 35; ^{2}1896: 95; for possible interpretations of the difficult passage, s. Nosnitsin in VarAeth 220f.).

The testimony of the *Gädlä Zämikaʾel Arägawi* seems to have been later incorporated, in an abridged form, into the text of the *Acts of Iyäsus Moʾa* (KurMoa 21 [text] = 17 [tr.]) and to have influenced the shaping of the relevant passages in the *Acts of Täklä Haymanot* (s. esp. Nosnitsin in VarAeth 217–23, nn. 56ff.). The spiritual authority of Y. is highly esteemed by the compiler of the Acts of Iyäsus Moʾa who places him as the only non-biblical figure among a number of biblical personages known for their sanctity and states that Iyäsus Moʾa was "accomplished in his monkhood like abba Y." (KurMoa 42–43 [text], 34 [tr.]).

Besides, the historiographic notes maintain that *abba* Y. was the seventh abbot of Däbrä Damo (Guidi 1895: 34); the claim which is chronologically impossible, as has already been noted (cf. TadTChurch 158, n. 4). According to the notes, during the tenure of Y. the monks constructed a church in a cave, which was to serve as a burial place for the brethren of the monastery. The notes also mention Y.'s successor, Zäʾiyäsus, whom Y. appointed himself. For the rest, the internal tradition of Däbrä Damo on account of Y. still remains unexplored.

Abba Y. does not have a separate commemoration note in the Ethiopic *Sənkəssar*; only in the second type of the *Sənkəssar* entry for Täklä Haymanot, represented, e.g., by ms. d'Abbadie 163 (GuiSyn III, 474 [text]; cf. BudSaint 1244–45; s. also Nosnitsin 2007: 145f.) does his name appear, remarkably in the form of "Yoḥannəs".

Src.: ms. DillmLond 45, no. XXXVIII [ms. Add. 16,253]; EMML no. 1960; Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, "Les peintures murales de l'église rupestre éthiopienne Gännätä Maryam près de Lalibela", *Arte medievale* ser. 2, 12–13, 1998–99, 193–209, here 198, n. 56; Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge (ed., tr.), *The Life and Miracles of Takla Hâymânôt* ..., London 1906, 69, 71–73, 76f. (text) = 171, 176–81, 189 (tr.); BudSaint 1244f.; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Il Gadla Filpos e il Gadla Yohannes di Dabra Bizan", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 8, 1901, 61–170, here 155–56; Ignazio Guidi (ed.), *Il 'Gadla Aragâwî'*, Roma 1895 [= Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, ser. 5, vol. 2], 34f., 42 = ^{2}1896, 92–95; GuiSyn III, 474 (text) = 475–76 (tr.); KurMoa 8–11, 14f., 20ff., 36–39, 40, 42f. (text) = 7ff., 11f., 16ff., 30ff., 34 (tr.); LesCDic 628; Paolo Marrassini, “A proposito di ʾIyasus Moʾa”, *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 9, 1986, 175–97; Friedrich Preisigke, *Namenbuch*: *enthaltend alle griechischen, lateinischen, ägyptischen, hebräischen, arabischen, und sonstigen semitischen und nicht-semitischen Namen* …, Heidelberg 1922, 155.

Lit.: Belaynesh Michael, “Yohanni”, in: *DicEthBio* 189; DerDom (Lit.); Steven Kaplan, “Iyäsus Moʾa and Täklä Haymanot: A Note on a Hagiographic Controversy”, *JSS* 31, 1986, 47–56; KurMoa v–vi, viii–ix, xiv (tr.); Paolo Marrassini, “Ancora sul problema degli influssi siriaci in età aksumita”, in: Luigi Cagni (ed.), *Biblica et Semitica. Studi in memoria di Francesco Vattioni*, Napoli 1999 (Series Minor 59), 325–37; Denis Nosnitsin, “*Wäwähabo qobʿa wäʾaskema.* Reflections on an Episode from the History of the Ethiopian Monastic Movement”, in: *VarAeth* 197–247, here esp. 200, n. 9, 201, nn. 11f.; Id., “The Ethiopic Synaxarion: Text-Critical Observations on Täklä Haymanot’s Commemoration (24 *Näḥase*)”, *OrChrP* 73, 2007, 141–83; TadTChurch 158f., 163, 165f.; Salvatore Tedeschi, “Yoḥanni”, in: *EncSan* vol. 2, 1362–63; Id., “La vita del monaco etiope Iyasus Moʾa (sec. XIII): agiografia e storiografia”, *OrChrP* 60, 1994, 503–18.

Iosif Fridman

Yoḥanni of Däbrä Sina

Abba Y. (ዮሐኒ) was, according to local traditions, the founder of the Eritrean monastery of Däbrä Sina. He is said to have come from Egypt together with his followers in the reign of ↗Kaleb Ǝllä Aṣbəḥa (CRStor 158), of ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl or, more likely, of the historical son of Kaleb whose name is attested in epigraphic evidence as ↗WʿZB. The history of the monastery written in the 19th cent. by Aśratä Maryam (publ. 1910) constitutes the main source of information on Y.

In 1612, Luis dos Anjos, the author of a biography of St. Augustine recorded by ↗Mendes (BecRASO VIII, 72f.) and later by Barradas (BecRASO IV, 315f.), mentions an Ethiopic manuscript in possession of ↗Santo Stefano dei Mori in Rome, in which a certain João, “who was old and like a prior over the others”, was numbered among the ↗Nine Saints (evidently replacing in this list Zämikaʾel Arägawi). Whilst Getatchew Haile (cf. Munro-Hay 2005: 150, n. 36), identified this João with *abba* ↗Yoḥanni of Däbrä Damo, Brita (2010: 50, n. 148) suggests the identification of this personage with Y. as more probable.

It is possible that some of the hymnological compositions in honour of a “Y.”, usually interpreted as dedicated to ↗Yoḥanni of Däbrä ʿAśa, were originally dedicated to the founder of Däbrä Sina.

Src.: Aśratä Maryam, *Storia del convento di Debra Sina*, ed. by Ignazio Guidi, Roma 1910; BecRASO IV, 315–16; VIII, 72–73.

Lit.: Antonella Brita, *I racconti tradizionali sulla “seconda cristianizzazione” dell’Etiopia. Il ciclo agiografico dei Nove Santi*, Napoli 2010 (StAfEt 7), 2, 50, n. 148; CRStor 158; Stuart Christopher Munro-Hay, “Saintly Shadows”, in: *AfrHorn* 137–68.

Iosif Fridman

Yolyos

Y. (ዮልዮስ; b. Wäläqa, d. 1617) was an Ethiopian nobleman. He appears to be associated with ↗Susənyos from an early date, before the latter attained power. He occupied important positions at Susənyos’s court: *blattenočč geta zäʿabiyan wäzänəʾusan* (“[↗]*blatten geta* of the great and small *blattenočč*”), head of the musketeers (*näfṭ*), ↗*bašša*, ↗*ṣäḥafe lam*, ↗*wälasma* of Ifat and ↗*qaṭ* of Mänz. Towards 1603, he was made *wäʿali* of Ifat and had once to be rescued by Susənyos when he was besieged on *amba* Gäfägäf (PerChron 130, also 36 [tr.]).

In 1607, after defeating *aṣe* ↗Yaʿəqob and gaining power, Susənyos made Y. *Goğğam nägaš* and married him to his daughter ↗Mäläkotawit (PerChron 102, also 130 [tr.]). Just before the rainy season of 1608, he was *dağğazmač* at the royal *kätäma* (PerChron 85 [tr.]). After the rainy season of 1609, when the rebellion Y. had launched together with ↗Kəflo against Susənyos failed, the Emperor removed Y. from Goğğam but soon pardoned him (Toubkis 2004: 698–730).

In 1610, a conflict, which was to continue over most of the decade, broke out between Y. and ↗Səʿəlä Krəstos (PerChron 104 [tr.]). Apparently, Y. had been appointed *ṣäḥafe lam* of Damot but with jurisdiction over a wider area in Goğğam (PerChron 106, also 102, 126, 288 [tr.]). Thus, his territory overlapped with that of Səʿəlä Krəstos. On 25-26 February 1612, the Emperor appointed Y. ↗*təgre mäkʷännən* and ↗*baḥər nägaš* and gave Goğğam “entirely” to his brother *ras* Səʿəlä Krəstos (PerChron 130, 142 [tr.]). Səʿəlä Krəstos now became master of an area that hitherto Y. had ruled whereas the latter was sent far away to the north to conduct a campaign. It is also remarkable that on 20 April 1626, when *aṣe* Susənyos gave several *gʷəlt* to Səʿəlä Krəstos, part of them were situated close to ↗Dänqäz, but others were situated precisely in that north-eastern part of Goğğam in the Amadamit region (PerChron 221 [tr.]; Pennec 2003: 224).

Y. and Səʿəlä Krəstos also clashed over the issue of religion. As early as 1612, while the latter was establishing himself in Goğğam, Səʿəlä

Krəstos's rapprochement with the missionaries and Catholicism could not escape the notice of Y. (BecRASO XI, 283; Pennec 2003: 222 n. 119). During the period from 1612 to 1617, Susənyos's royal chronicle shows Y. particularly active in Təgray, Wägära and Səmen. From 1614 to 1616 he conducted several campaigns against the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel (PerChron 117, 120 [tr.]). In 1614, according to Manoel de ↗Almeida, the ↗Jesuits who were living in Təgray suffered the persecution of Y. (BecRASO VI, 335), by then clearly identified as one of the staunch supporters of Orthodoxy and enemy of the Catholics (BecRASO II, 393ff.; III, 354ff.; VI, 283f., 296, 302).

On 16 January 1617, when Səʿəlä Krəstos's "apostolic zeal" (Pennec 2003: 225) in Goǧǧam was growing, Susənyos, instead of his brother ↗Yämanä Krəstos, appointed Səʿəlä Krəstos *bitwäddäd* (PerChron 122f.). Only three months later, on 28 April 1617, the Emperor was informed that Y. had rebelled against him and Səʿəlä Krəstos (PerChron 126 [tr.]). Y. was beheaded and remained without burial (BecRASO II, 399f.).

Y. should not be confused with his contemporary *abetohun* Yolyos, *wäyzäro* Yolyana's son, who died at the ↗Gorgora royal camp during the rainy season of 1618 (PerChron 156 [tr.]).

Src.: BecRASO II, 393ff., 399f.; III, 354ff.; VI, 283f., 296, 302, 335; XI, 283; PerChron 45, 101f., 109, 137f., 142f., 151f., 155, 159, 163, 168f., 287 (text) = 36, 85, 101f., 104, 106, 110, 117, 120, 122f., 126, 129f., 156, 221, 288 (tr.).

Lit.: HERVÉ PENNEC, *Des jésuites au royaume du Prêtre Jean* (*Éthiopie*): *Stratégies, rencontres et tentatives d'implantation* (*1495–1633*), Paris et al. 2003, 222 n. 119, 224f.; DIMITRI TOUBKIS, "*Je deviendrai roi sur tout le pays d'Ethiopie*". *Royauté et écriture de l'histoire dans l'Ethiopie chrétienne* (*XVIe–XVIIIe siècles*), Ph.D. thesis, Université de Paris I, 2004, 698–730.

Dimitri Toubkis

Yona Boggalä

Y.B. (**ዮና ፡ ቦጋለ**; b. 1908, Wälläqa, d. 14 August 1987, Petah Tikva, Israel) is considered to be one of the foremost leaders of the Ethiopian Jews (↗Betä Ǝsraʾel) in the 20th cent. (↗Judaism).

Y.B., the son of a weaver, grew up as a shepherd. In 1920 Jacques ↗Faitlovitch, on his fourth expedition to Ethiopia, visited Y.B.'s village ↗Wäläqa and taught him and some other boys the rudiments of Hebrew, as well as some Hebrew prayers and songs. Faitlovich decided to take Y.B. and three other Betä Ǝsraʾel boys to Europe to acquire a Jewish and secular education. At first, Y.B. attended the Tahkemoni School in ↗Jerusalem. In 1924, he moved via Italy to Frankfurt, Germany, and in 1929 was sent to the prestigious Jewish school at Bex-les-Bains in Switzerland; from there, he moved to the Alliance Française School in Paris.

Y.B. had a natural gift for languages and spoke Hebrew, English, Italian, French and German fluently, in addition to his mother-tongue Amharic. In 1933 Y.B. returned to Ethiopia, and in 1936 began teaching at the "Fälaša School" set up by Faitlovitch in 1923 in Addis Abäba, and run by ↗Täʾammərat Amanuʾel.

In 1937 Y.B. was forced to flee to ↗Wälläga after the school was shut down and the Italian authorities had put out a search warrant for him. After the Italian occupation, in 1941, Y.B. was employed as a translator at the Ministry of Education. In 1953, he resigned in order to work for the Jewish Agency, which was establishing schools for the Betä Ǝsraʾel in Ethiopia. In 1954 Y.B. opened a "Fälaša School" in Asmära, with 57 male and female pupils. In 1954 and 1957 he selected two groups of students who would, through an agreement with *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, study in the Kfar Batya School in ↗Israel and return home thereafter. Between 1957 and 1958 Y.B. opened

Yona Boggalä; photo 1936 by Carlo Alberto Viterbo, courtesy of the author, who received a copy from Yona Boggalä in 1987

27 village schools for the Betä Ǝsraᵓel, using some of the Kfar Batya graduates as teachers.

Believing that agriculture was the key to economic success for the Betä Ǝsraᵓel, who were largely tenant farmers, Y.B. supported the Humera Agricultural Development Project (↗Ḥumära) to re-settle the Betä Ǝsraᵓel in Tačč ↗Armačǝho near the Sudanese border, but the project failed. In 1979 Y.B. immigrated to Israel, and resided in the town of Petah Tikva until his death. In 2007, a local school in the Israeli town of Rehovot was named after him.

Y.B. was instrumental in facilitating the immigration of the Betä Ǝsraᵓel to Israel and supported their integration into Israeli society. He, therefore, favoured changing the traditional language of prayer, Gǝᶜǝz, to Hebrew in order to come in line with all the other Jewish communities. Y.B. published Amharic translations of Jewish texts, including a book on Jewish festivals, and a Hebrew-Amharic dictionary. He also published some memoirs in Hebrew of his stay in Jerusalem in the 1920s. With ↗Murād Kāmil, Y.B. produced an Amharic translation of Castanhoso's account of Christovão da ↗Gama, using Littmann's German version.

Src.: YONA BOGALE, "Moladǝti" ('My Homeland'), *Ḥaverenu*, Jerusalem 1924 (Taḥkǝmoni School Bulletin); ID., **የእስራኤል ፡ በዓላት ፡ ሕግጋት** (*Yäᵓǝsraᵓel bäᶜalat ḥǝggǝgat*, 'Precepts of Jewish Holidays'), Addis Abäba 1953 A.M. [1961/61 A.D.]; ID., "Bet hasefer šel Beta Yisraᵓel bǝᵓItyopya" ('The School of the Beta Israel in Ethiopia'), *Peᶜamim*: *Studies in Oriental Jewry* 22, 1985, 89–92; ID., *Hebrew–Amharic Dictionary*, n.p., n.d. (Hebrew); ID. – SHMUEL BEERI, *Ḥagey Yisraᵓel, bǝᵓamharit uvǝᶜivrit* ('The Feasts of Israel, in Amharic and Hebrew'), n.p., n.d.; MIGUEL DE CASTANHOSO, **የፖርቱጋሎች ፡ ጀግንነት** (*Yäportugaločč ǧägnǝnnät*, 'The Valour of the Portuguese'), tr. by MURAD KAMIL – YONA BOGGALÄ, Addis Abäba 1944.

Lit.: DAVID KESSLER, *The Falashas*: *the Forgotten Jews of Ethiopia*, London 1982; WOLF LESLAU, "A Falasha Book of Jewish Festivals", in: LUCY S. DAWIDOWICZ et. al. (eds.), *For Max Weinreich on his Seventieth Birthday*: *Studies on Jewish Languages, Literature and Society*, The Hague 1964, 183–91; SHALVA WEIL, "Yona Bogale: mimanhigey Beta Yisraᵓel" ('Yona Bogale: One of the Leaders of the Beta Israel'), *Peᶜamim*: *Studies in Oriental Jewry* 33, 1987, 140–43; ID., "Beta Israel Students Who Studied Abroad 1905–1935", in: *PICES* 16, 84–92.

Shalva Weil

Yonaᵓel

Däǧǧazmač Y. (**ዮናኤል**, in Jesuit sources Jonaêl; fl. ca. 1574–1604, d. 13 October 1604) was a military leader during the rule of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣa Dǝngǝl. Of noble birth, as his title *abetohun* indicates, he was the son of *ǝte* Mǝn Yǝčale (d. 25 July 1594), about whom, however, little is known (BassEt II, 112, 123).

Y. seems to have started his military career within the ranks of Śärṣa Dǝngǝl's army. In late 1579 (or possibly 1574, cf. BecRASO III, 142), he and *azmač* Däḫarägot (↗Darägot) led their troops against the Fälaša (↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel) of ↗Rädaᵓi (CRHist 104 [tr.]). Sometime later, Y. was made governor of ↗Sǝmen and towards 1587 he was one of the leaders of the full-fledged war against the Fälaša of ↗Gedewon and ↗Gʷäšǝn. Thanks to his military skills, Y. managed to conquer their strongholds at Wärq Amba and Šǝkäna Amba. In 1591 he participated in Śärṣa Dǝngǝl's campaign against the Ottomans in ↗Massawa and, reportedly, killed the Turkish *baša* ↗Kädawǝrd by stabbing him with a knife (BassEt II, 112; also BTafY 176f., 300–03). Shortly after, he led his troops against the rebel Wäldä ᶜƎzum in Tǝgray.

During the dynastic struggles at the turn of the seventeenth century, Y. played an important role, being one of the powerful lords of the kingdom. He was an ally of *ras* ↗Atnatewos against *aṣe* ↗Zädǝngǝl and formed a coalition with Atnatewos and ↗Zäśǝllase against *abetohun* – later *aṣe* – ↗Susǝnyos. He reportedly died on 13 October 1604 in the same battle in which Zädǝngǝl perished (BecRASO III, 260ff.).

Y. was married to *wäyzäro* Säbänä Giyorgis, a daughter of *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos, with whom he fathered "Auqafo", mother of the *wäyzäro* of "Däbära" (PerChron 411). Another son of Y., *abetohun* ↗Awnabyos, was *śǝyyum* of ↗Wägära in 1609 and later governor of ↗Damot (PerChron 97, 146 [tr.]; BecRASO III, 337, 366).

Y. should not be confused with another military leader, *blatten geta* Y., a contemporary of Susǝnyos and ↗Fasilädäs.

Src.: BassEt II, 112, 123; BecRASO III, 141-45, 260ff., 331, 337, 366; BTafY 176f., 300–03, 949, 962, 994; CRHist 94, 104ff., 133, 145–57 (text) = 104, 119ff., 153, 165–73 (tr.); JOSEPH HALEVY (ed., tr.), *La guerre de Sarsa-Děngěl contre les falachas*: *Texte Éthiopien; Extrait des Annales de Sarṣa-Děngěl, roi d'Éthiopie* (*1536–1597*), Paris 1907, 10, 25–34 (text) = 47f., 62–71 (tr.); PerChron 125, 189 (text) = 97, 146, 411 (tr.).

Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner

Yonaᵓel

Blatten geta Y. (**ዮናኤል**, in Jesuit sources Jonaêl; fl. 1604–23, d. 1622/23) was a military leader during the rule of *aṣe* ↗Susǝnyos. On 14 December 1604, he was present at the first proclamation of Susǝnyos as emperor at Ḥaräsma (PerChron 47 [tr.]).

During the first decade of Susənyos's rule, Y. was one of his most important military leaders. Around 1609 he was *blatten geta* in Guman, Agäw land, and was commander of the Ḫarra military unit (BecRASO III, 341; PerChron 105, 112 [tr.]). In ca. 1617, together with *Goǧǧam nägaš* ↗Kəflo, he led an expedition into the Balya region (PerChron 119 [tr.]). Shortly after the death of *əte* ↗Ḥamälmal Wärq (s. EAE vol. 5) he led a devastating campaign against the ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel in the regions between Wägära and Səmen (PerChron 120 [tr.]; BecRASO III, 349). One year later, he and ↗Mälkəᵓa Krəstos were sent to chase the rebel ↗Yolyos (PerChron 127 [tr.]). After this mission Y. was appointed governor (*śəyyum*) of Bägemdər (PerChron 131, 157 [tr.]).

Around February 1619, already a *däǧǧazmač*, Y. was one of the leaders in Susənyos's raid against king Ǝrubat of the ↗Funǧ; about the same time he was made *abägaz* (BecRASO III, 372; PerChron 155 [tr.]).

In 1620, Susənyos issued a decree against the observance of the ↗Sabbath, but Y. refused to proclaim it in Bägemdər. Thereafter, he waged an open rebellion against Susənyos, opposing his pro-Jesuit policies (↗Jesuits). Reportedly, he had a fortified base on an *amba* (near Ambassäl? cf. BTafY 396–99) with a small army and the support of the Oromo of ↗Angot (BecRASO XI, 481; VI, 358; PerChron 205). He was, however, chased from there by *abetohun* Fasilädäs (later *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs; BassEt II, 123).

Y. was killed some two years later. Sources disagree on the causes. One source has it that he was killed by his former Oromo allies who betrayed him (BecRASO XI, 503). Another reports that he was killed by Mälkəᵓa Krəstos (PerChron 202; but ibid. 204f.). A third source has him killed by one ᶜArkä Śəllus (BegCron 45).

Src.: BassEt II, 123; BecRASO III, 341, 346f., 349, 371f., 378, 384f., 388; VI, 340, 343, 356, 358, 490; XI, 481, 503; BegCron 45; PerChron 59, 111, 135f., 145, 154f., 164f., 170, 202, 204, 262, 274ff. (text) = 47, 86, 105, 112, 119f., 127, 131, 155, 157, 202, 204f. (tr.).

Lit.: BTafY 382f., 396–99; GIRMA BESHAH – MERID WOLDE AREGAY, *The Question of the Union of the Churches in Luso-Ethiopian Relations, 1500–1632*, Lisbon 1964, 85f.

Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner

Yonas

Aṣe Y. (**ዮናስ**; fl. late 18th cent.) was one of the short-lived kings on the Solomonic throne during the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*.

Information on Y. is scarce. He was raised to the throne on 18 August 1797. He was married to *ətege* Aster, who died a mere three months after his coronation (BlunChr 171f. [text] = 446ff. [tr.]). He was the son of *abeto* Lätṣun, who was descended from *aṣe* Fasil, and of *wäyzäro* Bərč̣əqqo (ms. BritLib Or. 777, fol. 86; there are, however, different mentions of Y. being either brother or son of *aṣe* ↗Sälomon I, cp. BlunChr 176 [text] = 454 [tr.]). He was a rival claimant to *nəguś* ↗Täklä Giyorgis and a pawn in the rivalry between Täklä Giyorgis and *qäññazmač* Wahdu.

In August 1798 Y. took refuge in the Abun Bet quarter of ↗Gondär, seeking refuge from the approaching Täklä Giyorgis, but to no avail. Täklä Giyorgis, once again principal claimant to the throne, brought Y. and his brother Goššu to the palace in evident friendship in September 1798 (BlunChr 175f. [text] = 453f. [tr.]). Shortly after, Y. left Täklä Giyorgis and three years later he was reported to be in fetters in ↗Lasta (BlunChr 188 [text] = 471 [tr.]), as one of four ex-kings living in internal exile (CRReal 797 [text] = 870 [tr.]). During his reign he was associated with a number of minor transfers of ↗*rim* land (mss. BritLib Or. 799, fol. 86; Or. 776, fol. 268).

Nathaniel ↗Pearce, who claims to have attended the mourning ceremony for Y. in ↗Anṭalo, reports that Y. died impoverished in Goǧǧam, implying that he died in April–June 1813 (Pearce 1831: 124). Eduard ↗Rüppell reports, on the contrary, that Y. died in September 1832, being over 76 years old (Rüppell 1840: 127f.). According to Rüppel, Y. spent his last years as a monk in Lalibäla, and the mourning ceremony took place in Gondär (Rüppell 1840: 127f.).

Src.: mss. BritLib Or. 777, fols. 86, 268; Or. 799, fol. 86; BlunChr 171f., 175f., 188 (text) = 446ff., 453f., 471 (tr.); BTafA 471, 994; CRReal 797 (text) = 870 (tr.); NATHANIEL PEARCE, *Life and Adventures in Abyssinia*, vol. 1, London 1831, 111, 124; EDUARD RÜPPELL, *Reise in Abyssinien*, vol. 2, Frankfurt am Main 1840, 127f.

Donald Crummey

Yonas of Bur

Y. (**ዮናስ**, ca. 1400/03–1495/98) is one of the most important personalities of the ↗Ewosṭatean monastic movement, a significant character in the political history of the Eritrean highlands in the 15th cent. and the founder of three monasteries in ↗Säraye, two of which still bear his name (↗Däbrä Dəḫuḫan, or Ǝnda Abunä Yonas Taḥtay, and ↗Däbrä Ṣəge, or Ǝnda Abunä Yonas Laᶜlay, founded as Däbrä Gäbrəᵓel), while the third, Däbrä Sahl, still active until the Italian occupation and its immediate aftermath, is no longer traceable (s. Lusini 1998:19).

According to Y.'s only partially published *Gädl* (s. Conti Rossini 1903, with a few selected translated passages), unusually articulated in a series of episodes and not in a continuous narrative, Y. was born as Habtä Ǝgziʾ, the son of Nəwayä Ǝgziʾ and Ḫəritä Maryam in Hagärä Mäsqäl in the district of ↗Bur (in ↗Gulo Mäk̠äda according to oral tradition). He spent his youth in the monastery of ↗Däbrä Sina in the district of Däqqi Täsfa, where he took monastic vows and received the monastic name of Y. from his uncle Danəʾel at the age of 14. Coming back from a first unsuccessful attempt at establishing a monastic community in Damot, he founded churches and monasteries in Säraye, where he died ca. 1498 after a life full of successes and religious accomplishments.

The *gädl* of Y. provides important information a) on the council summoned by *nəburä ʾəd* ↗Nob to resolve the conflict between the metropolitan and the Ewosṭateans, presided over by the abbot of ↗Däbrä Maryam Gäbrä Krəstos; b) on the settlements of troops (↗*č̣äwa*) to the region of Ṣəlləma, Säraye, by *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob; c) on the strict relationship with the contemporary ruler of Säraye, ↗Bəlen Sägädä; d) and on the confrontation with the Muslims of the Red Sea coast, with mention of ↗Massawa and the ↗Dahlak islands.

At least five manuscripts containing Y.'s *gädl* are known in detail, and more manuscripts certainly exist. Conti Rossini only knew of (1) ms. BritLib Orient. 698 (1715 A.D.), fols. 53r–95r, and (2) a second manuscript in the church of Baräknaha (16th cent.), of which he was able to get a recent copy. It is not clear whether he got a complete copy, or only some excerpts eventually published, plus two miracles. It is now preserved in Rome as ms. ANLin, Conti Rossini 92 (20th cent.), fols. 1r–39r, and 39r–40v (two miracles; cp. StrANL 241, no. 92). Three more manuscripts of the *gädl* were recorded and summarily described by an Italian expedition to the Eritrean monasteries in the mid-1990s (s. Lusini 1998:21–32, 40–48): (3) ms. MIE no. 18 from Däbrä Dəḫuḫan (17th/18th cent.), containing only the *Gädlä Yonas*; (4) ms. MIE no. 19 also from Däbrä Dəḫuḫan (15th/16th cent.), containing *Gädlä Ewosṭatewos*, *Gädlä Yonas*, *Gädlä Dəmyanos* (now published, also from this ms., cp. Tedros Abreha 2007), and *Gädlä Absadi*; (5) ms. MIE no. 22 (probably 19th cent.), fols. 8–93, from Däbrä Dəḫuḫan. Other manuscripts mentioned by KinBibl 99 (no. 185), reported to be kept in ↗Gundä Gunde (LusStud 119, n. 143), or even mentioned in the unpublished manuscripts inventory of Däbrä Dəḫuḫan (four manuscripts of *Täʾammərä Y.*) testify to the relatively wide resonance of Y.'s hagiographic tradition.

Some of the manuscripts of the *gädl*, and at least two separate manuscripts, transmit additional chronographic notes pertaining to the monasteries founded by Y. as well as to Y.'s life (s. Lusini 1998 *passim*). Ms. MIE no. 17, a Gospel book from Däbrä Dəḫuḫan (15th cent.), docs. I–II, testifies once again to the strict relationship between Y.'s communities and Bəlen Sägädä. MIE no. 19, doc. I, is an important annalistic text precisely dating various events of Y.'s life and establishing a connection with contemporary events (according to this text, Y. was born in 1402, i.e. 54 years after the coming of the metropolitan *abunä* ↗Sälama II in 1348 A.D.). MIE no. 22, *Zenahomu läʾabäw mänäkosat gəbṣawyan* (19th cent.), docs. I–V, contains in doc. I a chronology of Y.'s ecclesiastical career, according to which he was born in the 21st year of *aṣe* ↗Dawit II's reign (1400/01), succeeded ↗Dəmyanos as abbot of Däbrä Sina in the 7th year of reign of *aṣe* Zärʾä Yaʿəqob (1441), founded Däbrä Ṣəge in the 21st of the latter (1455), and Däbrä Dəḫuḫan in the 11th of ↗Ǝskəndər (1489), and died in the 4th year of reign of *aṣe* Naʿod (1498, 17 *Mäggabit*), having lived 95 years (which would, however, date his birth to 1403: in fact, as is well known, the dating of the first year of Dawit II's reign is problematic). MIE no. 23, a Gospel book (probably 18th cent.), doc. I, provides similar information to MIE no. 22, doc. I.

Ms. BritLib Orient. 698, fols. 95r–96, reports a letter of benediction to Y. "*mamhər* of Däbrä Sahl" from John, patriarch of Alexandria (John XI [1427–52], XII [1480–83] or XIII [1483–1524]), apparently at the request of the former's disciple P̣awlos (also mentioned in ms. MIE nos. 22, doc. I, and 23, doc. I, as a messenger to *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob). The text – also in ms. MIE no. 22 (not identified by Lusini 1998:40) – is an exceptional witness to the kind of high level and direct relationships the monastery of Y. was able to entertain at the time, probably not unrelated to the difficult relationships we know existed between the Ewosṭateans and the metropolitan bishop.

Y. is locally commemorated in his monasteries on 17 *Mäggabit*, but is not mentioned in the *Sənkəssar*. The integral publication of the *Gädlä Yonas* still remains an important desideratum of the historical and hagiographical research on him.

Src.: ms. BritLib Orient. 698 (WrBriMus 180f., no. 272); ms. ANLin Conti Rossini 92 (StrANL 241, no. 92); Carlo Conti Rossini, "Gli atti di Abbā Yonās", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 12, 1903, 177–201, 238–61; Gianfrancesco Lusini, "Scritture documentarie etiopiche (Dabra Deḫuḫān e Dabra Ṣegē, Sarāʾē, Eritrea)", *RSE* 42, 1998 [1999], 5–55; Id., "Per una storia delle tradizioni monastiche eritree: le genealogie spirituali dell'ordine di Ēwosṭātēwos di Dabra Ṣarābi", in: Enzo Lucchesi – Ugo Zanetti (eds.), *Ægyptus Christiana. Mélanges d'hagiographie égyptienne et orientale dédiés à la mémoire du P. Paul Devos bollandiste,* Genève 2004 (Cahiers d'Orientalisme 25), 249–72; Tedros Abraha, *Il* Gädl *di Abuna Demyanos santo eritreo* (*XIV/XV sec.*). *Edizione del testo etiopico e traduzione italiana*, Turnhout 2007 (PO 50/2 [223]).

Lit.: BHO 117 (no. 526); George Wynn Brereton Huntingford, "The Saints of Medieval Ethiopia", *Abba Salama* 10, 1979, 257–341, here 337; KinBibl 99 (no. 185); LusStud 118-22; Osvaldo Raineri, "Giona", in: *EncSan* vol. 1, 1062.

Alessandro Bausi

Yosab I

Abunä Y. (**ዮሳብ**; d. 1559?) was the metropolitan (↗*Pappas*) of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church from ca. 1547/48 to ca. 1559. He succeeded *abunä* ↗Marqos I (d. ca. 1530) after a long vacancy of the Ethiopian Episcopal throne.

Information about Y. is scarce. He must have arrived in Ethiopia in ca. 1547/48 (199 of the "Era of the Martyrs", s. CRAxum 68, 71 [text]; BecRASO X, 23ff.). Mention of his name is made in two other documents of the *Mäṣḥafä ↗Aksum*, one dated in 1555/56 (207 of the "Era of the Martyrs", s. CRAxum 43). However, the abridged chronicle does not mention him at all, whereas the chronicle of ↗Gälawdewos mentions him once, only stating that a blessing of the Emperor by Y. occurred in 1548 (ConzGal 38).

The *Mäṣḥafä Aksum* and Portuguese sources state that another Coptic bishop, Peṭros, arrived in Ethiopia in ca. 1551, and acted first as coadjutor (*eppisqoppos*) of Y. In the chronicle of ↗Śärṣ̌ä Dəngəl (CRHist 58 [text]) Y.'s death is dated 1571/72, which, however, seems to be a mistake, for this should refer to his successor, Peṭros (TedEthPrel 1018; for the contrary view, s. MHAlex II, 63). The first document that mentions Peṭros acting as metropolitan is dated 1559/60 (212 "Era of the Martyrs", s. CRAxum 44f.). This date can be used by default as indicating the end of Y.'s episcopacy.

Src.: BecRASO X, 23ff.; ConzGal 38 (text) = 144 (tr.); CRAxum 42–45, 68, 71 (text) = 51f., 82, 86 (tr.); CRHist 35f., 58 (text.) = 41, 68; KLebD 51 (text) = 52 (tr.).

Lit.: MHAlex II, 60–63; TedEthPrel 1017–18.

Stéphane Ancel

Yosab II

Abunä Y. (**ዮሳብ**; also known as Yosab III; d. 11 September 1803, Gondär) was the 104th metropolitan (↗*Pappas*) of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church, from 1770 to 1803. He was the successor of *abunä* ↗Yoḥannəs III. Y.'s tenure fell into the period of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*.

Y.'s name is mentioned in several manuscripts (mss. EMML no. 779; VatLib Borg. aeth. no. 5; Bayerische Staatsbibliothek cod.aeth. 90; BN Abbadie 12). It also appears in a document about *ras* ↗Wäldä Śəllase of Təgray (CRAxum 82). The chronicle, published by Weld ↗Blundell (BlunChr), offers several brief accounts of Y.

Y. arrived in Ethiopia at the beginning of 1770. Refusing the proposal of *ras* ↗Mikaʾel Səḥul to take his seat in Təgray, he entered Gondär on 18 June 1770. From this day on, Y. was much involved in religious and political life. He took part in the ↗coronation ceremonies of various kings such as *aṣe* ↗Iyasu III in 1784 and *aṣe* ↗Bäʾədä Maryam II in 1795. In 1796 he crowned *aṣe* ↗Sälomon III. Y. also negotiated with nobles, such as ↗Wäldä Gäbrəʾel and ↗Täklä Giyorgis I in 1795, to preserve peace, and he is said to have saved Gondär from an attack from ↗Amäde Kolase (s. EAE vol. 5) at the end of 1799.

Y. participated actively in the movement against the influence of the Oromo in state administration. In 1792, during the reign of ↗Ḥəzqəyas, Y. demanded, with the support of the *əč̣č̣äge* Wäldä Iyäsus and certain notables, the spatial separation of Christians from the Islamized Oromo. This action, however, failed because of the lack of cohesion among its promoters. Although Y. maintained his position over a long period without any major problems, difficulties appeared when the Christological dispute blazed up anew. From 1792, the *Yäṣägga ləǧ* (↗*Ṣägga*) movement promoted the Christological opinion called *Śost lədät* through the voice of its leader, *əč̣č̣äge* Wäldä Yona. On the opposite side, Y. became a leader of the ↗*Täwaḥədo* (s. also *Karra*) movement, professing the ↗*Hulätt lədät* faith, following the intervention of the patriarch John XVIII of Alexandria (1770–97) into the Ethiopian Christological debate in a letter to the Ethiopian rulers in 1794 (Kamil 1942: 108f.). In 1801, Y. decided to excommunicate the *əč̣č̣äge* and to launch a general excommunication against all those who professed the *Śost lədät* faith. A great part of the clergy in Gondär rebelled and Y. was exiled to an island on Lake Ṭana. His seat was restored only after he decided to retract his excommunication. Y. died in Gondär and was buried in the Qəddus Gäbrəʾel church (↗*Abun bet*). *Ras* ↗Gugsa Märsa, with the help of the *əč̣č̣äge* Wäldä Yona, decided to seize the properties of the metropolitan. But *däǧǧazmač* ↗Zäwde of Goǧǧam and Wäldä Śəllase put pressure on them until they received a certain amount of gold from them which later served to obtain a new metropolitan from Egypt. Y. was succeeded by *abunä* ↗Qerəllos who took office in 1816.

Src.: mss. EMML no. 779 [EMML III, 93]; VatLib Borg aeth. 5 [GréTisVat I, 791]; BN Abbadie 12 [ChAbb 6 no. 12, CRAbb 116, no. 81]; Bayerische Staatsbibliothek cod.aeth. 90 [SixBay 133f, no. 88]; BlunChr 226, 275, 277, 303, 342, 357, 397, 421f., 431, 433, 448–54, 458, 460, 464, 466, 474f., 480; BruNile V, 503; VI, 8f., 19–23; CRReal 783ff., 801–04, 862f., 873f.; CRAxum 82 (text) = 99 (tr.); Ignazio Guidi, "Le liste dei metropoliti di Abissinia", *Bessarione* ser. 1ª, 6, 1899, 1–16, here 13f.; Murad Kamil, "Letters to Ethiopia from the Coptic Patriarchs Yoʾannas XVIII (1770–1796) and Morqos VIII (1796–1809)", *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 8, 1942, 89–143.

Lit.: AbPrince 31f., 40f.; Stéphane Ancel, *Episcopat et encadrement des pratiques religieuses en Ethiopie chrétienne contemporaine*: *caractéristiques et évolutions*, Ph.D. thesis, INALCO, Paris 2006, 75f., 81ff.; CerDLib III, 155f.; CrumMis 23ff.; MHAlex II 139–148; TedEthPrel 999–1044.

Stéphane Ancel

Yosedeq Wäldä Abib

Däǧǧazmač Y. (**ዮሴዴቅ ፡ ወልደ ፡ አቢብ**; d. 29 July 1759) was governor of ↗Goǧǧam from 1751 until his death.

Nothing is known about Y.'s early life except that he descended from ↗Amhara, ↗Gafat and ↗Oromo notables of Goǧǧam. According to ↗Aṣmä Giyorgis, Y. was a second generation Oromo settler in Goǧǧam (BTafA 444). However, a genealogical account from the region traces his Gafat and Amhara ancestry in Ṭəlat Gən, eastern Goǧǧam, 16 generations, approximately back to the 14th cent. His father, *däǧǧazmač* Wäldä Abib, was also a governor of Goǧǧam (r. 1708–11, 1745–49).

Y. appears to have enjoyed considerable following in the province owing to his ancestry, but also because of popular resentment against *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II who demoted Y.'s father in 1749. Commanding popular support, Y. successfully defied the Emperor's appointees over Goǧǧam. Paying tribute to Y.'s power and military skills, the Emperor subsequently tried to win Y.'s submission by means of a marriage alliance and restitution of his father's office to him. Thus, Y. was designated *däǧǧazmač* of Goǧǧam in September 1751, and given the hand of ↗Wälättä Ǝsraʾel, the Emperor's half-sister and daughter of ↗Bərhan Mogäsa (Məntəwwab).

The princess gave birth to his son *ras* ↗Ḫaylu who subsequently played a prominent role in the affairs of government both in Goǧǧam and at the court in ↗Gondär.

Src.: BTafA 426–29, 444–49, 994; GuiIyas 12, 117, 148, 154, 193; *aläqa* Täklä Iyäsus [Täkle Zäbəḥerä Goǧǧam], **የጎጃም ፡ ታሪክ** (*Yägoǧǧam tarik*, 'The Goǧǧam Chronicle'), ms. IES (ed., tr.: Girma Y. Getahun, *The Goǧǧam Chronicle*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford 1991 [text edition available from *www.britac.ac.uk/pubs/src/fha/goggam/index.cfm*, here ch. 20]; Täklä Iyäsus Waqǧəra, **የጐጃም ፡ ትውልድ ፡ በሙሉ ፡ ከዓባይ ፡ እስከ ፡ ዓባይ** (*Yägoǧǧam təwlədd bämulu käʿabbay əskä ʾabbay*, 'The Genealogy of Goǧǧam as Encompassed by the Nile'), edited by Girma Y. Getahun, Addis Abäba 2003 A.M. [2011 A.D.], 82, 96, 104, 179, 220.

Lit.: CrumLand 97, 99; FanTarik 626; Girma Y. Getahun, *The Goǧǧam Chronicle*, Ph.D. thesis, Oxford 1991, vol. 2: *Introduction, Translation and Annotation of Selected Chapters*, 55f., 63, 366, 369; Manfred Kropp, *Die äthiopischen Königschroniken in der Sammlung des Däǧǧazmač Ḫaylu*, Frankfurt am Main et al. 1989 (Heidelberger Orientalistische Studien 13), 207; TSTarik III, 368.

Girma Y. Getahun

Yosef Nəguśe

Grazmač (also *aläqa*) Y.N. (**ዮሴፍ ፡ ንጉሤ**; d. 28 June 1900, Ǝnṭoṭṭo) was one of the two secretaries of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. In his youth (ca. 1863), Y.N. converted to ↗Catholicism and studied at the French Catholic School in Massawa, where he learned French. In 1868 [1869?], having heard that the Italian Catholic missionary Guglielmo ↗Massaja had settled there, Y.N. moved to Šäwa. There, however, he considered it best to return to Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity and to enter into *nəguś* Mənilək's service as his private interpreter.

At the court, Y.N. made a successful career and soon became an indispensable assistant to Mənilək. While ↗*Ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz* ↗Gäbrä Śəllase Wäldä Arägay was in charge of home affairs and the correspondence in Amharic, Y.N., thanks to his knowledge of French, was responsible for relations with foreigners and served Mənilək

Grazmač Yosef Nəguśe; photo by A.I. Kohanovskij, courtesy of the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg (no. 2097–329)

as a kind of foreign secretary. In 1885, after *aṣe* Yoḥannəs had ordered Mənilək to expel all Italians from Šäwa, Y.N. had to deliver the message to the Italian envoy Pietro ↗Antonelli. He also served as interpreter during the visit of the Russian traveller Viktor ↗Maškov in August 1889.

In 1889 Y.N. was involved in the translation of the Amharic version of the ↗Italo–Ethiopian Treaty of Friendship and Commerce. Y.N., who did not command Italian, had to rely on the oral French translation of Antonelli (Rubenson 1965: 35). Subsequently, Italy used the Italian version of Article 17 of the treaty, which differed slightly but significantly from the Amharic version, to justify an Italian quasi-protectorate over Ethiopia. However, in 1891 Italy had to withdraw from this claim. Antonelli and Augusto ↗Salimbeni, who had tried to corrupt Y.N. in another matter before, accused him of having caused the "misunderstanding" between the two parties. Mənilək, however, maintained his trust in Y.N. who continued in his important role among the diplomatic personnel until his death caused by treatment with ↗*koso*.

Y.N. is not to be confused with Yosef Zägalan, another interpreter and convert to Catholicism in Mənilək's service.

Src.: BAIRU TAFLA, *Ethiopian Records of the Menilek Era. Selected Amharic Documents from the Nachlaß of Alfred Ilg 1884–1900*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 54), 412f., 415f., 423, 433f., 437f., 450, 458–64, 537, 539, 541f. and index.
Lit.: BAHRU ZEWDE, *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia: the Reformist Intellectuals of the Early Twentieth Century*, Oxford – Athens, OH – Addis Ababa 2002, 19, 164, 173, 183; HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *The Life and Times of Menelik II, Ethiopia 1844–1913*, Oxford 1975, 114f., 131; CHRIS PROUTY, *Empress Taytu and Menilek II, Ethiopia 1883–1910*, Trenton, NJ 1986, 47 and n. 57, 60 n. 62, 64f., 71, 74f., 80, 82, 84, 90f., 93ff., 168 n. 196; CARLO ROSSETTI, *Storia diplomatica dell'Etiopia durante il regno di Menelik II*, Torino 1910, 41-44; SVEN RUBENSON, *Wichale XVII. The Attempt to Establish a Protectorate over Ethiopia*, Addis Abeba 1965 (Haile Sellasie I University, Department of History, Historical Studies 1), 34–38.

Sevir Chernetsov — Red.

Yosṭinos

Y. (**ዮስጢኖስ**) was a 14th–15th cent. saintly monk, commemorated in (some copies of) the ↗*Sənkəssar* on 18 *Näḥase*, the day of his death (BudSaint 1230).

The main source on Y.'s life is his brief Vita, preserved in ms. EMML no. 1480 (the original from ↗Däbrä Maryam of Qʷäḥayn, Säraye) on fols. 44r–45v (followed by three Miracles on fols. 45v–47r). Almost all other works in the manuscript are closely connected with *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, and it is possible that the *Gädlä abunä Yosṭinos* was also composed under the direct supervision of the emperor, and thus between 1434 and 1468 (s. Getatchew Haile 1983). According to tradition Y. was one of the teachers of the emperor (KinBibl 99), and, possibly, of the contemporary painter ↗Fəre Ṣəyon (Heldman 1994: 198).

The Vita itself contains no historical or geographical information. It does mention a church dedicated to St. Mary (Betä Maryam) as the site of Y.'s activity. The assumed closeness between Y. and Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, as well as the mention of several churches and of a Betä Maryam located in the Emperor's *kätäma* in the same manuscript (fol. 109rv), makes it possible that the reference is to a court church (s. Getatchew Haile 1980: 210 n. 23). In this case, one could assume that the manuscript arrived in Eritrea some time after the council of ↗Däbrä Məṭmaq in 1450, at which time Däbrä Maryam of Säraye received generous grants from the Emperor himself (cp. BauEr 30f.).

Also, we know of a contemporary Ewosṭatewan monk called Y. in Däbrä Maryam of Qʷäḥayn at the beginning of the 15th cent., as in 1408/09 he authored the lengthy colophon of the monastery's Octateuch manuscript (Lusini 1996: 58 n. 15, 2004: 230 n. 2). If this Y. is identical with the protagonist of the *gädl* "who dwelt on the top of a mountain" (BudSaint 1230), he was most probably a native of this Eritrean province, and a follower of St. ↗Ewosṭatewos – which could be another explanation as to why a manuscript with his *gädl* was donated to Däbrä Maryam. The monastery seems to have preserved at least one more copy of the Vita as part of a hagiographic collection (*Gädlä qəddusan*, fols. 62r–65v, s. KinBibl 100). Also in Säraye, in Mədrä Fälaši, there is a monastery dedicated to Y., which is reported to preserve another copy of his Acts (KinBibl 99).

The Acts of Y. dwell extensively on his high achievements in traditional ↗education, skills in the interpretation of the scriptures and dedication to monasticism, in which he spent 95 years. He was cured of smallpox with the help of angels. The miracles describe how the intercession of the saint cured a repentant unfaithful husband and saved a region from a fire – while another man who took a new wife in the hope of having children and did not want to repent was punished with death.

Src.: BauEr I, 30f.; BudSaint 1230; EMML IV, 599–603 (no. 1480), here 599; Hiob Ludolf, *Ad suam Historiam Aethiopicam antehac editam Commentarius*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1691, 426.

Lit.: Getatchew Haile, "A Preliminary Investigation of the Ṭomarä Təsbə’t of Emperor Zärʾa Yaʿəqob of Ethiopia", *BSOAS* 43, 1980, 207–34, here 210 n. 23; Id., "The Life of Abunä Yosṭinos (EMML no. 1480, fols. 44r–47r)", *ABoll* 101, 3–4, 1983, 311–25; Marilyn E. Heldman, *The Maryan Icons of the Painter Frē Ṣeyon. A Study in Fifteenth-Century Ethiopian Art, Patronage and Spirituality*, Wiesbaden 1994 (Orientalia Biblica et Christiana 6), 198; KinBibl 99f., no. 187; Gianfrancesco Lusini (ed., tr.), *Il "Gadla Absādi" (Dabra Māryām, Sarāʾē)*, Lovanii 1996 (CSCO 557, 558 [SAe 103, 104]), 58 (tr.), n. 15; Id. "Copisti e filologi dell'Etiopia medievale: lo *scriptorium* di Dabra Māryām del Sarāʾē (Eritrea)", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 230–38, here 230 n. 2; Osvaldo Raineri, "Giustino", in: *EncSan* vol. 2, coll. 65–67.

Osvaldo Raineri

Yosṭos

Aṣe Y. (**ዮስጦስ**, regnal name Ṣ́äḥay Sägäd; d. 19 February 1716, r. 1711–16) was a Gondärine emperor. He was the son of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Dəlba Iyäsus of Təgray and *wäyzäro* Wälättä Ḥawaryat, a granddaughter of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I. He had at least one brother, *abetohun* Qerəllos (DombrChr 97, 101 [text] = 259, 263 [tr.]).

Prior to being crowned Y. acted as a kingmaker. As ↗*bäǧərond* Y. was important late in the reign of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I. Facing the rebellion of his son, *aṣe* ↗Täklä Haymanot I, Iyasu sent Y. to fetch Täklä Haymanot to him (BegCron 82f.; BruNile II, 512–14; BassÉt 56 [text] = 167 [tr.]; Bosc-Tiessé 2008: 181f.; DombrChr 78 [text] = 239 [tr.]). Y.'s return to Gondär precipitated the coup, on 8 March 1706, which deposed Iyasu and made Täklä Haymanot king, following which Y. was imprisoned. Towards the end of 1707 he escaped. On the death of Täklä Haymanot in July 1708, Y. was prominent amongst a group of officials, among them *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis, devoted to the king, who arranged his burial (BassÉt 63 [text] = 175 [tr.]).

Y. then fetched *aṣe* ↗Tewoflos, a brother of Iyasu I, from ↗Wähni Amba and had him proclaimed king (BassÉt 63 [text] = 175 [tr.]; BruNile II, 532). On 3 August 1708, Y. was appointed as *däǧǧazmač* of ↗Səmen and Təgray (BassÉt 64 [text] = 176 [tr.]; BegCron 91), deposed on 16 November 1709, and then, on 11 July 1710, received the title of ↗*ras* (BassÉt 65, 67 [text] = 177, 179 [tr.]). Three months later, following the death of Tewoflos on 13 October, Y. seized the throne and took the regnal name of Ṣ́äḥay Sägäd (BassÉt 67 [text] = 180 [tr.]; BegCron 91f.).

Y.'s reign was violent. He was devoted to ↗hunting, which he did every year of his reign. Blinding was a favoured punishment for his enemies (BegCron 95f.; but s. also DombrChr 97–101[text] = 259–62 [tr.]). He visited ↗Yəbaba once and spent time in the western lowlands where he hunted as well as raided local ↗"Šanqəlla" (BassÉt 68 [text] = 181[tr.]). He visited the island monasteries and churches of Lake ↗Ṭana. He toyed with Catholic missionaries, entertaining three Capuchins, who, following his deposition, were stoned to death (BegCron 98f.; DombrChr 102f. [text] = 264f. [tr.]; BruNile II, 579f.). He built the church of Lədäta, Gondär.

On 29 January 1716, while visiting the church of Abba Ǝnṭonyos, Y. became ill. He returned to Gondär; still sick, he could not prevent the revolt of the palace guard (↗*wəllağ* or *wäʿali*), who revolted, killed a number of notables, and brought Iyasu I's son, Dawit, from Wähni Amba. Dawit was proclaimed king *aṣe* ↗Dawit III on 11 February, and Y. was pronounced dead. Allegedly Y. was held captive for eight more days until he died (Kropp 1981: 146), and was possibly even tortured (DombrChr 101 [text] = 263 [tr.]).

Following Dawit's accession, the new king and his court sent to Y., asking, "How did you come to rule? And, who are you, any-way?" (BegCron 97ff.). Y. is then said to have agreed that he lacked Solomonic legitimacy (↗Solomonic dynasty). Prior to the 19th cent. this question was rarely raised. Y.'s example underlines the importance of the male line in the transmission of Solomonic legitimacy. Consciousness of his illegitimacy probably fuelled his cultivation of the churches and monasteries of Lake Ṭana, who reciprocated by producing favourable accounts of his reign (Bosc-Tiessé 2008: 194f.; the chronicle published by Dombrowski, and as an appendix to Bosc-Tiessé 2008: 397–401). He was buried in the Lədäta church, which he had founded, without royal honours.

Src.: BassÉt 56, 63–70 (text) = 167, 175–83 (tr.); BegCron 82f., 90–92, 95–99; BruNile II, 512ff., 532, 579f., 594; DombrChr 75, 78, 83, 85, 87, 93, 97–103 (text) = 236, 239f., 245, 247f., 250, 255, 259–65 (tr.); MANFRED KROPP, "Zur 'Kurzen Chronik' der äthiopischen Könige", *OrChr* 65, 1981, 137–47.

Lit.: CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ, *Les îles de la Mémoire: fabrique des images et écriture de l'histoire dans les églises du Lac Ṭana, Éthiopie, XVII^e-XVIII^e siècle*, Paris 2008 (Histoire ancienne et médiévale, 97), 181f., 189, 192, 194f., 397–401; BudHist 434–40; CrumLand 90–93.

Donald Crummey

Young Ethiopians

Y.E. (also Young Abyssinians) was a collective term given, mainly by Europeans and other foreigners in the early 20th cent., to Ethiopians (including some Eritreans resident in Ethiopia) who had attended modern schools in Ethiopia or abroad. Largely French-speakers, they were mainly employed in government bureaucracy, private business, the ↗railway, and as interpreters. Regarded as "intellectuals" they were likened in foreign circles to the Young Egyptians and Young Turks. They were widely conceived as intensely patriotic, "anti-foreign", and opposed to any accommodation with the neighbouring colonial powers, as well as advocates of rapid modernization.

The term Y.E. tended to be applied (by foreigners) to three politically different categories of individuals: (1) close supporters of *ras* Täfäri (the future *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), including some of his most loyal and efficient aides; (2) undeclared critics of his regime, some of whom hoped to establish a political party; (3) Catholic Y.E., who tended to form a group apart, and included Bərhanä Marqos Wäldä Ṣadəq and ↗Ayyälä Gäbrä. Though mainly employed only by foreigners the concept of youth found its way in 1935 into a short-lived patriotic group, the **የኢትዮጵያ ፡ ወጣቶች ፡ ማኅበር** (*Yäʾityoṗya wäṭṭatočč maḫbär*, 'Ethiopian Youth's Society'), established in Harär under the patronage of Ḫaylä Śəllase's son ↗Mäkʷännən, governor of Harär. Its members, as attested in a contemporary document, included *däǧǧazmač* ↗Gäbrä Maryam Gari, *ləǧ* Wärqu Gobäna, *aläqa* Dästa Nägäwo, and *abba* (Gäbrä) Hanna Ǧəmma (Campbell 2009). During the Italian occupation the Y.E. incurred the wrath of Mussolini, who ordered them to be shot: many were killed during the ↗Graziani massacre (Pankhurst 1970: 40).

Lit.: BAHRU ZEWDE, *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia: the Reformist Intellectuals of the Early Twentieth Century*, Oxford – Athens, OH – Addis Ababa 2002, 195–98; IAN CAMPBELL, "An Unpublished Source for the History of the 'Young Ethiopians'", paper presented at the 17th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Abäba 2009; JEAN D'ESMÉ, *A travers l'empire de Ménélik*, Paris 1928, 122f.; RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia: A New Political History*, London 1965, 180, 394, 430; HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *Haile Sellassie I. The Formative Years, 1892–1936*, Berkeley, CA 1987, 53, 93, 116; MICHAEL BETHE-SELLASSIÉ, *La jeune Éthiopie*, Paris 2004, 179, s. index; CHARLES FERNAND REY, *Unconquered Abyssinia*, London 1923, 303f.; ROMAN FREIHERR VON PROCHAZKA, *Abessinien. Die Schwarze Gefahr*, Vienna 1935; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Ethiopian Patriots: The Lone Struggle, 1936–1940", *EthObs* 13, 1, 1970, 40–56; ID., "Who were the 'Young Ethiopians' (or 'Young Abyssinians')? An Historical Inquiry", *Ethiopian E-Journal for Research and Innovation Foresight* 2, 2, 2010, 121–38; PerGov 249; HERBERT VIVIAN, *Abyssinia*, London 1901, 205, 236f.

Richard Pankhurst

Yūsuf al-Akwān (Kawnayn) ↗Barhadle Yūsuf al-Akwān

Yūsuf Asʾar Yaṯʾar

Y. was a South Arabian ruler of the first quarter of the 6th cent. (↗Arabia). His complete name is attested in two Late Sabaic ↗inscriptions, as *ywsf/ʾsʾr/yṯʾr* in Ja(mme) 1028.1, and as *ysf/ʾsʾr/yṯʾr* in Ry(ckmans) 507.3. The first name is the Biblical proper name Joseph, vocalized either Yōsēf according to Hebrew, Yūsif according to Yemeni-Arabic, or Yūsuf according to Classical Arabic. The first of the two epithets, *ʾsʾr* (Asʾar), could be interpreted as 'remnant', the second, *yṯʾr* (Yaṯʾar), as 'he will take revenge'. In Greek he bears the name Δουναάς which probably has its origin in the clan-name Ḏū-Nuʾās known from inscriptions of members of the tribe of Ġaymān, namely *bnw/ḏġymn/wnʾsm*, members of Ḏū-Ġaymān and Ḏū-Nuʾāsim (e.g. Ja 626.2), later *bn/nwsm*, Banū Nuwāsim (MS Ǧabal Tinaᶜ 3). This clan-name Ḏū Nuwās was explained in Arabic as ‘the man with curly hair’. Following Arab tradition, he adopted the name of Y. upon conversion to ↗Judaism (aṭ-Ṭabarī; al-Hamdanī; Iklīl). Before that, his name was Zurᶜa Ḏū Nuwās al-Aṣġar, combined with differing genealogies showing various ↗Ḥimyarite kings (*tabābiᶜa*) as his ancestors, among them the famous Abū Karib Asᶜad. In Syriac he bears the name Masrūq, possibly the Arabic equivalent of the Syriac-Aramaic passive participle *srīqā*, ‘worthless person’. His Ethiopic name Finəḥas (**ፊንሓስ**) with the variants Finaḥas (**ፊናሓስ**) and Finas (**ፊናስ**) is probably an adaptation of a disputed nickname of Y. to the Hebrew name Pinḥās known from the ↗Old Testament (Num 25); the Arabic form Finḥās is already attested as the name of Y. in the Arabic version of the *Martyrium Arethae* (↗Arethas). The form Yosef (**ዮሴፍ**) is also attested in a new Ethiopic version of the *Martyrium* (s. Bausi 2010), followed by the epithet *zäyənəᵓᵓəs*, ‘Junior’ or ‘Minor’, which certainly renders “al-Aṣġar” (‘the Younger’) in the above-mentioned names of Y. In view of the fact that the Hebrew name Yōsēf, ‘he (i.e. God) adds’, corresponds in its meaning exactly to the Sabaic name Yazᵓan, it has been argued that Y. might have been a member of the then powerful tribal confederation of the Yazᵓanids.

The Late Sabaic rock-inscription Ry 510 which is dated to the year 631 of the Ḥimyarite era (= 516 [or 521] A.D.) was still drawn up by king Maᶜdīkarib Yaᶜfur, so one may assume that Y. came to power at the beginning of the following year, after having attempted in vain to gain the kingship in the years before. Rejecting the long royal titulary used until then he named himself simply “king of all the tribes”. Immediately he launched military operations against the Ethiopians stationed in Yemen and against their allies the Christians, especially against the Chalcedonian Orthodox Christians as fellow-believers of the Byzantine emperor. During this campaign the Ethiopians in the capital of Ẓafār were killed, the coastal plain was recaptured and the port of Maddabān (al-Mandab) was blockaded in order to prevent a further landing of troops. Both in Ẓafār and in Muḫāwān (al-Muḫāᵓ) on the coast the churches were burnt down. The inhabitants of ↗Nağrān were forced to give hostages, and access to the town was cut off. The reason for these measures was less religious fanaticism than a xenophobic reaction against a possible extension of the influence of the ↗Byzantine Empire into South-West Arabia and the creation or restoration of an independent Ḥimyarite political power, respectively. These events are described in the three Late Sabaic rock-inscriptions Ry 507, 508 and Ja 1028 which were drawn up by the Yazᵓanid army commanders of king Y. in the summer of 633 of the Ḥimyarite era (518 [or 523] A.D.) after 13 months of military operations. In the autumn of the same year the besieged Nağrān was taken, many clerics and laymen were burnt in the church there and thousands of members of the Christian community died in various ways a martyr’s death, among them also Ḥāriṯ (Gr. ’Aρέθας [Aréthas], Eth. **ኂሩት** [Ḫirut]), the head of the municipality of Nağrān who is venerated as a saint in the Christian Orient. Reports about this persecution of the Christians of Nağrān are preserved in two Syriac writings, namely in a letter of ↗Simeon of Bēth Aršām to Simeon of Gabbūlā, and in an anonymous letter which is obviously dated to July 519. In connection with these letters are to be mentioned works of a mainly hagiographic character, such as the Greek Acts of the martyrdom of Saint Arethas and his companions in the town of Nağrān; the Ethiopic and the Arabic versions of the history of the martyrs of Nağrān; and a fragmentary Syriac work without title and author, the so-called *Book of the ↗Ḥimyarites*, which not only contains acts of the Ḥimyarite martyrs, but, like the *Martyrium Arethae*, also reports on the deeds of the Ethiopian King ↗Kaleb Əllä Aṣbəḥa in South Arabia.

The martyrdom of the Ḥimyarite Christians caused a great consternation among the Christians in the Orient and prompted an invasion of an Ethiopian army which began after endlessly delayed preparations not before the year 525. The first attempt of an Ethiopian invasion probably took place already in the year 519, but seems to have remained unsuccessful. The military expedition was led by Kaleb Əllä Aṣbəḥa himself and was supported by the Byzantine emperor Justin who put ships at the disposal of the Ethiopians so that the armed forces could cross the Red Sea. The Ethiopian troops conquered Yemen, king Y. was defeated and died, and Christianity became the dominant religion in South Arabia. An Ethiopic inscription (RIÉ no. 195) which most probably was set up in Mārib immediately after the events of the year 525 and of which three extensive fragments are preserved, mentions the deposed king of Ḥimyar. The Late Sabaic inscription CIH 621 from Ḥuṣn al-Ġurāb near the harbour of Qanaʾ/Kane, which dates from the year 640 of the Ḥimyarite era (525 [or 530] A.D.), was written by former adherents of king Y. from the Yazʾanids and other tribal groups of Yemen, among them members of the tribe of Ġaymān, and confirms that the Ethiopians crossed the sea with two expeditionary forces and killed the king of Ḥimyar.

Arab tradition reports that king Y., once he was aware of what had befallen him, drove his horse into the sea until it carried him into deep waters, and in this way lost his life. Commentators of the ↗Qurʾān have referred the trench of fire (sura 85) to an event which occurred during the persecution of the Christians of Naǧrān and have branded the Jewish king and his followers as the damned men who initiated the fire of the trench (*aṣḥāb al-uḫdūd*). The Persian historiographer Ḥamduʾllāh-i-Qazwīnī claims in his select history *Taʾrīḫ-i-guzīda* that Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ, the founder of the Assassins, was a descendant of Yūsif Ḥimyarī, the king of Yemen. Nevertheless the Yemenites honoured Y.'s memory, because he fought against the hated Ethiopians and because he was the last of the glorious kings of Ḥimyar. The final chapter of the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt* describes the dawn of the last days (↗Eschatology), when the Jews rise up against the believers of Naǧrān, the King of Ethiopia crusades against Finəḥas, and Kaleb and Justin finally meet in Jerusalem.

Src.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI – ALESSANDRO GORI (eds., trs.), *Tradizioni orientali del «Martirio di Areta»*, Firenze 2006 (Quaderni di Semitistica 27; Lit.); CLIFFORD EDMUND BOSWORTH (tr.), *The History of al-Ṭabarī* (*Taʾrīkh al-rusul waʾl-mulūk*), vol. 5: *The Sāsānids, the Byzantines, the Lakhmids, and Yemen*, New York 1999; CIH; MARINA DETORAKI (ed.), *Le Martyre de saint Aréthas et de ses compagnons* (*BHG* 166), tr. JOËLLE BEAUCAMP, Paris 2007 (Collège de France, Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 27, *Le massacre de Najrân* I); IGNAZIO GUIDI (ed., tr.), "La lettera di Simeone vescovo di Bêth-Arśâm sopra i martiri omeriti", *MRALm* ser. 3^{a}, 7, 1880–81, 471–515 (repr. in: *Raccolta di scritti*, vol. 1: *Oriente cristiano*, Roma 1945, 1–60); AL-ḤASAN AL-HAMDĀNĪ, *Kitāb al-Iklīl*, vol. 2, ed. by MUḤAMMAD AL-AKWAᶜ, Al-Qāhira 1966; ALBERT JAMME, *Sabaean and Hasaean Inscriptions from Saudi-Arabia*, Roma 1966 (Studi Semitici 23); AXEL MOBERG (ed., tr.), *The Book of the Himyarites. Fragments of a Hitherto Unknown Syriac Work*, Lund 1924 (Skrifter Utgivna av. Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund. Acta Reg. Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis 7); WALTER WILHELM MÜLLER, *Sabäische Inschriften nach Ären datiert. Bibliographie, Texte, Glossar*, Wiesbaden 2010 (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz. Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission 53); FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA (ed., tr.), *Historia dos martyres de Nagran, Versão ethiopica*, Lisboa 1899; ḤAMDUʾLLĀH-I-QAZWĪNĪ, *The Taʾrīkh-i-Guzīda*, ed. by EDWARD G. BROWNE – REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON, Leyden – London 1910–13 (E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series 14); RIÉ; GONZAGUE RYCKMANS, "Inscriptions sud-arabes, X^{e} série", *Le Muséon* 66, 1953, 267–317; MOHAMMED ALI AL-SALAMI, *Sabäische Inschriften aus dem Ḫawlān*, Wiesbaden 2011 (Jenaer Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient 7); IRFAN SHAHÎD, *The Martyrs of Najrân. New Documents*, Bruxelles 1971 (Subsidia hagiographica 49).

Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "The Massacre of Najrān: The Ethiopic Sources", in: BEAUCAMP et al. 2010, 241–54 (Lit.); JOËLLE BEAUCAMP – FRANÇOISE BRIQUEL-CHATONNET – CHRISTIAN JULIEN ROBIN (eds.), *Juifs et chrétiens en Arabie aux V^{e} et VI^{e} siècles. Regards croisés sur les sources,* Paris 2010 (Collège de France, Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 32, *Le massacre de Najrân* II); WALTER WILHELM MÜLLER, "Himyar", in: *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, vol. 15, Stuttgart 1989/90, 303–31; MUṬAHHAR ᶜALĪ AL-IRYĀNĪ, "Ḏū Nuwās (Yūsuf)", in: AḤMAD ǦĀBIR ᶜAFĪF et al. (eds.), *Al-Mawsūᶜa al-Yamanīya* ('Encyclopedia of Yemen'), Ṣanᶜāʾ ^{2}2003, vol. 4, 3046–47; NORBERT NEBES, "Die Märtyrer von Nagrān und das Ende der Ḥimyar. Zur politischen Geschichte Südarabiens im frühen sechsten Jahrhundert", *Aethiopica* 11, 2008, 7–40 (= ID., "The Martyrs of Najrān and the End of the Ḥimyar: On the Political History of South Arabia in the Early Sixth Century", in: ANGELIKA NEUWIRTH – NICOLAI SINAI – MICHAEL MARX (eds.), *The Qurʾān in Context. Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qurʾānic Milieu*, Leiden 2010, 27–59); CHRISTIAN JULIEN ROBIN, "Joseph, dernier roi de Ḥimyar (de 522 à 525, ou une des années suivantes", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 34, 2008, 1–124; ID., "Nagrān vers l'époque du massacre: notes sur l'histoire politique, économique et institutionelle et sur l'introduction du christianisme (avec un réexamen du Martyre d'Azqīr)", in: BEAUCAMP et al. 2010, 39–106.

Walter W. Müller

Z

Zäʾamlakəyä

The term Z. (**ዘአምላክየ**, ‘of my God’) can refer to (1) a group of psalms (62/63, 91/92, 5, 64/65; the name Z. is from the incipit of Ps 62), (2) the ↗*dəggʷa* antiphon that accompanies each psalm of the Z. group, and (3) a type of ↗*qəne*, composed and sung after each of the Z. psalms by the same person who chants the psalms.

Z. *qəne* is the second *qəne* type taught in ↗*qəne bet*, following upon ↗*gubaʾe qana*. Both *qəne* types are performed in the ↗*ʿəzəl* mode after Z. psalms. The main differences are their length – *gubaʾe qana* has two *bet* and Z. has three, which, according to traditional scholars, symbolize the Trinity – and the occasions on which these ↗hymns are produced – the Z. when major Christological and Mariological feasts occur on Monday, Tuesday, or Thursday, the *gubaʾe qana* when the feasts occur on Wednesday, Friday, or Saturday, even in Lent. Both are composed in the ↗*Səbḥatä nägh* celebration on Monday, Tuesday and Thursday.

The term *mändärdäräya*, referring to the second *bet* of Z., is also used to indicate the tempo and speed of recitation of the *qəne* in general (DTWDic 338a; KaneDic 1754a; Godet 1983–84: 152).

In some churches, because of restrictions on the use of musical instruments (esp. ↗*käbäro*), the composition of *qəne*, including Z., is not allowed (e.g., Bäʾata Church in Gondär).

Src.: ADMASU ǦÄMBÄRE, **መጽሐፈ ፡ ቅኔ ፡** (**ዝክረ ፡ ሊቃውንት**) (*Mäṣḥafä qəne* [*zəkrä liqawənt*], ‘The Book of *Qəne* [The Memory of the Scholars]’), Addis Abäba 1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.]; DTWDic 338a; ḪƎRUY WÄLDÄ ŚƎLLASE, **መጽሐፈ ፡ ቅኔ** (*Mäṣḥafä qəne*, ‘The Book of Qəne’), Addis Ababa 1918 A.M. [1926/27 A.D.]; KaneDic 1754a; *mämhər* YƎḪEYYƎS WÄRQE, **ንባብ ፡ ወትርጓሜ ፡ ዘቅኔያት ፤ አዕማደ ፡ ምስጢራት** (*Nəbab wätərgʷame zäqəneyat. Aʿəmadä məsṭirat*, ‘Text and Interpretation of the Qəne. The Pillars of Mysteries’), Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.].

Lit.: ENRICO CERULLI, “Inni della Chiesa Abissina”, *RSO* 12, 1929–30, 361–407; ID., “Di alcune varietà di inni della Chiesa Abissina”, *Orientalia* nova ser. 3, 1934, 294–305; *mämhər* ELYAS ABRƎHA, **ይትበሀል ፡ ዘጎንደር ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ ሥርዐተ ፡ ማኅሌት** (*Yətbähal zägondär, zäwəʾətu śərʿatä maḫlet*, ‘The Tradition of Gondär, which is the Divine Office’), Addis Abäba 1989 A.M. [1996/97 A.D.]; ERIC GODET, “La métrique du qənē guèze”, *Abbay* 12, 1983–84, 117–203; IGNAZIO GUIDI, “Di alcuni inni abissini”, *RSO* 1, 1907, 217–20; HabTent; HabUff 207–22, 340; LevWax; FRANÇOIS MARIE CASIMIR MONDON-VIDAILHET, “La rhétorique éthiopienne. *Le sämenna wärq*”, *JA* sér. 10, 10, 1907, 305–29.

Habtemichael Kidane

Zäbäñña

Z. (**ዘበኛ**) is an Amharic term in common usage throughout the 19th and 20th cent. for a guard or sentinel (GuiVoc 618). Such individuals tended to be allocated a special place in military camps (↗*kätäma*), usually around the quarters of the chief, his principal steward and followers (Parkyns 1875: 175). Guards armed with rifles were likewise known as Z.-↗*näftäñña*, i.e. scout-riflemen (AbbSéjour vol. 1, 256; GueCopMen 78, 116, 228).

Aṣe ↗Mənilək II towards the end of the 19th cent. instituted a force of Z., who, according to de Coppet, were “armed with the best rifles” (GueCopMen 78). A sketch map (ibid. Atlas no. 6) indicates that they were assigned an area immediately around that occupied by the *əlfəñ*, or royal abode, and the *addaraš*, or reception hall (↗*gəbbi*). This map further indicates that the guards had their tents a little beyond the palace quarters, the guards in charge of the artillery being placed a little ahead of the line of march. The camp of *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Täklä Haymanot of Goǧǧam was likewise guarded by Z. on the left and the right, as well as by special Z. for the horses (Griaule 1934).

The *kəbur* Z., or “honoured” guard (in English the ↗Imperial Bodyguard), was instituted by *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) in 1929 when a Belgian military mission was invited to reorganize the country’s elite soldiers. Following his coronation as *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase in 1930 they were very renowned. A visiting British journalist, Geoffrey Harmsworth, states that, by 1935, they consisted of 6,000 “picked and trained men, equipped with the latest Mauser rifles” (Harmsworth 1935: 266, 289). They wore a khaki uniform designed by the then leading Ethiopian artist, ↗Agäññähu Ǝngəda, and caps decorated with lion’s hair, but generally went barefoot (Farago 1935: 56, 135, 143). Some were sent for further study in France at the St. Cyr Military Academy (Atnafu Makonnen 1960: 91, 93).

After Ethiopia's liberation in 1941, the Imperial Bodyguard was re-established independently of the British, who trained the rest of the army (PerGov 474, index).

Src.: AbbSéjour vol. 1, 256; GueCopMen 78, 116, 228, Atlas no. 6; GuiVoc 618; KaneDic 1642; Mansfield Parkyns, *Life in Abyssinia*, vol. 1, London 1853, 175.

Lit.: Atnafu Makonnen, *Ethiopia Today*, Tokyo 1960, 91, 93; Ladislas Farago, *Abyssinia on the Eve*, London 1935, 56, 135, 143; Marcel Griaule, "Un camp militaire abyssin", *Journal de la Société des Africanistes* 4, 1, 1934, 117–32; Geoffrey Harmsworth, *Abyssinian Adventure*, London 1935, 266, 289; PerGov 474, index; Sileshi Seyoum, *The History of the Imperial Body Guard*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1986; Kimon Skordiles, *Kagnew. The Story of the Ethiopian Fighters in Korea*, Tokyo 1954; George Lowther Steer, *Caesar in Abyssinia*, London 1936, 83.

Richard Pankhurst

Zabīd

Z. is the name of a town and an administrative district in the Tihāma coastal plain of the ↗Yemen. It is located ca. 25 km from the ↗Red Sea shore in an area of fertile agricultural lands irrigated by Wādī Rimaᶜ, in the north, and Wādī Z., to which it owes its name, in the south.

Z. was founded in the 9th cent. under the Ziyādī dynasty (r. 819–1021) who made it its political centre. The historical trajectory of Z. was in large part shaped by its location on the commercial route connecting ↗Egypt with ↗India, but also on the ↗pilgrimage route linking Aden and even north-east Africa, to the holy cities of ↗Mecca and Medina. As early as the 10th–11th cent. Z. was recognized as one of the leading urban centres in the Islamic world. Z. grew to be an important centre of commerce linking the western Indian Ocean with the Mediterranean, at least until the 16th cent. when it gradually lost its role as a transit emporium in the face of growingly dominant European shipping. Its success in international commerce gradually made it an important religious centre of Islamic learning and attracted scholars from across the Islamic world. Its highly reputed *madrasa*s ('[Islamic] schools') offered training in Šāfiᶜī and Ḥanafī jurisprudence among different disciplines, and radiated far and wide, including in north-east Africa.

Z.'s importance to north-east African history is reflected by tenacious cross-Red Sea trade and checkered political relations between Ethiopia, the ↗Dahlak islands and the Yemen already by the end of the first millennium A.D. Writing around 935, al-Masᶜūdī reported about a treaty concluded between *al-Ḥabaša* ('Abyssinia') and the Yemeni sovereign Ibrāhīm b. Ziyād (known aṣ Ṣāḥib al-Harmalay), ruler of Z., adding that the treaty opened the way to flourishing trade relations between the two Red Sea coasts. One of the most important commodities in this commerce was Ethiopian slaves (↗Slavery), shipped via the Dahlak islands to Z., where there was a large slave depot. For example, according to the Yemeni Zaydī historian ᶜUmāra al-Yamanī (b. 1121, d. 1174), in 977 the governor of Dahlak offered Abū l-Ǧayš, the ruler of Z., a tribute of 1,000 Ethiopian slaves of which 500 were female slaves specially selected for the harems of southern Arabia (Cuoq 1981:46).

Although long-standing, the presence of north-east African slaves in the Yemen and their role in its political history became ever more conspicuous and important in this period. In 1021, Naǧāḥ, a freed Ethiopian slave, was able to take power in Z. He established a dynasty, the Banū Naǧāḥ, which held power in Z. until 1159. In the course of fierce power struggles with the Ṣulayḥid dynasty, the Banū Naǧāḥ were able to capitalize on their ties to north-east Africa by taking periodic refuge in the Dahlak islands and by recruiting thousands of Ethiopian mercenaries who strengthened their position vis-à-vis their archrivals. In general and despite recurring conflict, Z. witnessed urban development and population growth under the Banū Naǧāḥ; they built mosques and other edifices, erected a wall around the town for protection, minted coins, and, according to ᶜUmāra al-Yamanī, had a particular penchant for Arabic poetry (Cuoq 1981:48f.; Chelhod 1981:59–66; ᶜUmāra al-Yamanī 1892).

Z. lived its "Golden Age" under the Rasūlid dynasty (r. 1229–1454). Its dominance as the principal gateway to the Yemen and an important commercial hub was maintained, and its central role as the foremost South Arabian religious centre of scholarship and learning was stabilized. Z.'s influence and role in diffusing Islamic religious, mystical and legal learning to Muslim polities and societies in the Horn of Africa was particularly momentous. For example, some oral traditions note that the initial diffusion of Islam in the ↗Ogaden region was the work of a certain *faqīh* ᶜUmar together with *aw* Yūsuf, who was a scholar from Z. (Gori 2003:221; 2006:201–18).

Z. was taken by the Ottomans who made it their chief South Arabian centre between 1538 and 1636. During that period dynamic commercial, political and religious interactions between the Yemen and north-east Africa persisted. As the seat of the Ottoman *paša* in the southern Red Sea zone, Z. also played a role in the broader political and international arena (Ottomans and Portuguese rivalries played out in Ethiopia; s. also ↗Portugal, relations to) of the so-called "religious wars" between Muslims and Christians in 16th-cent. Ethiopia (Orhonlu 1974: 14–69). The ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* noted that at around 1541–42 *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī sent captured prisoners to the Ottoman ruler of Z., *amīr* Sulaymān, "who made them his slaves" (BassHist I 43–4). Among the many prisoners sent to Z. was also ↗Minas, *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl's son and two of his cousins, Laʾəkä Maryam and Amätä Maryam. A couple of years later Minas was exchanged and returned to Ethiopia in return for Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's own son, Muḥammad, who was captured by the Christians (Pankhurst 2002: 410; ConzGal; Cuoq 1981: 258).

The influence of Z.'s religious academies on Islamic institutions and scholars in the Horn of Africa since the 18th cent. cannot be overstated. Muslim scholars and holy men from the area travelled to Z. to acquire and advance religious education, in some cases returning to north-east Africa and diffusing the teachings of particular legal schools or mystical orders. This is how a certain *muftī* Dāʾūd b. Abī Bakr, who acquired his religious training in Z., introduced Šāfiᶜism to south-eastern ↗Wällo in the early 19th cent. (HusIslam 67, 82). Some Eritrean Muslim scholars were also trained in the prestigious schools of Z. This was the case of *qāḍī* ᶜAbdalᶜalīm Idrīs (b. 1881, d. 1957), who served as judge in the court of Asmära from the late 1930s, as well as other senior posts in Eritrean Islamic institutions. Another example is that of *sayyid* Ǧaᶜfar al-Nātī, who had introduced the Aḥmadīya ↗Islamic brotherhood to Massawa in the Italian colonial period and had spent a decade studying in Medina and Z. (Miran 2009: 196f.).

Src.: ᶜUMĀRA AL-YAMANĪ, *Yemen, its Early Mediaeval History*, ed., tr. by HENRY CASSELS KAY, London 1892 [tr. of *al-Mufīd fī aḫbār Ṣanᶜāʾ wa-Zabīd*, also known as *Taʾrīḫ al-Yaman*]; BassHist I, 43f.; ConzGal 142.

Lit.: PAUL BONNENFANT, *Zabid au Yémén. Archéologie du vivant*, Aix-en-Provence 2004; TIM CARMICHAEL, "The Diaspora in Yemen", in: RUTH SIMMS HAMILTON (ed.), *Routes of Passage: Rethinking the African Diaspora*, East Lansing, MI 2007, vol. 1, part 1, 77–84; JOSEPH CHELHOD, "Introduction à l'histoire sociale et urbaine de Zabīd", *Arabica* 25, 1, 1978, 48–88; JOSEPH CUOQ, *L'Islam en Ethiopie, des origines au XVI*^{e} *siècle*, Paris 1981; ALESSANDRO GORI, *Studi sulla letteratura agiografica islamica somala in lingua araba*, Firenze 2003 (Quaderni di semitistica 24); ID., "Lo Yemen e l'Islam in Africa Orientale: contatti, testi, personaggi", in: *Convegno sulla storia e cultura dello Yemen in età islamica, con particolare riferimento al periodo rasulide* (*Roma, 30–31 ottobre 2003*), Roma 2006 (Fondazione Leone Caetani 27), 201–18; HusIslam 67, 82; JONATHAN MIRAN, *Red Sea Citizens: Cosmopolitan Society and Cultural Change in Massawa*, Bloomington, IN 2009; CENGIZ ORHONLU, *Habeş Eyaleti*, Istanbul 1974; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Across the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden: Ethiopia's Historic Ties with Yemen", *Africa* (Roma) 57, 3, 2002, 393–419; NOHA SADEK, "Zabīd", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 10, 370–71; TrIslam 51, 61, 91.

Jonathan Miran

Zädəngəl

Aṣe Z. (**ዘድንግል**, regnal name Aṣnaf Sägäd II; d. 13 October 1604, Barča) was emperor of Ethiopia from 1603 to 1604. He was the son of Ləssanä Krəstos, the brother of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl (PerChron 48 [text]).

Dynastic struggles erupted following the demise of Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl. The latter had originally promised the crown to Z., but in 1596 the empress and her power-hungry sons-in-law, *ras* ↗Atnatewos and ↗Kəflä Waḥəd, persuaded the dying sovereign to bequeath the throne to ↗Yaᶜəqob, the monarch's seven year-old son. Soon after the decision was made, the empress had Z. seized and confined to ↗Daga Ǝsṭifanos, but he eventually managed to escape and took refuge in Goǧǧam (Páez 2008: 140, 599f.; BecRASO II, 115; III, 207ff.).

In 1603, Yaᶜəqob fell out of favour with his patrons, and *ras* ↗Zäśəllase made Z. emperor with the intention that he would be little more than a figurehead. However, the new sovereign turned out to be an independent-minded ruler and a capable decision maker. He appointed the influential Zäśəllase governor of ↗Dämbəya and of neighbouring ↗Wägära and arranged a marriage between the latter and his sister. Evidence of Z.'s policies has survived in the form of two extant edicts. The first is a mass levy aimed at establishing a new army directly under his own command. The second edict, which has been preserved under the slogan "Man is free, land is tributary" (Perruchon 1896: 359, 361f.), was aimed at relieving the oppression that farmers and merchants suffered at the hands of the nobility and their soldiers. While this step earned the monarch the support of the masses, it provoked jealousy and antagonism among much of the nobility. Thereafter, Z. carried out sweeping personnel changes, appointing new governors to all the ↗Amhara provinces that were of strategic importance to Dämbəya.

The emperor's zeal for reform led him to invite the Jesuit missionary Pedro ↗Páez to Qoga in order to elucidate European systems of law and government (Páez 2008: 181; BecRASO II, 176; XI, 222; ↗Jesuits). Páez accepted the invitation and arrived in the capital on 17 June 1604. During their meetings, Z. secretly confided in the Jesuit his desire to embrace the Catholic faith, but knew that the lords would prevent him from joining the Roman Church (Páez 2008: 160, 306, 310, 622; BecRASO II, 146, 375, 381; III, 245; XI, 230, 322). Shortly after, Z. declared the abolition of ↗Sabbath observance, stirring the ire of the nobility (Páez 2008: 335; BecRASO II, 421; XI, 234).

Cognizant of how unpopular his reforms had been among the nobility, Z. also asked Páez to help him obtain the support of the Portuguese (↗Portugal) in his struggle against the lords. The Jesuit drafted a letter to Pope Clement VIII and King Felipe III on the emperor's behalf explaining his interest in ↗Catholicism and his need for military assistance (Páez 2008: 623ff.; BecRASO III, 247–50; XI, 233f.).

In the meantime, Z. managed to construct his new army, but this success proved to be short-lived. Following the rainy season of 1604, Atnatewos and Zäśəllase launched an insurrection and convinced the patriarch, *abunä* ↗Peṭros, to cross over to their side (s. Páez 2008: 399; BecRASO II, 518). Z. was defeated in the battle of ↗Barča and killed by Zäśəllase on 13 October 1604 (PerChron vol. 1, 53; BecRASO XI, 241f.). Z.'s corpse was to remain on the battlefield for three days before a handful of peasants buried the monarch in a small church in Dämbəya. Some ten years later, *aṣe* ↗Susənyos brought his cousin's remains to their final resting place in Daga Ǝsṭifanos (Páez 2008: 388; BecRASO II, 502; XI, 242).

Src.: BecRASO II, 115, 146, 176, 375, 381, 421, 502, 518; III, 207ff., 245, 247–50, 260, 332; XI, 222, 230, 233f., 241f., 322; PEDRO PÁEZ, *História da Etiópia*, ed. by ISABEL BOAVIDA – HERVÉ PENNEC – MANUEL JOÃO RAMOS, Lisboa 2008, 140, 160, 181, 306, 310, 335, 399, 599f., 622–25; JULES PERRUCHON, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie. Règnes de Yaᶜqob et Za-Dengel (1597–1607)", *RevSem* 4, 1896, 355–63; PerChron 48, 53 (text) = 39, 42 (tr.).

Lit.: CrumLand 62–68; GIRMA BESHAH – MERID WOLDE AREGAY, *The Question of the Union of the Churches in* Luso-*Ethiopian Relations* (*1500–1632*), Lisboa 1964, 69–73.

Leonardo Cohen

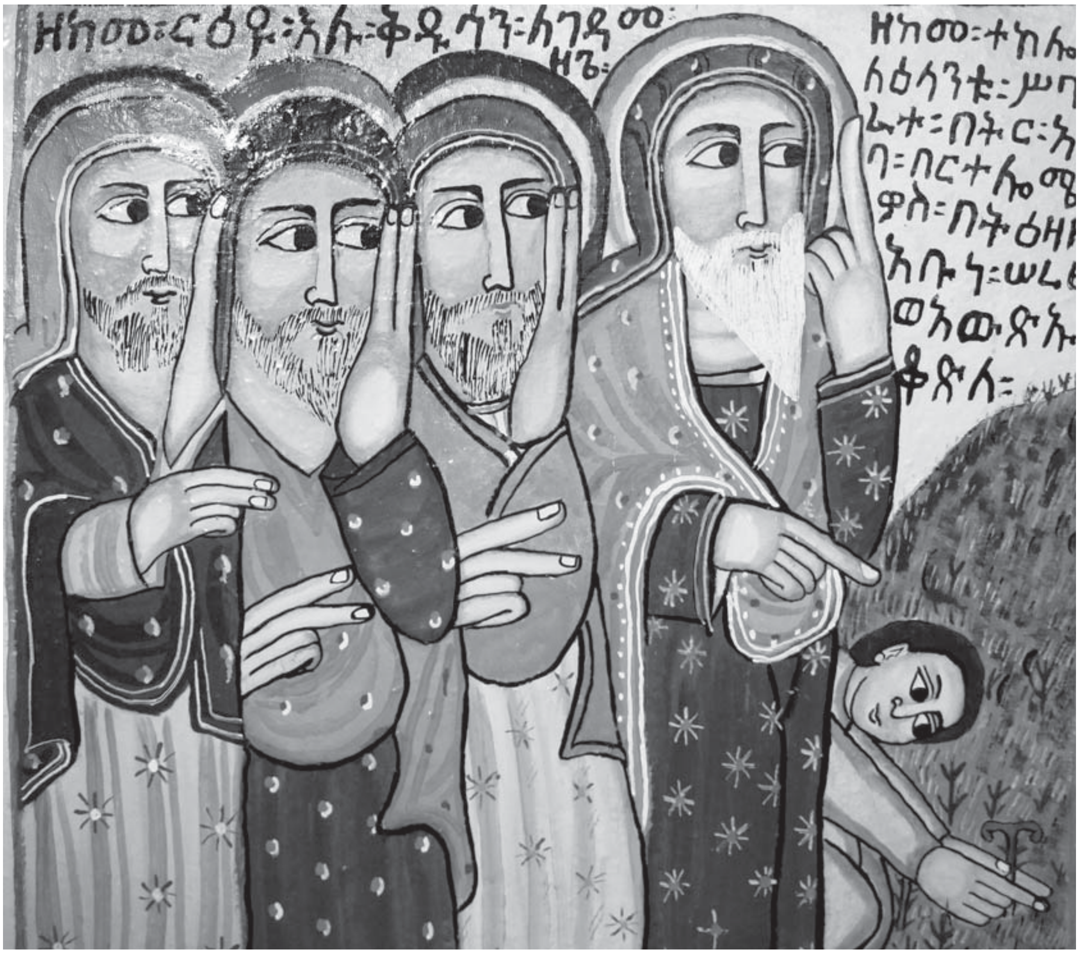
Zafän ↗Songs

Zäge

Z. (**ዘጌ**) is a densely forested (junipers, sycamores, *Erythrina Brucei*) peninsula on the south-west shore of Lake ↗Ṭana, ca. 20 km west of Baḥər Dar. It is a site of several monastic communities (↗monasteries), male and female, some of them established by the 14th-cent. *abba* Yoḥannəs from Šäwa and *abba* ↗Bäträ Maryam. The most important monastic centre of the region in the 17th cent., as witnessed, e.g., by the *Gädlä* ↗*Wälättä Peṭros*, Z. continued to flourish in the 18th and the 19th cent. (in 1866 Rassam reported 200 communities). Z. was a preferred camp site of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II which however did not save it from being plundered by his army. Until 1935 its economy was based on the cultivation of ↗coffee and ↗*gešo* as well as on the ↗slave trade. Presently the main occupation of the people is still fishing, coffee cultivation and, very recently, farming.

Presently, there are seven churches on Z. The foundation of Wərra (also: Ura) Kidanä Məḥrät (hereafter W.K.M.), Aswa Maryam (A.M.) and Däbrä Śəllase (D.Ś., belonging to a *gädam*) is ascribed to *abba* Yoḥannəs. Bäträ Maryam is credited with establishing Bäträ Maryam (B.M.) and Maḥəl Zäge Giyorgis (M.Z.G.). The remaining two are Fəre Maryam (F.M.) and Yəgända Täklä Haymanot (Y.T.H.). All the churches are of a circular plan (↗Church buildings) and large (20–26 m in diameter), built on a stepped plinth, with squared ↗*mäqdäs*, polygonal *qəddəst* and circular *qəne maḫlet* with several beams supporting a conical straw roof.

All Z. churches (with the exception of Y.T.H. which was destroyed by fire) are decorated with wall ↗paintings covering the external walls of the *mäqdäs*, the beams of the roof and sometimes the walls of the *qəddəst*. The oldest sets, dating to the 17th (A.M.) and 18th cent. (D.Ś., W.K.M.), are only partly preserved; in the churches which have new paintings the old frag-ments are fastened onto the walls of the *qəddəst*, *qəne maḫlet*, or kept in church exhibition rooms. The iconographical programmes follow the system developed for circular churches in the second half of the 18th cent. (best represented in W.K.M.), with the addition of scenes connected to the founding fathers (Yoḥannəs and Bäträ Maryam) and local dignitaries who acted as ↗donors. In some churches (e.g., D.Ś.), paintings seem to have been modelled on the second mural set of ↗Narga Śəllase. Some groups of paintings are supplied with ↗inscriptions containing the date and the name of the painter: the southern wall of *mäqdäs* in W.K.M. was painted in 1895 by *aläqa* ↗Ǝngəda; the *mäqdäs* in B.M. in 1937 by *məsläne* Ṭərunäh and *mäggabi* Läᶜaläm Bərhan.

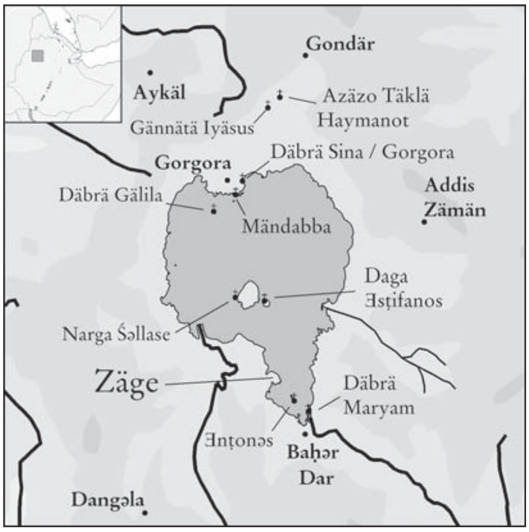


The monks of Zäge and one of the miracles of *abba* Bärtälomewos, cloth mural, 20th cent., church of Zäge Giyorgis; photo 2008, courtesy of the author

Several old wooden carvings (↗Wood, s. EAE vol. 5), some of them figural, are preserved in B.M. (door plinths and panels between the beams supporting the roof around the *qəne maḫlet*) and W.K.M. (door plinths). According to local tradition, these are the remains of 14th-cent. churches.

The largest collection of ↗manuscripts (over 300) that supposedly contains the books from destroyed churches in the area is kept in W.K.M. In the 1970s, over 100 manuscripts belonging to Z. churches were microfilmed by the ↗Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library (EMML), but they are still not catalogued: 32 in Y.T.H., 64 in M.Z.G., 23 in W.K.M. Some of them have been referred to in scholarly publications (cp. Bosc-Tiessé 2000: 250f.): the 15th-cent. illuminated ↗*Senodos* (B.M.; EMML no. 8128), the *Epifanyos* dating 1708 donated by *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* Abranyos (B.M.; EMML no. 8156); the ↗*Haymanotä abäw* from 1674 with two later added miniatures (A.M.); the illuminated ↗*Dərsanä Mikaʾel*, 18th cent. (W.K.M.); the illuminated (one miniature) ↗*sälam* on saints Peter and Paul and other texts, 18th cent. (W.K.M.); the Vita (↗*gädl*) of Bäträ Maryam (M.Z.G.; EMML no. 8137); and the ↗*Nägärä Maryam* from the 17th cent., with 13 miniatures added later (F.M.).

The churches also possess important collections of liturgical objects: shafted and hand ↗crosses, chalices, and ↗paintings on wood, vestments (↗clothing), umbrellas (↗*dəbab*), and ↗crowns dating to the 17th–19th cent. Some of them are connected by the local tradition with *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon (e.g., a box for a ↗*tabot*, a crown, an umbrella and a cross in A.M.; a crown and a painting showing Mary with Child, two



equestrian saints, the donors and the Ancient of the Days in M.Z.G.). Several of these objects were displayed at the Coptic ↗art exhibition held in 1963 in Essen and 1964 in Paris where they were described in the exhibition catalogues (sometimes wrongly dated).

Src.: ENRICO CERULLI (ed., tr.), “Gli atti di Batra Māryām”, *RSE* 4, 1944–45, 133–44 and 5, 1946, 42–66; MonVidTheod 41f.; HORMUZD RASSAM, *Narrative of the British Mission to Theodore*, vol. 1, London 1868, 215; LANFRANCO RICCI (tr.), *Vita di Walatta Pietros*, Louvain 1970 (CSCO 316 [SAe 61]), 12–15, 29f., 63–68, 117, 127; HENRY AARON STERN, *Wandering among the Falashas in Abyssinia*, London 1862, 34, 86f., 212, 286.

Lit.: AfrZion 189f.; SANDRO ANGELINI, *Ethiopia. The Historic Route*: *A Work-plan for the Development of the Sites and Monuments*, Paris 1971; GUY ANNEQUIN, “Trésors méconnus d’une Thébaïde à l’abandon”, *Les Dossiers de l’Archéologie* 8, 1975, 81–115, here 107–10; *L’art copte. Petit Palais, Paris, 17 juin–15 septembre 1964*, Paris 1964, nos. 323, 326f., 331, 337, 343, 346, 356; EWA BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA, “Le psautier éthiopien illustré de Belēn Sägäd”, in: RUDOLF ZEITLER – JAN O.M. KARLSSON (eds.), *Imagines Medievales. Studier i medeltida ikonografi, arkitektur, skulptur, måleri och konsthantverk*, Uppsala 1983 (Ars Suetica 7), 1–46, here 18, figs. 34f.; CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ, “L’histore et l’art des églises du lac Ṭana”, *AE* 16, 2000, 207–70, here 245–55; EAD., *Les îles de la mémoire. Fabrique des images et écriture de l’histoire dans les églises du lac Ṭānā, Éthiopie, XVII*^{e}*–XVII*^{e} *siècle*, Paris 2008 (Histoire ancienne et médiévale 97), 41f., 70–74, 372–77; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, “Il convento di Tsana in Abissinia e le sue laudi alla Vergine”, *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 19, 1910, 581–621, here 583, n. 1; GIOTTO DAINELLI, *La regione del lago Tana*, Milano 1939, 75; ID. et al., *Missione di studio al lago Tana*, vol. 1: *Relazioni preliminari*, Roma 1938, 158f.; HamTana I, 74; EWALD HEIN – BIRGITTE KLEIDT, *Ethiopia. Christian Africa*: *Art, Churches and Culture*, Ratingen 1999, 190–97; OTTO JÄGER – IVY PEARCE, *Antiquites of North Ethiopia*: *A Guide*, Stuttgart ^{2}1974, 73f.; *Koptische Kunst. Christentum am Nil*, Essen 1963, nos. 489, 501f., 512, 524, 526, 532, 542, 548, 551, 566, 574, 581; SixDeu 356f.; TILAHUN TEKLEHAYMANOT – MIRUTSE GIDAY, “Ethnobotanical Study of Medicinal Plants Used by People in Zegie Peninsula, Northwestern Ethiopia”, *Journal of Ethnobiology and Ethnomedicine* 3, 12, 2007, 1–11.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Zaghi, Carlo

Z. (b. 27 March 1910, Argenta [Ferrara], d. 6 February 2004, Argenta) was an Italian historian and journalist. At the age of 17, due to a conflict with a teacher, he was expelled from school and banned from joining public secondary education. Nevertheless, he managed to get a secondary degree by studying on his own. Towards 1927, he also started contributing articles to the *Gazzetta Ferrarese* and the *Corriere Padano*.

When he was 18, Z. married Pia Virgina Tosi. He went then to France and Switzerland where he was involved in archival research. In 1930 he published an appreciated study on Gustavo ↗Bianchi. In 1935, he graduated in history from the University of Bologna and two years later joined the recently created Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale of Milan and started working for the Ente Autonomo Mostra Triennale delle Terre Italiane d’Oltremare in Naples.

In 1938 Z. entered the Scuola di Storia Moderna e Contemporanea in Rome directed by Gioacchino Volpe. Imprisoned and sentenced to death as an anti-fascist activist, he was able to make a daring escape from the firing squad. For a short period he was editor of *Democrazia ferrarese* and *Corriere del mattino* (Ferrara). From 1946 to 1957, Z. was editor-in-chief of *Il Giornale*, a liberal-oriented daily newspaper published in Naples. Thereafter, he remained in Naples for almost 40 years. He taught at the Università Federico II of Naples and after a short period also at the University of Bari. From ca. 1970 to 1985 he was at the ↗Istituto Universitario Orientale in Naples where he taught Modern history and African history.

A precocious and prolific writer, Z. produced at least 15 important books. Skilfully edited and well researched, they cover a wide array of topics related to European history and ↗colonialism in Africa, from Europe under Napoleon to Russian contacts with Ethiopia. Of note are also Z.’s insights into Italian colonialism in the Horn of Africa, based largely on unpublished diaries, private correspondence and official state records. He edited Salimbeni’s private diary and shed light on Crispi’s policy in Ethiopia.

Src.: CARLO ZAGHI, *L'ultima spedizione africana di Gustavo Bianchi: Diari, relazioni, lettere e documenti editi ed inediti*, 2 vols., Milano 1930; ID., *Le origini della Colonia Eritrea*, Bologna 1934; ID., *Vita di Romolo Gessi*, Milano 1939; ID., *Gordon, Gessi e la riconquista del Sudan: 1874–1881*, Firenze 1947; ID., *P.S. Mancini, l'Africa e il problema del Mediterraneo: 1884–1885*, Roma 1955; ID., *Crispi e Menelich, dans le Journal Inédit du Comte Augusto Salimbeni*, Turin 1956 (reviewed by LIANE RANIERI in *JAH* 1, 1, 1960, 176–77); ID., *I russi in Etiopia*, 2 vols., Napoli 1972 (reviewed by RICHARD GRAY in *The English Historical Review* 90, 357, 1975, 933); ID., *L'Africa nella coscienza europea e l'imperialismo italiano*, Napoli 1973 (reviewed by ALBERTO SBACCHI in *IJAHS* 9, 1, 1976, 140–44); ID., *La conquista dell'Africa: studi e ricerche*, 2 vols., Napoli 1984 (contains a complete list of Z.'s publications; reviewed by DONALD CRUMMEY in *JAH* 28, 1, 1987, 167); ID., *Rimbaud in Africa*, Napoli 1993.

Massimo Zaccaria

Zagʷe

Z. (**ዛጔ** or **ዛጓ**[**ይ**], *Zagʷa*[*y*]/**ዛጔይ**, *Zagʷey*, **ዘውጔ**, *Zäwgʷe*) is the name of an ↗Agäw line of Ethiopian kings (hence, possibly, their designation: from **Zäʾagäw*, 'of Agäw [stock]'; but from **Zäʾagʷay*, 'of the king, principal' in Agäw, for Conti Rossini 1895: 356f. and 1895–96: 152, cp. CRStor 303; *folk etymology* from Gəᶜəz **Zäʾagʷyäyä*, 'He who pursued, put to flight', in SerHist 236 and n. 117, 239; connected with ↗Ḫasgʷa [s. EAE vol. 5]) likely to have ruled from the first half of the 12th cent. (ca. 1140?) to 1268/70. Their rule came to an end when their last representative, ↗Yətbaräk, was defeated and killed by ↗Yəkunno Amlak, a young Amhara prince claiming descent – remote though – from the legitimate royal house of ↗Aksum, i.e. the ↗Solomonic dynasty (s. Kaplan – Salamon in PICES 14).

A clan rather than a simple dynasty, the Z. came originally from the district of ↗Bugna in today's ↗Lasta (north-western ↗Wällo, ancient ↗Amhara [s. EAE vol. 5]), the core of their native dominion and then of their kingdom (s. now Derat 2009 and 2010: 157ff.). A permanent capital was sited there in the mountains, at a place called Ad(d)äfa or Adäffa, which was soon to become a rival of Aksum also as a "holy city" – a "new ↗Jerusalem" – and a pilgrimage centre in its own right (CRStor 318; Ricci 1978: 172f.). The toponym Ad(d)äf(f)a is mentioned in both Arabic and Ethiopic sources. It survives slightly to the north of present-day ↗Lalibäla (alias Roha and Wärwär), so called after the most famous Z. king (↗Lalibäla), to whose reign the construction of the ↗rock-hewn churches and buildings forming the "new Jerusalem" ended by being entirely attributed, as a result – however improbable – of the fall of Jerusalem in 1187 (TadTChurch 59 and n. 5; cp. van Donzel 1998 and Phillipson 2009a: 123f., 179ff. and 2009b: 367, as well as, now, Mercier – Lepage 2012: 267–81).

From there, ca. 200 km south-east of Aksum, the Z. administered a centralized realm corresponding to much of today's ↗Eritrea and northern and central ↗Ethiopia, extending southwards to Lasta and ↗Wag̣ as well as to ↗Damot (↗Wälläga and western ↗Šäwa), and thence westwards to ↗Bägemdər (Buxton 1970: 44). They implemented a strategy for annexing the regions beyond the ↗Märäb River, even by resettling there Agäw groups from Wällo (s. Lusini 2010: 44f.); but exerted no control east of the Šäwan plateau, i.e. in a territory increasingly occupied by such Muslim states as ↗Ifat and ↗Hadiyya. The Z.'s main outlet to the sea seems to have been ↗Zaylaᶜ, whence their state was engaged in long-distance ↗trade – although to a much lesser extent than Aksum (SerHist 263).

Unlike Aksum, the Z. kingdom was virtually unknown to the coeval Mediterranean powers. Trading arguably, in principle, with the Persian Gulf and being comparatively remote from the larger Christian and Orthodox worlds, it had nonetheless regular contact with ↗Egypt – which periodically supplied a metropolitan (↗*P̣ap̣p̣as*) – and Jerusalem, where the Ethiopians, by the end of the 12th cent., maintained a considerable presence (Meinardus 1970: 117). Like those cut into the rock at Lalibäla, the Z. constructions – e.g., the church of ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos – were often modelled after Christian buildings in Egypt and in the Holy Land, and show traces of contemporary Islamic influence, esp. in their carving and decoration (Balicka-Witakowska 2010: 111ff., 121–25). Artistic relationships testify to close ties, and this contributes to dispel the myth of medieval Ethiopia's total isolation from the outside world.

Next to the records of *aṣe* Lalibäla, in charge from ca. 1185 to 1224/25 at least (for whom ↗inscriptions are also available, s. now Bosc-Tiessé 2010: 62, 64, 76f., 79–90), and his nephew and successor ↗Näʾakkʷəto Läʾab, who died ca. 1250 (Tedeschi 1996: 340), the date of the Z.'s dispossession is one of the very few surviving elements for the chronology of the dynasty as a whole. Ethiopian "official" tradition gives the Z. a total reign of over three centuries, the exact number of years varying in the sources between 330 and 373, with a preference for 333 years, 3 months and 3 days (Belaynesh Michael in DicEthBio 200f.). Thus, counting back from 1268/70, the Z.'s rise to power would have been a more or less immediate consequence of the fall of Aksum, in keeping with both the local belief dating the latter to the late 9th or mid-10th cent. and the need of bridging the chronological gap between the two events.

The entire Z. period is, however, shrouded in mystery, as still a part of the Ethiopian "Dark Ages". The evidence is all the more inadequate here when considering the Z. cultural legacy. Likewise, when compared with the Aksumite age and the first three centuries of the Solomonic "restoration", the Z. period is by far the least studied (Tekeste Negash 2006: 121ff.; cp. also Berry 1981–82). Yet, as rightly maintained by art historians and archaeologists, given the high concentration of rock-hewn churches further north, in eastern Təgray, the Z. architectural achievements, namely the town of Lalibäla and the surrounding places, prove to be a major development of the Aksumite tradition and the result of political and social stability – of more than a century at least – that was seldom equalled afterwards in Ethiopia (GerKir^{2} 61 and Buxton 1970: 45f., 108f.; cp. now Phillipson 2004: 85ff., 2009a: 183–91 and 2009b: 367f.). This framework of continuity was indeed enlivened, if not revived, by the external contacts fostered by the Z. Nor was it limited to the church architecture of Lasta and the neighbouring areas: the Ethiopian ↗manuscript tradition – likely to be then represented by such items as the much disputed Gospels of ↗Ǝnda Abba Gärima (Bausi 2010) – betrays a comparable revival of antiquity, as a consequence of a long local development on to which the suggestion was grafted of more or less contemporary elements from elsewhere (cp. Phillipson 2004: 86ff. and 2009a: 191f. with a different view).

Not belonging to the same ethnic and linguistic group as the ancient Ethiopian kings, in local documents – mainly "post-Z." hagiography and chronicles – the Z. are considered usurpers, which also accounts for the dearth of evidence concerning them. Their opposition to Amhara and Təgray in terms of Agäw- (↗Cushitic-) vs. Semitic-speaking people could hardly justify, however, the Z.'s dismissal "as an alien and impious group of adventurers" (TadTChurch 57 n. 3, 60, 72, discarded by Marrassini 1995: 4f. and n. 11). The Z. did retain their own (Agäw) language, but seem to have used it within the family context, and not "for purposes of administration" (so, instead, Tekeste Negash 2006: 130 after TadTChurch 57 and n. 3; but s. Schneider 1983: 113 and Marrassini 1995: 5 and nn. 12–14).

Hagiographies are known for as many as five kings, a queen and a prince of this family: ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos, ↗Ḥarbay, Lalibäla, Näʾakkʷəto Läʾab, Yətbaräk, ↗Mäsqäl Kəbra and Bäḫaylä Mäsqäl (a son of Näʾakkʷəto Läʾab who died in infancy). Their Vitae were all written in the late 15th/early 16th cent., long after the downfall of the Z. (when their Solomonic opponents were well settled). Despite the harsh criticism they have been dealt with, these texts preserve valid, albeit scant, historical data. Moreover, they testify to a concept of ↗kingship that is quite different from the traditional Ethiopian one: inspired to peace rather than to war and hunting, with a strong opposition between (biblical) kingship and (Christian) priesthood, it involves the king's activities, albeit rare and confined to bringing prosperity to his country through such operations as ↗rainmaking – which recalls one of the most prominent aspects of "African" chiefdoms (Marrassini 1990 and 1995: 14–19).

Also significant are other sources with a marked ideological imprint such as the late 17th-cent. ↗*Bəʿəlä nägäśt*. This treatise, concerning the end of the Z. usurpation and the revival of the Aksumite or Davidic ↗monarchy, was conceived as a pendant to a much earlier literary work, the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*. The latter is likely to have been initially ordered by the ↗Ǝndärta ruling family, which traced its genealogy back to Aksum more easily than Yəkunno Amlak and his line. Linked thereby with regional (northern) aspirations to independence, the text was only later appropriated by the Solomonic dynasty (Chernetsov 1982: 37f.; 2000: 46–50, 54f.; cp. also Ricci 1978: 171–75). In the *Kəbrä nägäśt*, the Z. – "not being [of] Israel", i.e. descendants of the Queen of Sheba (↗Makədda) and King ↗Solomon through their son ↗Mənilək (I) – are said to be "transgression of the (divine) law and the commandment" (ch. 34, BezKebr 30a; Budge 1932: 42). In the colophon of the work, they are alluded to as being "not Israelites" and, therefore, "transgressors of the Law" (ch. 117 BezKebr 173b; Budge 1932: 228).

Relying on a precarious ideological position, and challenged not so much by the Ethiopian Church as by those Təgrayan élites behind the composition of the *Kəbrä nägäśt* with whom they must have been at odds, the Z. too boasted Israelite descent, but "of the family of Moses and Aron, on account of the coming of Moses into Abyssinia", as attested in 1208 – with some confusion, though, between ↗Nubia (s. EAE vol. 5) and Abyssinia – by the

Copt Abū l-Makārim (↗Abū Ṣāliḥ). Elaborating on Moses's marriage to an "Ethiopian" woman according to Num 12:1, he also adds that she was "the king's daughter"; that the Abyssinians "possess the ↗Ark of the Covenant"; and that the kings of Ethiopia were also priests (Evetts 1895:286ff. [fols. 105b–106a]; cp. SerHist 270 and n. 35, Tekeste Negash 2006:130 and Munro-Hay 2005:74–84).

Like the Solomonic mythology, the Z. struggle to establish Israelite origins must be seen against the general background of Ethiopian ↗Judaism. It is rather tempting to argue that the commitment of the Z. to church building and their strict adherence to the Orthodox faith – with an emphasis on Sunday ("Christian ↗Sabbath"), praised by King Lalibäla in an inscription on a *mänbärä* ↗*tabot* now in the church of Däbrä Sina at his homonymous town (Gigar Tesfaye – Pirenne 1984:114–19) – were also a response to those contesting the legitimacy of their rule (Tekeste Negash 2006:130). Within the traditional framework of divine ↗kingship, both features were to trigger the rehabilitation of the dynasty through the sanctification of its members (with the exception of the first two kings, Märari and Ṭäṭädəm, possibly too close to the usurpation to be included). One of them, Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos, was portrayed as actual "priest and king" – which might have helped locate the mythical ↗Prester John in East Africa.

The process that brought about a change so supportive of the Z., long branded as usurpers, is a much debated issue. Not unparalleled in medieval European history (Marrassini 1990, 1995), it is likely to have taken place in the 15th–16th cent., when their hagiographies were written and the complex of "Däbrä Sina-Golgota-Śəllase" was possibly created at Lalibäla so as to solemnize, with the sanctification of the eponymous king, the rehabilitation of the Z. rulers that was being achieved by the Solomonic dynasty (Gervers 2003:45–48). As a result, their commemorations also entered the ↗*Sənkəssar*, which is a clear indication that the Z. kings – appearing since also in the visual arts – had become acceptable to both the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox [Täwaḥədo] Church and the revived Solomonic dynasty.

Neither the number nor the names of the Z. rulers can be assessed with certainty. They seem to have followed the Agäw law of inheritance, implying a certain degree of matrilinearity, with shifting of power to brothers and then to nephews of the king (Marrassini 1995:6, but s. Chernetsov 1995:107ff.). Thus, in their lists, the verb *nägśä*, '(he) reigned', is used for each king instead of *wälädo lä-*, '(he) begat' (typical of the house of David), meaning that son did not necessarily succeed the father (Belaynesh Michael in DicEthBio 200).

The Z. ↗kings lists (s. EAE vol. 5) vary in different sources as far as the number of rulers and the overall duration attributed to the dynasty are concerned. Many of the "long" lists have eleven rulers, lasting 354 years altogether: Täklä Haymanot, Ṭänṭäwədəm or Ṭäṭädəm, Gərma Śəyyum, Žan Śəyyum, Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos, Qəddus Ḥarbay, Lalibäla, Näᵓakkʷəto Läᵓab, Yətbaräk, Mäyrari, Ḥarbay (e.g., Dillmann 1853:350). Some other lists have nine kings with a total reign of "343", actually 329, years altogether: Täklä Haymanot, Žan Śəyyum, Gərma Śəyyum, Gəmp̣a Wəddəm, Yəmrəḥa or Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos, Gäbrä Maryam, Lalibäla, Näᵓakkʷəto Läᵓab, Yətbaräk (Belaynesh Michael in DicEthBio 201f.; cp. Chernetsov 1995:104ff.). The existence is known of an even longer catalogue, with 16 kings (Henze 2000:50 and n. 19, cp. SerHist 239–42). The "short" lists, obtained in Rome, before 1550, by Mariano ↗Vittori (s. EAE vol. 5) from the most learned ↗Täsfa Ṣəyon (Victorius 1552, fols. [H. i–ii] = [37v–38r], within a few Latin excerpts of the *Vita* of Yəmrəḥanna Krəstos, reproduced in Perruchon 1898:368f.; cp. Conti Rossini 1922:295) and then seen at Aksum, in the first half of the 17th cent., by ↗Páez (*Hist*. I, 5 in BecRASO II, 66) and de ↗Almeida (Hist. II, 6 in BecRASO V, 123), have five kings only, who are said to have ruled 143 years: Mär(ar)a Täklä Haymanot, Yəmraḥ, Lalibäla, Näᵓakkwəto Läᵓab, Ḥarbay (both Portuguese authors, however, add: "these and no more names are in the book, but those who know the history better say that many are missing and that the line of the Z. ruled for 340 years"). The total years of reign equal 133 in a number of other texts, including a disputed one from ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šəmäzana (↗Ham), that would lead one to fix the beginning of the dynasty at ca. 1135/37 (Conti Rossini, 1922:280f., resumed in Huntingford 1965:1 and n. 2, misunderstood by SerHist 240 n. 6; cp. Conti Rossini, 1917:707ff. and CRStor 303), i.e. much later than usually inferred from the prevailing local tradition (s. Belaynesh Michael in DicEthBio 201). Such texts are not necessarily affected by the "duplication" of Ethiopian chronology, involving the elimination of 456 years from actual history (s. Neugebauer 1989:55f., 64f.; Tekeste Nagash 2006:128).

In all of the relevant lists, the kings are mostly given 40 years of tenure, a quasi-ritual number, representing perhaps estimates based on "generations" (Neugebauer 1989: 64).

The circumstances of the Z.'s coming to power are highly unclear. The extant information about this event is mostly fabulous and incomplete, and an archaeological inquiry into the kingdom's capital, Adäfa, would greatly enhance our knowledge for that matter. Lasta, the central region of the kingdom, has not been archaeologically mapped either. The chroniclers sum up the record of such major change in one single sentence: "The reign was passed on to people who did not belong to the tribe of Israel" (BassÉt 8).

A much more detailed version, chiefly found in the Acts of ↗Iyäsus Moʾa (drafted at the earliest in the late 15th cent.), recounts with variants the ascent of (Mära) Täklä Haymanot, of the family of Ḥepaṣa or Ḥipaṣa (KurMoa 25f.). A general of ↗Dəlnaʿod, the last Aksumite ruler according to the king lists and a few legends, he married the king's daughter, Mäsobä Wärq (↗Tərdaʾ Gäbäz, s. EAE vol. 5), and then rebelled against his father-in-law, killing him in battle and assuming power with the royal name of Z. (here, properly, Zäwge).

Interestingly enough, the Acts credit Dəlnaʿod with moving the royal seat "to the east", namely to the Lake ↗Ḥayq region, 618 years after the arrival of Frumentius (*abunä* ↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan) in Ethiopia (KurMoa 18), i.e. in either 870/1 or 975/6 A.D., the evangelization of Aksum dating to ca. 337/8 or, according to traditional computation, 252/3 A.D. (s. TadTChurch 36 n. 3 and Neugebauer 1989: 69). Around Lake Ḥayq, Dəlnaʿod's descendants would have remained for centuries, preparing the restoration of their line, to be eventually achieved by Yəkunno Amlak.

In other sources, the last Aksumite king is called Dəgna Žan or Ḥəzba Näñ, and his spouse Tərdaʾ Gäbäz. In a tradition associated with Däbrä Libanos of Ham, Tərdaʾ Gäbäz is Ḥəzba Näñ's daughter (s. Conti Rossini 1922: 280 and Huntingford 1965: 1). A consensus formed, however, around the idea that a woman was instrumental in the transfer of power to the Z., who based their tenuous pretensions to succession on a legendary marriage to a member of the rightful dynasty.

For this clearly "unofficial" version, aimed at underlining the continuity of the Ethiopian tradition, the advent of the Z. was no break. Such a version must have been subsequently approved by the Ethiopian Church, to which liberal royal endowments had been constantly granted in return for its support, as suggested by the "feudal acts" in the Golden Gospels (↗*Wängelä wärq*) of Ham (CRDLib), with donations by *aṣe* Lalibäla that shed light on the "geography" of his kingdom, extending to the north as far as Šəmäzana (s. now Derat 2010: 34–38).

None of the available Z. hagiographies seems to be aware of the matrimonial rights claimed by the dynasty (TadTChurch 54 and n. 3), the origin of which is simply attributed, instead, to the wrath of God on an exceedingly arrogant Aksumite king (so, e.g., in the *Gädl* of Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos, ed. Marrassini 1995: 60, cp. the *Gädl* of ↗Yared, ed. Conti Rossini 1904: 26; s. SerHist 233–37 and Chernetsov 1995: 103). Again, these later "official" representations intend rather to introduce the Z. as an altogether alien family who usurped power from the rightful House of Israel.

As a matter of fact, there is no historical ground either to connect the rise of the Z. with the decline of Aksum, which in fact occurred in the second half of the 7th cent (s., e.g., Phillipson 2009b: 367f.), or to assign such decline to the 10th cent., according to the "longer chronology". Conti Rossini already was inclined to see the shortest duration of the dynasty, 133 years, as the most likely one. In this connection, he drew attention to a passage in the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* on the strife for succession to Metropolitan ↗Mikaʾel (I) on the advent of a new (unnamed) Ethiopian king who asked by letter al-ʿĀdil ʿAlī b. as-Salār (d. April 1153), vizier of Caliph aẓ-Ẓāfir (1149–54), and Patriarch John V (1147–67) to replace Mikaʾel as "old and advanced in age". The king, though, proved to be a usurper whom the metropolitan had rebuked, possibly refusing to acknowledge him (SawHist vol. 3, part 1, 34f.). This "usurper" would have been (Mära) Täklä Haymanot, the founder of the dynasty, willing to replace a metropolitan hostile to Z.'s rise to power (CRStor 303; Godet in PICES 9, 43 and 1986–87: 39).

The struggle for the throne was indeed "a common theme in Zagʷe royal traditions" (TadTChurch 61, cp. Belaynesh Michael in DicEthBio 203); and the new king could rather be Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos, who would have ascended, therefore, sometime around 1150. According to his *Gädl*, he succeeded his deceased uncle Ṭänṭäwəddəm, by contending either with his own cousin (the latter's son) or better – given the Z. peculiar form of succession – with his other uncle Žan Śəyyum (s., in general, Marrassini 1995: 6f.).

Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos was actually the third Zagʷe ruler, after his grandfather Märara/Märari or Morara – one and the same with (Mära) Täklä Haymanot: a Christian throne-name? (s. Belaynesh Michael in DicEthBio 109) – and then his uncle Ṭänṭäwədəm (TadTChurch 55f. and n. 3.), i.e. “King Salomon, son of Murara, and my name is Ṭänṭäwədəm”, according to the inscription on his processional metal cross kept in the church of ʿUra/ʿOra (Betä) Mäsqäl at Qəfrəya, in ↗Gulo Mäḵäda (Chojnacki 2006: 105f., pl. xvii, fig. 38: “… the cross can be broadly ascribed to the late. 11th or early 12th century”; Derat 2010: 162f. and nn. 20–24); Ṭänṭäwədəm reigned twelve years at least, according to a land grant issued by him for the same church and preserved there in a much later copy: “… I, *ḫaṣäy* Ṭänṭäwədəm, and my throne name is Sälomon, and my surname [*sägʷayä*] Gäbrä Mädḫən, in the 12th year of my reign, on the 24th of the month of *Miyazya* [= 19 April], have granted by charter to it, to the [holy] place of Qəfrəya, to Betä Mäsqäl …” (fol. 4). These documents have suggested his identification with “King Sälomon [*Sälomən*]” appearing as donor of the “book cover [*gelä*, sc. *-la*]” in the inscription on the metal revetment of the aforesaid Golden Gospels of Ham (CRDLib 181; cp. BauEr III, 15 and n. 3, and Derat 2010: 25 and n. 33). The same throne name, Sälomon, is known, however, for *nəguś* ↗Yagba Ṣəyon in a document from ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos (Taddesse Tamrat 1970: 92, s. Schneider in PICES 8, vol. 2 and Fiaccadori, in preparation). Ham or Aham is actually close to Qəfrəya, but both places lie far from Lasta, in a milieu very different ethnically and linguistically. Should King Sälomon of the Ham Gospels be one and the same with Ṭänṭäwəddəm, this would further typify the extent of the Z. rule as well as the vast geographical area around which the relevant documents are dispersed – hence the difficulty in tracing them and in the interlinked historical reconstruction (Derat 2010: 36).

The son of prince Gərwa Śəyyum (Gərma Śəyyum in other traditions) who was, like Žan Śəyyum, the son of Märara and a younger brother of Ṭänṭäwədəm, all of them coming from Bugna (Marrassini 1995: 24), Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos ascended the throne immediately before his first cousin Ḥarbay or Gäbrä Maryam (called Gäbrä Mäsqäl in the *Gädl* of Näʾakkʷəto Läʾab), the brother and predecessor of Lalibäla (Conti Rossini 1943: 113, cp. 106 and Tedeschi 1996: 337f.: Ḥarbay might have had three ↗names – like, presumably, Ṭänṭäwədəm in the land grant of Qəfrəya).

In the hagiographic literature, Ḥarbay and Lalibäla are the sons of Žan Śəyyum (a nobleman, but possibly not a ruler). In such other sources as two land charters from the Golden Gospels of Ham, copied in the 16th and 17th cent., respectively, Lalibäla styles himself “son of Morara (*wäldä M.*), son of Zanśəyyum, son of As(se)da” (CRDLib: 186; s. SergHist 266 and n. 8; TadTChurch 55f. and n. 3). In the *History of the Patriarchs* he features as “son of Šanūdah (*ibn Š.*)” (SawHist vol. 3, part 2, 115). The latter is an Arabic corruption not so much of an original *Mararah, from Eth. *Märara* (CRDLib: 188f.) as of *Siy(y)ūm, from Eth. (*Žan*) *Śəyyum* (Tedeschi 1996: 328 and n. 23, 342), while the sequence in the two charters could hardly be the result of a scribal alteration, since it also appears, with an intriguing variant, in the abridged version of the *Life* of Lalibäla that is known as *Zena Lalibäla* (‘Story of Lalibäla’), IES MS 298 (19th cent.), 118: “son of Morara (*wäldä M.*), son of Žan Śəyyum, son of Kirwar(ə)na” (after SerHist 266 and n. 9). While Kirwarna was Lalibäla’s noble mother, *wäldä Morara* could be here more broadly understood as “descendant of Morara”, with reference first to the king’s lineage and its founder, then to his father and mother (Belaynesh Michael in DicEthBio 120). Asda of the charters may just be another name of Kirwarna or Kerwarna (Žan Śəyyum’s maid in later legends, s. SerHist 267).

These detailed historical connections of partly new documents and traditions confirm the Z. genealogy and sequence tentatively established by Taddesse Tamrat, with seven kings (numbered according to the order of succession): Märari [1] by whom Mäsobä Wärq (?) bore Ṭänṭäwədəm [2], Gərwa Śəyyum, and Žan Śəyyum; Gərwa Śəyyum was the father of Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos [3]; the latter had in turn two sons, Ḥarbay [4] and Lalibäla [5], who were the fathers, resp., of Näʾakkʷəto Läʾab [6] and Yətbaräk [7] (TadTChurch 56f. n. 3).

In the Ethiopic chronicles and oral traditions, Yətbaräk is sometimes referred to as *(Zäʾ)əlmäknun*, ‘The unknown’ or ‘The hidden one’. Rather than a pseudonym bestowed by the victorious Solomonid as an act of “damnatio memoriae” or a useful escape mechanism contrived locally so as to deny that the king killed had anything to do with Lasta (TadTChurch 68 n. 1), this could be an index of the uncertainty prevailing in the sources over the end of the dynasty (Belaynesh Michael in DicEthBio 187). Yətbaräk was killed in ↗Gayənt, on the north side of ↗Bäšälo River, where he had taken shelter at the church of Qirqos, the patron saint of his dynasty (Marrassini 1994: 204 and 1995: 86 n. 106). A period of troubles, if not a minor civil war, must have ensued, a new Z. king stirring up a counter-rebellion, but being defeated. This is implied both by the mention of several rulers after Yətbaräk in some king lists (e.g., ms. BritLib Or. 821, fol. 28v) and by the story of Zena Ṗeṭros, one of the last Z. scions, who would have campaigned against Damot, being killed there by ↗Motälämi (Conti Rossini 1904: 23; cp. CRStor 317 and Belaynesh Michael in DicEthBio 216). Also, in a 1268 land grant to Däbrä Libanos of Šəmäzana a "king Dəlanda" (an Agäw name) appears with a council of six military leaders (CRDLib 193, no. 9, cp. 194f., no. 10). Whether he was a local chief and/or a Z. partisan who took advantage of the new situation (CRStor 317f.) or a Z. family member (no relationships of him to other rulers of the dynasty being, however, recorded) crowned by the Z. themselves to rally resistance against Yəkunno Amlak (TadTChurch 68 and n. 3; Belaynesh Michael in DicEthBio 48) is difficult to ascertain.

While modifying the events of the Z. overthrow, the Acts of Iyäsus Moᵓa lend much importance to this saint, who had established his monastic community at ↗Däbrä Ḥayq, and greatly supported Yəkunno Amlak in his struggle for the throne: among the privileges the king granted to Däbrä Ḥayq as a reward there would have been "one third of [the land-property of] the kingdom" (KurMoa 31, cp. already Conti Rossini 1922: 292f.).

This pivotal conjuncture and the murder of the last Z. king are still further obscured by late 16th-cent. legends that credit Iyäsus Moᵓa's purported disciple, ↗Täklä Haymanot, founder of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa, with convincing the Z. king to abdicate in favour of Yəkunno Amlak. Such legends, found in the short chronicles (BassÉt 8f.), receive their classical formulation in the *Bəᶜəlä nägäśt*, with "one third of the kingdom" bestowed instead on the house of Täklä Haymanot as a condition of the "pact" between him and Yəkunno Amlak (Huntingford 1965: 14f., cp. Conti Rossini 1922: 293). In other sources, the two different traditions about Iyäsus Moᵓa and Täklä Haymanot – which reflect the fluctuating fortunes of their respective monasteries over the centuries – are combined together by presenting both holy men as "restorers" of the Solomonic dynasty (e.g., DombrChr 152).

In the even more recent traditions collected by James Bruce, the king who abdicated owing to Täklä Haymanot's good offices is unnamed, and, on receiving from Yəkunno Amlak "one third of the kingdom" as a reward, the saint would have permitted that king (and his successors) to keep sovereignty over a portion of his dominion as *yä-Lasta ḥaṣe*, 'the king at [*or* in] Lasta' (BruNile vol. 2, 687f. and n. *, 691, 693).

Patrons of the arts in the service of Christianity, the Z. were unable to forge a national unity and more often squabbled over the throne even in their own domain, but did actually rule over Lasta and Wag for a long time after losing control of Ethiopia. This is mainly documented by the colophons of two mss., EMML no. 6968 (1723 A.D.) and 7219 (17th/18th cent.), as well as by the "History of Zena Gäbrəᵓel", EMML no. 7506, fols. 109v–200v (18th cent.; ed. Getatchew Haile 1985 and in PICES 9, vol. 6), and the already mentioned traditions in Bruce, who reports the irresponsible murder of the Z. king while on his return way after paying an official visit to *nəguś* Iyoᵓas then passing by Lasta (cp. Getatchew Haile 1985: 41f.). Locally recognized as "kings", the successors of the Z. provided in fact the governors of that province (↗*Wag šum*) under the imperial authority of Gondär, with which they had stormy relationships. Dwelling in the strongholds of Səkla or ↗Ǝmäkina (Lasta), they claimed descent from the Z. as well as from the Israelite Adil, brother of King Solomon, and thereby competed on the same ground with the Solomonic dynasty, from which they even seceded because of ↗Susənyos's conversion to Catholicism. Thus, their territory acquired special importance in the religious and political events of the 17th and 18th cent. – when Lasta asserted itself also as a centre of manuscript and painting production (Bosc-Tiessé 2009).

Src.: BORIS A. TURAEV, "'Bogatstvo carej'. Traktat o dinastičeskom perevorote v Abissinii v XIII veke" ('"The Riches of Kings". A Treatise on a Dynastic Overthrow in Abyssinia in the 13th Cent.'), *Zapiski Vostočnago Otdelenija Imperatorskago Russkago Archeologičeskago Obščestva* 13, 2–3, 1901, 157–71; ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE (ed., tr.), *The Life and Miracles of Takla Haymanot* …, London 1906, 139–141, 346–352 ["Beᶜela Nagastāt: The Book of the Riches of Kings"]; ID. (tr.), *The Queen of Sheba and Her only Son Menyelek*, London 1922, 1932^2 [repr. 2001], 42, 228; BezKebr 30a, 173b (text) = 25, 138 (tr.); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Studi su popolazioni dell'Etiopia, II. La seconda migrazione Agau dell'Eritrea", *RSO* 4, 1912, 599–651; ID., "Gli Atti del re Naᵓakuěto La-ᵓAb", *Annali IUO* nuova ser. 2, 1943, 105–232, here 106, 113; ID., "La caduta della dinastia Zagué e la versione amarica del Beᶜela Nagast", *RRALm* ser. 5^a, 31, 1922, 279–314, here 280f., 295, 304 (text) = 309 (tr.); ID., "Il libro delle leggende e tradizioni abissine dell'ecciaghié Filpòs", *ibid.*, ser. 5^a, 26, 1917, 699–718, here 707ff.; ID. (ed., tr.), *Vitae sanctorum antiquiorum*, I. *Acta Yārēd et Panṭalēwon*, Romae – Parisiis – Lipsiae

1904 (CSCO 26, 37 [SAe 9, 10]), 23, 26 (text) = 22, 24 (tr.); George Wynn Brereton Huntingford, "'The Wealth of Kings' and the End of the Zāguē Dynasty", *BSOAS* 28, 1965, 1–23 [and pls. i–vi], here 1 and n. 2; KurMoa 18, 25f., 31 (text) = 15, 21f., 25f. (tr.); CRDLib 181, 186, 188f., 193ff.; Paolo Marrassini (ed., tr.), *Il Gadla Yemreḥanna Krestos. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione*, Napoli 1995 [1997] (*Annali IUO* nuova ser. 55, 4. Suppl. 65); Taddesse Tamrat, "The Abbots of Däbrä-Hayq 1248–1535", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 87–117, here 92; Basil Thomas Alfred Evetts (ed., tr.), *The Churches & Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighbouring Countries, & c., with Added Notes by* Alfred J. Butler, Oxford 1895 [repr. London 1969], 286ff.; BecRASO II, 66 and V 123; Gigar Tesfaye – Jacqueline Pirenne, "Inscriptions sur bois de trois églises de Lalibala", *JES* 17, 1984, 107–26, here 114–19; August Dillmann, "Zur Geschichte des abyssinischen Reichs", *ZDMG* 7, 1853, 338–64, here 350; Marianus Victorius, *Chaldeæ, seu Æthiopicæ linguæ Institutiones*, &c., Romae 1552, fols. [h. i–ii] = [37v–38r]; Jules Perruchon, "Extrait de la vie d'Abba Jean, 74e patriarche d'Alexandrie [1189–1216], relatif à l'Abyssinie", [ii], *RevSém* 6, 1898, 366–72, here 368f.; SawHist vol. 3, part 1, 34f., part 2, 115; BassÉt 8f.; DombrChr 152; BruNile vol. 2, 687f., 691, 693; ms. BritLib Or. 821, fol. 28v; Getatchew Haile, "Who is Who in Ethiopia's Past, Part II: The Zagʷe Royal Family after Zagʷe", *NEASt* 7, 3, 1985, 41–48 [mss. EMML nos. 6968 and 7219]; Id., "On the House of Lasta from the History of Zena Gäbrəᵓel", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 6, 7–21 [ms. EMML no. 7506, fols. 109v–200v]; LaVerle Berry, "A Manuscript on the History of the Zagwes", *NEASt* 3, 3, 1981–82, 89–93.

Lit.: Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, "Islamic Elements in Ethiopian Pictorial Tradition", in: Alessandro Gori – Bianca-maria Scarcia Amoretti (eds.), L'Islam in Etiopia. Bilanci e prospettive, Roma 2010 = Civiltà del Mediterraneo 16–17, 2009–10, 109–31, here 111ff., 121–25; BauEr III, 13–56; Alessandro Bausi, "Intorno ai Vangeli etiopici di ᵓEndā ᵓAbbā Garimā presso Adua", *La parola del passato* 65, 2010, 460–71; Belaynesh Michael, "Delanda", in: *DicEthiBio* 48; Id., "Märari, Mayrari or Merara", *ibid.* 109f.; Ead., "Yetbärak, or Zä-ᵓElmäknun", *ibid.* 186f.; Ead., "Zagwé", *ibid.* 200–05 (Lit.); Ead., "Zéna-Ṗéṭros", *ibid.* 216; Claire Bosc-Tiessé, "Catalogue des autels et meubles d'autel en bois (*tābot* et *manbara tābot*) des églises de Lālibalā. Jalons pour une histoire des objets et des motifs", *AE* 25, 2010, 55–101; Ead. – Marie-Laure Derat, "Les recherches en cours à Lālibalā et dans le Begʷenā-Lāstā", *ibid.* 65–86; Eaed. – Emmanuel Fritsch – Wadi Awad Abullif, "Les inscriptions arabes, coptes et guèzes des églises de Lālibalā", *ibid.* 43–53; David Buxton, *The Abyssinians,* London 1970, 44ff.; Sevir B. Chernetsov, *Ėfiopskaja feodal'naja monarhija vv. XIII–XVI vv.* ('Ethiopian Feudal Monarchy in the 13th–16th Cent.'), Moskow 1982, 36–41; Id., "Riches and Honor of the Ethiopian Kings", *Hristianskij Vostok* 8, new ser. 2, 2000, 35–55, here 46–50, 54f.; Id., "On the Question of Royal Succession during Zague Period", *St. Petersburg Journal of African Studies* 4, 1995, 103–17; Stanislaw Chojnacki, *Ethiopian Crosses*: *A Cultural History and Chronology, in collaboration with Carolyn Gossage*, Milan 2006, 105f., pl. xvii, fig. 38; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Appunti ed osservazioni sopra i re Zāguē", *RRALm* ser. 5a, 4, 1895, 341–59; Id., "Appunti ed osservazioni sui re Zāguē e Takla Hāymānot", *ibid.* 444–68; Id., "Sulla dinastia Zâguê", *L'Oriente* 2, 1895–96 [1897], 144–59; Id., "[Lettera a Joseph Halévy sulla caduta degli Zāguē]", *RevSém* 10, 1902, 373–77; Id., "[Lettera a Joseph Halévy sullo stato attuale della questione degli Zāguē]", *ibid.* 11, 1903, 325–30, with the "Remarque" by Joseph Halévy, *ibid.* 330f.; CRStor 303–21; Marie-Laure Derat, "Du Begʷenā au Lāstā. 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Élements pour une géographie du royaume chrétien d'Éthiopie au tournant du xiie e xiiie siècle", *ibid.* 25, 2010, 19–42; Ead., "The Zāgʷē Dynasty (11–13th Centuries) and King Yemreḥanna Krestos", *ibid.* 157–96, here 162f. and nn. 20–24; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Su un atto di donazione del *nəguś* Lalibäla (con un cenno ai metropoliti siri in Etiopia)" (in preparation); GerKir^2 61; Michael Gervers, "The Rehabilitation of the Zaguë Kings and the Building of the Däbrä Sina-Golgotha-Sellassie Complex in Lalibäla", *Africana Bulletin* 51, 2003, 23–49; Éric Godet, "Tableaux chronologiques rélatifs à la fin de l'époque axoumite et à la periode des Zagwes", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 6, 22–57, here 43; Id., "Considérations nouvelles sur les rois d'Axoum", *Abbay* 13, 1986–87, 11–57, here 39; Ignazio Guidi, "Il Beᶜla nagast", in: Cyrus Adler – Aron Ember (eds.), *Oriental Studies Published in Commemoration of the Fortieth Anniversary* (*1883–1923*) *of Paul Haupt, & c.*, Baltimore, MD – Leipzig 1926, 403–09; Paul B. 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Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Zahn, Walter

Z. (or “Hakim Zahn”, b. ca. 1886, Berlin [?], d.[?]), a German pharmacist and entrepreneur, was the owner of the St. George pharmacy in Addis Abäba – the largest and oldest pharmacy in Ethiopia in the first half of the last century (Bairu Tafla 1981: 182; Hartlmaier 1953: 208f.). Basic biographical information is scarce. Bairu Tafla (1981: 182f.) assumes that Z. grew up in Berlin where he started to study pharmacology but interrupted his studies to become an artist at the age of 18. Five years later, he married and took up his studies again.

After completing his studies in 1913 Z. was convinced by Kunze, a German trader from Ethiopia, to open a pharmacy in Addis Abäba with him and another companion. A year later Z. left his wife and his two children behind and moved to Ethiopia (Zahn 1950: 5f.). Z. soon broke with Kunze and his companion and opened his own St. George pharmacy in the ‘Piazza’ area in the ↗Mohamedally & Company storehouse.

At the beginning Z.’s life in Ethiopia seems to have been quite difficult. However, he managed to obtain a monthly salary for doing chemical analyses for a Greek-owned alcohol factory and to purchase a medical consignment for a low price. Furthermore, he established close contacts with the Italian legation which enabled him to get medicine during ↗World War I. Since medicine was sorely needed and only very few pharmacies existed in Addis Abäba during this time, Z. made a good profit which enabled him to hire servants and to save money to send to his family (Bairu Tafla 1981: 183; Zahn 1950: 23ff.).

PHARMACIE
W.ZAHN

The Pharmacy Zahn in Addis Abäba; from Rikli 1935: 31

In 1919 Z. tried unsuccessfully to travel to Germany via Djibouti. In 1920 he used his good Italian connections and travelled via Massawa to Germany. There, he purchased complete pharmacy equipment and managed to get a French visa which enabled him to return via the easier route through Djibouti to Addis Abäba (Zahn 1950: 124ff.). Back in Ethiopia in mid-1920, he faced only a few competitors in the pharmaceutical business who soon gave up. At this point, Z.’s pharmacy became the most famous shop of its kind (Bairu Tafla 1981: 183). In the early 1920s, for a short time Z. fell in love with Henny, the daughter of Hermann ↗Götz. Probably due to this, Z. helped Götz financially in 1924 by buying Jannasch’s part of Götz’s farm in ↗Adamii Tulluu. He left the Austrian Kurt Ewert in charge of his pharmacy in Addis Abäba and moved to Adamii Tulluu. There, Z. invested in extending the stock of milk-cattle and started to plant maize, cotton and coffee. Furthermore, by providing the technical equipment, he initiated the production of canned butter. In order to make transportation to the capital easier, he built a macadam road from Adamii Tulluu to Moǧo. Due to increasing enmity between Götz and Z., they parted in 1927 after Götz had refunded Z. for his part of the farm (Bairu Tafla 1981: 172, 183; Zahn 1950: 155ff.).

Back in Addis Abäba, Z. took over the management of the pharmacy (Zahn 1950: 217). The pharmacy was closed for a short time in 1927, when Z. was accused of murdering an Ethiopian either by his medicines (Bairu Tafla 1981: 183) or by shooting (Hartlmaier 1953: 208f.). Having paid compensation to the family of the deceased and to the judge, he was released and reopened his pharmacy.

Z. also was involved in purchasing a Junker W33 airplane from Germany in 1929 by providing the necessary foreign currency to the Ethiopian government; but this action resulted in harsh critique from the German legation in Ethiopia (Bairu Tafla 1981: 140; Zahn 1950: 238ff.).

Z. lived in Ethiopia at least until the end of the Italian occupation in 1941 (Hartlmaier 1952: 188). In 1950, he published a book (cf. Zahn 1950) about his life in Ethiopia which also contains general facts and myths on Ethiopian history.

Src.: Walter Zahn, *Adami Tullu. Apotheker, Pionier und Zauberer im Lande des Negus*, Stuttgart 1950, passim.
Lit.: Bairu Tafla, *Ethiopia and Germany. Cultural, Political and Economic Relations, 1871–1936*, Wiesbaden 1981 (AeF 5); Paul Hartlmaier, *Amba Ras: Eine Reise durch das Kaiserreich Äthiopien*, München 1953, 208f.; Martin Rikli, *Wie ich Abessinien sah*, Berlin 1935, 31 (ill.).

Ronny Meyer

Zäᵓiyäsus

ᶜAqqabe säᶜat Z. (**ዘኢየሱስ**; d. 1297) was a disciple of ↗Iyäsus Moᵓa and an abbot of the monastery of ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos(cp. ms. EMML no. 4459, fol. 198v), founded by his teacher.

Z. is mentioned in several sources, including the Acts of Iyäsus Moᵓa (KurMoa), documents in the Gospel of Iyäsus Moᵓa (ms. EMML no. 1832) and minor religious compositions.

According to the *Gädlä Iyäsus Moᵓa*, when *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak appointed Iyäsus Moᵓa as ↗*ᶜaqqabe säᶜat*, the latter could not take over this office, since, in his own words, he "will not leave the island" (KurMoa 31f. [text] = 26 [tr.]). He thus chose "his son" Z. and appointed him as *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* of Däbrä Ḥayq (KurMoa 31 [text] = 26 [tr.]). Z. kept this position from 1292 until his death, being the first abbot of the monastery to bear this title (KurMoa 31 [text] = 26 [tr.]), previously reserved exclusively for the abbots of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šəmäzana.

Documents preserved in the so-called Gospel of Iyäsus Moᵓa (ms. EMML no. 1832) bear witness to the valuable objects donated by Z. to Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos. Among them, a number of manuscripts, including a copy of the Book of Kings (↗Historical books, biblical), a ↗Psalter, and seven other books (cf. ms. EMML no. 1832, fol. 25v); at a later point (fol. 26r) it is said that Z. gave 10 books and 32 vestments (cp. Sergew Hable-Selassie 1992: 251). Yəkunno Amlak and his son *aṣe* ↗Yagba Ṣəyon endowed the monastery with "seventy [ecclesiastical] gowns, two golden trays, two golden chalices and thirteen trays and chalices" (Taddesse Tamrat 1970: 91; cp. also ms. EMML no. 1832, fol. 26r).

Like the other monks of Däbrä Ḥayq, Z. was close to the court and he is believed to have been on particularly intimate terms with Yəkunno Amlak (KinBibl 100, no. 189; Taddesse Tamrat 1970: 91). In a ↗*mälkəᵓ* dedicated to Z. (GuiSyn I, 99), he is said to be "in accord in the faith with Yəkunno Amlak". After the death of the emperor, Z. became involved in the dynastic struggle among the descendants of Yəkunno Amlak (cp. Taddesse Tamrat 1970: 93). He may have lost his life in one of these conflicts.

Z. was married and had children, as it was for other abbots of his monastery. He died with his son Buruk in 481 A.M. (1297 A.D.), probably on 17 *Ḥamle* (Taddesse Tamrat 1970: 93 n. 34), a date which also appears in the Gospel of Iyäsus Moᵓa, along with some notes concerning a record of land grants of Z.'s successor *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* Zäkrəstos (1297–99?).

Having received special permission from Wədəm Räᵓad, Zäkrəstos transferred the relics of Z. and his son Buruk to Däbrä Ḥayq (Taddesse Tamrat 1970: 93).

Src.: mss. EMML nos. 1832, 4459; GuiSyn I, 99; KurMoa 31f. (text) = 26 (tr.).
Lit.: KinBibl 100, no. 189; Claire Bosc-Tiessé, "Sainteté et intervention royale au monastère Saint-Étienne de Ḥayq au tournant du XIIIe et du XIVe siècle. L'image de Iyasus Moᵓa dans son Évangile", *Oriens Christianus* 94, 2010, 199–227; Osvaldo Ranieri, in: *EncSan* II, 1378f. ("Zaᵓlyasus di Dabra Ḥayq"); Sergew Hable-Selassie, "The Monastic Library of Däbrä Hayq", in: *OrbAethChoj* vol. 1, 243–58, here 251ff.; Taddesse Tamrat, "The Abbots of Däbrä-Hayq 1248–1535", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 87–117, here 91ff.

Vitagrazia Pisani

Zäᵓiyäsus

Abba Z. (**ዘኢየሱስ**; fl. 17th cent.) known as Z. *ᶜƎwwur* ('Z. the Blind') was an important ecclesiastic of the ↗*Qəbat* current during the reigns of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I and *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I.

During the Easter period of 1678, Yoḥannəs tried to get a church council to approve his marriage with ↗Säblä Wängel, considered incestuous by the ↗*Täwaḥədo* monks of ↗Däbrä Libanos. It proved, however, impossible to convene such a council without Z.'s agreement and participation, and it was therefore only in October/November 1678 that Z., together with the Unionist monk Ǝdä Krəstos of ↗Mägʷina, reversed the Emperor's condemnation, with the help of an order from the patriarch of Alexandria (CrumLand 82). In exchange, Yoḥannəs granted lands to the church, ordered the segregation of Muslims and Betä Ǝsraᶜel and prohibited usury (GuiIohan 25, 36f. [tr.]; Kropp 1990: 105f.; Perruchon 1899: 174).

Z. participated in the council held during the rainy season of 1680. The Chronicle of Yoḥannəs shows him as an impartial mediator who often had the last word without clearly deciding for one side or the other (GuiIohan 49); according to the "short chronicles", however, Z. was excommunicated at the end of this council (BassÉt 140; Perruchon 1899: 175).

In any case, Z.'s fortune changed at the latest during the reign of ↗Iyasu I, who was pro-*Täwaḥədo*. Z. was imprisoned in Sarka (though, according to the Chronicle, without being excommunicated). In 1684, a *Täwaḥədo-Qəbat* council was convened, and the monks of Gažge insisted that Z. be liberated and allowed to attend (GuiIohan 81f. [tr.]). In 1685, Z. was excommunicated for not accepting the *Täwaḥədo* doctrine and for appealing to his followers not to attend the council (ibid. 89). In 1687 Iyasu convened a new council, and the *Qəbatočč* asked once again that Z. be liberated, but Z. had died in his cell before the envoys reached his prison (ibid. 110–13).

Z. thus became a symbol of the *Qəbat* movement and entered the Unctionists' historiography. A late version of the "short chronicles", copied for ↗Kəflä Giyorgis in Waldəbba, even portrayed him during the reign of ↗Fasilädäs (Guidi 1893: 601).

At least two writings are attributed to Z. One is a letter addressed to *abunä* ↗Sinoda in which the Ethiopian monk asked the Coptic prelate to respect his Alexandrian faith and not to obey *aṣe* Iyasu who asked him to validate the Unionist doctrine. This letter is copied in the *Qəbat* text known as the *Mäṣḥafä məśṭir* (Kindeneh Endeg 2004: 161f.). In the other document, a pamphlet called *Mälʾəktä Zäʾiyäsus*, Z. exhorts people exiled or imprisoned because of their faith to remain hopeful (ibid. 157, annex 9). According to these sources, Z. originated from Däblan, South Gondär.

Z. should not be confused with the contemporary monk of the same name from Däbrä Libanos who died at the hands of the Oromo and is commemorated in the ↗*Sənkəssar* on 24 *Ḥamle* (GuiSyn I, 388).

Src.: BassÉt 140; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Di due frammenti relativi alla storia d'Abissinia", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 3, 1893, 579–605; GuiIohan 25, 36, 48, 81f., 89, 107–12 (text) = 25, 36f., 49, 81f., 90, 110–15 (tr.); GuiSyn I, 388; MANFRED KROPP, "Petite histoire de Yohannes I^{er} retrouvée dans un autre pays", *AE* 15, 1990, 85–109, here 85, 105f.; JULES PERRUCHON, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie: Le règne de Yohannes (I^{er}), roi d'Éthiopie de 1667 à 1682", *RevSem* 7, 1899, 166–76, here 174f.

Lit.: CrumLand 82; GETATCHEW HAILE, [review of DombrChr], *NEASt* 10, 1988, 185; KINDENEH ENDEG MIHRETIE, *The Role of the Qebatoč in the Christological Controversy within the Ethiopian Orthodox Church* (*1620–1764*), M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 2004, ch. 4.

Anaïs Wion

Zäkaryas

Šayḫ Z. (**ዘካርያስ**, Zäkkarəyas, Ar. Zakarīyāʾ b. Ǧibrīl b. Dāʾūd al-Bayyamadarī, baptized as Nəwayä Krəstos; b. ca. 1845, d. ca. 1920) was a Muslim learned man who led a ↗conversion movement from ↗Islam to ↗Christianity in ↗Lasta, ↗Wag and ↗Bägemdər (Crummey 1974; Gori 1991). In the work known as the *Sylloges* of *šayḫ* Z. he proposed a Christian interpretation of the ↗Qurʾān (Gori 1991, 2001). The Arabic *Sylloges* was subsequently translated into ↗Amharic by one of his disciples (Gori 2003).

The biography of Z. is only partially traceable and many aspects of the history of his followers are still completely obscure. Probably born in Nägälla in Bägemdər in a Muslim family of *balärəst*, he followed the traditional Islamic ↗education curriculum in Bägemdər and eventually settled in the town of Säqota in Lasta. There he taught the Qurʾān and Muslim religious sciences until, in 1892, a series of divinely inspired visions made him change his opinions about Islam (Gori 2001: 481f., 534). Z. acquired an Arabic Bible through the Swedish mission (Iwarsson 1924: 286) and started comparing it with some passages of the Qurʾān to demonstrate that the "true message" of Islam is actually in perfect harmony with Christianity. From then on, Z. taught this new theological perspective (Gori 1993).

The local Islamic notables accused Z. of causing social unrest that would ruin the Muslim community. In 1906, ↗Mənilək II summoned Z. to his court and made him defend his exegetical positions in front of a group of Islamic learned men. At the end of the discussion, on whose true results Christian and Muslim sources disagree (Gori 2012: 327–40), the Emperor acquitted Z. of all charges. He not only gave the *šayḫ* permission to continue teaching but also granted him significant economic and political support as well as land privileges which made Z. a well-off rural lord.

In the following years, Z. succeeded in converting an apparently high number of Muslims in Bägemdər and Lasta from Islam to Christianity. The available figures may not be completely reliable but sources speak of 7,000 to 10,000 converts (Iwarsson 1924: 288; Crummey 1972: 64). Significantly enough, Z. was baptized only in 1910 (*aläqa* ↗Tayyä wrote a poem to solemnize the public conversion of the *šayḫ*; Gori 1999). It is thus likely that, at least until this date, Z. had acted more as an internal reformer of Islam than as an open preacher of Christianity among Muslims.

Still unascertained are the relationships between the followers of Z. and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church which apparently observed the movement of the *šayḫ* with some suspicion (*Addis Krəstiyan*, 'New Christians', was the nickname given by the Orthodox Church to the followers of Z.). Moreover, even if Z. was baptized as an Orthodox, he always maintained close connections with the Protestant Missions so that it is not surprising that after his death most of his pupils moved to the Seventh-Day Adventist Church of Ethiopia (Crummey 1972: 65; ↗Protestantism).

Src.: Alessandro Gori, "La poesia di Alaqā Tāyya in onore di Šah Zakkāryās", *RSE* 83, 1999 [2000], 65–112; Id. (ed., tr.), "La Silloge di Šah Zakkāryās. Testo arabo originale, introduzione, traduzione e note", *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Atti, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, *Memorie*, ser. 9^a, 13, 4, 2001, 453–583; Id. (ed., tr.), "La Silloge di Šah Zakkāryās sull'Islam – Versione amarica. Testo amarico originale, introduzione, traduzione e note", *ibid.* 16, 2, 2003, 57–319.

Lit.: AmhChDic vol. 4, 171ff.; Marius Borch-Jensen, "An Ethiopian View of the Qurʾān and Christ", *The Moslem World* 43, 1953, 173–76; Donald Crummey, "Shaikh Zäkaryas: an Ethiopian Prophet", *JES* 10, 1, 1972, 55–66; G^{w}äbäze Ṭaffätä (tr.), **እስልምና ፡ አፍሪቃ ። ከቄስ ፡ ጐድፍሬይ ፡ ዴይል ፡ በኢንግሊዝኛ ፡ ተደረሰ** (*Ǝsləmənna afriqa. Käqes G^{w}ädfrey Deyl bäʾinglizəñña tädärräsä*, 'Islam and Africa. Written by Father Godfrey Dale in English'), Addis Abäba 1949 A.M. [1956/57 A.D.], 11f.; Alessandro Gori, "'La Silloge' di Šäh Zäkkarəyas (analisi preliminare). Contributo allo studio della polemica cristiana contro l'Islam in Etiopia", *RSE* 35, 1991, 73–134; Id., "Esegesi testuale e polemica religiosa in Etiopia: il Versetto della Luce nell''Anqaṣa Amin' e nella 'Silloge' di šah Zäkkarəyas", *Annali IUO* 53, 1993, 353–74; Id., "*Fitna* tra i Musulmani etiopici: tre fonti islamiche su *šayḫ* Zäkkaryas", in: Alessandro Bausi – Antonella Brita – Andrea Manzo (eds.), *Æthiopica et Orientalia: Studi in onore di Yaqob Beyene*, Napoli 2012 (StAfEt 9), vol. 2, 327–40; Jonas Iwarsson, "A Moslem Mass Movement toward Christianity in Abissina", *The Moslem World* 14, 1924, 286–89.

Alessandro Gori

Zäkaryas Bärbäre ↗Ewosṭateans

Zäkrəstos

Z. (**ዘክርስቶስ**; d. 1604) was an Ethiopian monk who initiated a short-lived messianic movement from 1602–04 to ca. 1618 in the ↗Wäläqa region of the ↗Amhara province. He was born to a woman called Amätä Wängel (PerChron 199; BecRASO VI, 322; or Mär^{c}atä Wängel in Getatchew Haile 1985: 93).

First-hand accounts on Z. and his movement stem solely from his adversaries, the royal court and the ↗Jesuits. According to the chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos (PerChron 197f. [text]), in the reign of *aṣe* ↗Zädəngəl, a certain man from the ethnic unit of Šəme of Ǝnnamblit, called Z., proclaimed himself "Christ". From the circle of his supporters he chose apostles, "John the Baptist" and other figures known from the New Testament. He also ordained clergy: bishops, priests and deacons. Within two years, from 1602 to 1604, Z. won over a number of followers who supplied him and his close associates with donations.

Z.'s seat was located on an ↗*amba* in Wäläqa from where, in 1604, together with his adherents, he tried to repel an attack by the troops of *abetohun* ↗Bə^{c}əlä Krəstos. Despite fierce resistance, Z. surrendered and was taken before *aṣe* Zädəngəl. During a brief trial he was adjudged guilty of heresy and executed. To disprove Z.'s assurance/promise about his crucifixion and subsequent resurrection the king ordered him to be beheaded and his body to remain unburied for seven days (BecRASO II, 423; VI, 321). His apostles' lives were spared and his adherents dispersed (BecRASO II, 423; VI, 322).

Z.'s messianic ideas were expounded in the words he allegedly pronounced during his trial: he claimed to be the Christ once born to Virgin Mary in Israel and now reborn to Mär^{c}atä Wängel "in the House of the Gentiles" (Getatchew Haile 1985: 93). Interpreting the statement, Getatchew Haile argues that Z. "may have thought that if the Ethiopians really replaced the Israelites as chosen people of God, Christ should have been born of an Ethiopian virgin" (ibid. 87). It seems, however, that Z. did not intend to replace Christ but rather "complement" him.

In 1618, in the reign of *aṣe* Susənyos, the disciples of Z. began to preach his resurrection, appearances and ascension. The available sources contain some specifics with regard to their beliefs, way of life, social status and religious observances. However, it is not really possible to say which aspects of the teachings originated from Z. and which were developed later by his adherents. The disciples preached that Z. was a reincarnation of Christ born of Amätä Wängel (Mär^{c}atä Wängel) who came to abolish "partiality and favouritism to Israel as against the Gentiles" (PerChron 199 [text]; Getatchew Haile 1985: 89). He was God incarnated as man again in order to unite the Gentiles and the Jews (BecRASO II, 425; VI, 321). According to Pedro ↗Páez's earlier note, Z.'s disciples were at first confused whether their master was a follower of Christ or Christ himself (BecRASO II, 423). They finally claimed that, since God was omnipotent, it was possible for him to be incarnated and die twice, and Z. was the second Messiah. To Páez's remark that such belief did not conform with the

Bible, they replied that Z. himself revealed it to his apostles (BecRASO II, 424f.). Apparently, for them a personal revelation was a more important source of spiritual knowledge than the written word (Cohen 2009: 72f.).

Z.'s adherents dissociated themselves from the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC) and organized themselves on fairly stable foundations. Páez (BecRASO II, 424) and Almeida (BecRASO VI, 322) recount that the messianic ideas appealed to many monks and nuns from various places as well as peasant families who formed in Wäläqa communities resembling those of the early Christians. Men were circumcized and stayed in separate establishments from women. They erected a church beside a large monastery dedicated to Z. where ordained priests and deacons celebrated the Eucharist in remembrance of their master.

On the orders of Z., who reputedly appeared to his disciples a few times, they celebrated three ↗Sabbaths: Saturday to honour the Father, Sunday, the Son, and Monday, the Holy Spirit (PerChron 199, BecRASO II, 423). They attached great significance to them, such that during ↗Lent they consumed some food on Mondays (i.e., after the morning liturgy; but cp. Getatchew Haile 1985: 89) and ate meat on Pure Monday (BecRASO VI, 321, PerChron 199). Páez notes that the sect practised a number of "Jewish" rituals, but he does not specify whether they were alien to the EOTC (BecRASO II, 423).

The movement was finally suppressed by Susənyos. A number of Z.'s followers were arrested, interrogated and, since they did not disavow their belief, were finally beheaded. Some adherents were executed in their villages and to some the king sent *liqä maʾəmməran abba* Zämäläkot in order to dissuade them from their faith. However, his mission, militarily supported by *däǧǧazmač* Ḥafä Krəstos and *ras* ↗Śəᶜəlä Krəstos, failed. In two days ca. 740 people preferred to throw themselves off a cliff to being reconverted (PerChron 199f. [text]).

A somewhat different account is offered by Páez (BecRASO II, 424ff.): *ras* Śəᶜəlä Krəstos, being in charge of Wäläqa, delegated a noble man, Fəqurä Ǝgziʾ, a convert to ↗Catholicism, and two monks to convince the members of the sect to abandon their erroneous beliefs. Fəqurä Ǝgziʾ asked Páez to preach to Z.'s followers, and, as a result, numerous members of the sect decided to do penance and return to the EOTC. 488 remained unconvinced and threw themselves into an abyss.

The development of the Z. movement and its popularity among the peasantry may have resulted from the weakness of royal power accompanied by the social and economic crisis that beset Ethiopia at the beginning of the 17th cent. (Cohen 2009: 71). Perhaps also Jesuit missionary activity may have undermined the authority of the EOTC and provided an impetus for developing new theological ideas (Getatchew Haile 1985: 87).

Interestingly, Z. is still remembered by craftsmen's communities (*balä əǧǧ*) in northern Šäwa and southern Wällo. One of the stories concerning their origin ascribes to him their conversion from Judaism to Christianity. Reportedly there are some prayers dedicated to Z. and his mother (Pankhurst 1995).

Src.: BecRASO II, 423–26; VI, 321ff.; Getatchew Haile, "A Christ for the Gentiles: the Case of zä-Krəstos of Ethiopia", *Journal of Religion in Africa* 15, 2, 1985, 86–95; PerChron 197–200 (text) = 152ff. (tr.).

Lit.: Leonardo Cohen, *The Missionary Strategies of the Jesuits in Ethiopia* (*1555–1632*), Wiesbaden 2009 (AeF 70); Richard Pankhurst, "Zä-Krestos, an Early Seventeenth Century Christ for the Ethiopians, and Subsequent Ramifications", in: *HirKrSaints* 241–48; Id., "The Balä Ejj Community of Shewa", in: Steven Kaplan – Tudor Parfitt – Emanuela Trevisan Semi (eds.), *Between Africa and Zion*, Jerusalem 1995, 131–52.

Magdalena Krzyżanowska

Zäkrəstos

Däǧǧazmač Z. (**ዘክርስቶስ**; fl. 1620–54, d. 1654/55) was an Ethiopian nobleman. According to Manoel de ↗Almeida, Z. married ↗Mäläkotawit, *aṣe* ↗Susənyos's daughter (cf. Wion 2003: 348; BecRASO VI, 394, 425; VIII, 109) whereas the royal chronicle informs us that the latter was given by the Emperor to ↗Yolyos (PerChron 102, 130 [tr.]). Missionary sources further indicate that Wängelawit (d. 1653–54), another daughter of the Emperor, had a relationship with Z. whilst she was married to ↗Täklä Giyorgis and that in 1630 the two married (BecRASO VIII, 18, 109, 179; also Wion 2003: 348). The royal chronicle, however, is silent about this relationship (cf. also PerChron 311 [tr.]; BassÉt 1882, 136; BegChron 52; Perruchon 1897: 89). According to a genealogy from Wäläqa, Mabayyən was Z.'s son (cf. Kropp 1989, pl. 14; Wion 2003: 358). Furthermore, a Z. who appears as ↗Wald Śäᶜala's brother in genealogies may be the same person (cf. Wion 2003: 349; Kropp 1989, pl. 14).

According to Pero ↗Páez and Diego de Mattos Z. was one of the "Catholic noblemen" present at the anti-sabbath proclamation made at the royal *kätäma* in 1621 (BecRASO III, 384; XI, 476). However, Almeida also says that as governor of ↗Bägemdər, which he ruled from about 1621, Z. was not in favour of the ↗Jesuits' residence in Atḵäna (cf. Pennec 2003: 148; also PerChron 222 [tr.]; HuntLand 60f.; BecRASO III, 384; XI, 476).

Z. often appears associated with the title of *däǧǧazmač* in Susənyos's chronicle. In addition, during the Emperor's military campaign in ↗Lasta in February 1629, which Z. took part in, he was *ʿabiyy* ('main') ↗*blatten geta* (cf. PerChron 188, 223, 231f., 247 [tr.]). Z. was a close aide to both Susənyos and ↗Fasilädäs and when the latter was made Emperor, he appointed Z. ↗*bitwäddäd* (PerChron 247 [tr.]; on his death, cf. SixTana III, 147: ms. Ṭānāsee 136 = Dāgā 25, fols. 115v–118 in Wion 2003: 346).

Z. should not be confused with several homonymous characters mentioned in Susənyos's chronicle (PerChron 50, 97, 152, 246 [tr.]).

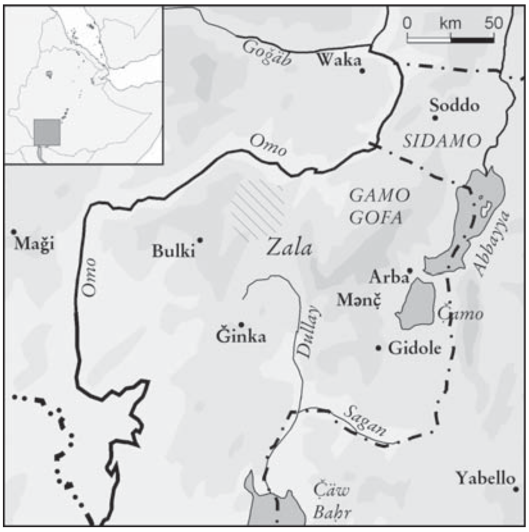
Src.: BassEt (1882), 136; BecRASO III, 384; VI, 394, 425; VII, 18, 179; VIII, 109; XI, 476; BegChron 52; HuntLand 60f.; PerChron 63, 125, 132, 168f., 197, 204f., 245, 288f., 298ff., 319 (text) = 50, 97, 102, 130, 152, 157, 188, 222f., 230ff., 246f., 521 (tr.); JULES PERRUCHON, "Notes pour l'histoire de l'Éthiopie. Règne de Fasiladas ou Alam Sagad (1632–1667)", *RevSem* 5, 1897, 360–72; *ibid.* 6, 1898, 84–92, here 89; SixTana III, 147, ms. Ṭānāsee 136 = Dāgā 25, fol. 115v–118.

Lit.: MANFRED KROPP, *Die äthiopischen Königschroniken in der Sammlung des Däǧǧazmač Ḫaylu*, Frankfurt am Main et al. 1989 (Heidelberger orientalistische Studien 13), pl. 14; HERVÉ PENNEC, *Des jésuites au royaume du Prêtre Jean* (*Éthiopie*): *Stratégies, rencontres et tentatives d'implantation* (*1495–1633*), Paris et al. 2003, 148; ANAÏS WION, *Aux confins le feu, au centre le Paradis*: *Qoma Fasilädäs, un monastère royal dans l'Éthiopie du 17*$^{\text{ème}}$ *siècle*, Ph.D. thesis, Université de Paris 1 – Sorbonne 2003, 346, 348f., 358.

Dimitri Toubkis

Zala

The Z. (ዛላ, sp. also "Sala") people live in the ↗Gamo area of south-western Ethiopia. Their immediate neighbours are the ↗Ubamär, the ↗Gofa, the ↗Dorze and the Ganta. The Z. speak a North ↗Ometo language of the Omotic family.



Before their forced inclusion into the Ethiopian state in 1897 by the imperial troops under *fitawrari* ↗Habtä Giyorgis Dinagde, the Z. formed an autonomous kingdom with a "divine king" (↗Kingship, divine), structurally similar to the ↗Gofa and ↗Wälaytta kingships, and distinct from the non-centralized Gamo "assembly societies" in their vicinity (such as Dorze, Borodda (↗Wälaytta), ↗Dita or ↗Očollo). There were occasional tensions and armed conflicts between the Z. and other Gamo political units (cf. Bureau 1994: 214). The last Z. king (*kao*) was Amado, who submitted to *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II's troops without armed resistance – unlike Gofa, Z.'s neighbour. The Z. king (from the royal Ayka clan) was also the chief religious official; he initiated the yearly agricultural cycle and was held responsible for the socio-political order. He could demand labour corvée from his subjects and also had slaves (↗Slavery). He exercised strong authority, and was assisted by deputy chiefs (*bitante*), some of them non-hereditary (*raša*). It was reported that local contenders could "buy" the latter, largely honorary, positions via gifts to the king (Schulz-Weidner 1956: 38; Id. in VSAe III, 238). The royal Z. residence was the town of Šili. In imperial times, Fino, son of Amarro, was retained as the governor ("king") of Z., residing in the new town (*kätäma*) of Z. (1,560 m A.S.L.), founded after 1897. The last *kao* was his son, Abbaynäh.

The traditional social organization of the Z. was characterized by several dozen patrilineal clans (*qommo*). Men could not marry within their own clan (exogamy), nor in that of their mother. Some of the clan names are also found among other Gamo groups and among the Wälaytta, suggesting trans-ethnic identities of an earlier period. Like many of their neighbours, Z. society was strongly hierarchical. There were also several subservient craft groups: the potters,

Zala drummers; from *VSAe* III, pl. 37, 1

blacksmiths and tanners, allegedly with their own "clans". Weavers in Z. were mostly Dorze labour migrants. Craft workers were considered endogamous and were also marked off from the other Z. by certain food taboos and were not allowed to take care of cattle. Schulz-Weidner (in VSAe III, 241) already referred to the existence of significant social tensions in Z. society, because of inequality, the authoritarian behaviour of the king, and discrimination.

Most of the Z. area belongs in the ↗*wäyna däga* highland zone, and the people are sedentary agriculturalists, cultivating millet, ↗maize, and ↗*ṭef* in terraced fields as well as a variety of garden crops, including ↗*ənsät*, peppers, beans, taro, cabbage, ↗tobacco and ↗cotton. They traditionally did not use the plough but had hoes and digging sticks as agricultural tools. The Z. also raise livestock (sheep and cattle), and their butter was famous in the wider region. While small towns have now emerged, the Z. traditionally lived in dispersed homesteads or small hamlets (*guta*) across the hilly countryside.

Most Z. today are Orthodox Christians, but recently the number of Evangelicals has increased. There are also small numbers of adherents of traditional ↗religion and Muslims. The traditional sky-god of the Z. was called *Ṭosi* or *Ṭosa*, as among the Gamo and Wälaytta. The introduction of Orthodox Christianity into Z. can perhaps be dated from the 16th cent. (Schulz-Weidner in VSAe III, 242). Z. also had a number of ritual specialists that derive from local popular religion, such as rainmakers (↗Rainmaking), diviners (↗Oracles and divination) and ↗*qalləčča* co-existing with Christianity. There is no system of ritual dualism (the *halaqa* initiators vs. the *eqqo* sacrificers; ↗*Eqo*) such as that which characterized the Dita, Bonke, ↗Dokko, Dorze and other Gamo groups. Schulz-Weidner (in VSAe III, 243) mentioned the existence of a possible "stone cult" among the Z. when describing a cultic place of the indigenous religion (administered by male members of the Sutuma clan) visited by Z. for healing purposes and for making fertility offerings. It might also have been a sacrificial site of the Z. kings, but its exact status is unclear, and currently the site has declined in importance.

No separate studies are known on the Z. as such, except for the incomplete and often puzzling surveys by Schulz-Weidner (1956; in VSAe III). Neither have specific linguistic studies been made of their language or dialect. Historically, the Z. emerged as a political unit within the Gamo cultural area, and are not a self-contained "ethnic" unit. They do not present themselves as such, and in the last two Ethiopian censuses of 1994 and 2007, they are not listed as a separate category but seem to have been counted as part of the Gamo. Their area is politically organized in the Z. *wäräda* in Gamo Gofa Zone in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State. In 2008 the *wäräda* had a mixed population (not only Z.) of 73,745 people (CSA 2008:79).

Src.: CSA 2008, 79.

Lit.: JACQUES BUREAU – ESHETU WONBERA, *Le Verdict du Serpent. Mythes, Contes et Récits des Gamo d'Éthiopie*, Paris – Addis Ababa 1994; WILLY SCHULZ-WEIDNER, "Die Zala, ein kuschitisches Volkstum in Südwest-Abessinien", in: *Actes du IV*^{e} *Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques*, Vienna 1956, vol. 3, 36–41; ID., "Die Sala", in: *VSAe* III, 231–61; *VSAe* III, pl. 37, 1 (ill.).

Jon Abbink

Zälan

The Z. (**ዘላን**) are first mentioned in the Chronicle of ↗^{c}Amdä Ṣəyon I that refers to nine "rulers of Z.", in the context of rulers of the Muslim army of the Kingdom of ↗Ifat located near the Awaš River (PerrAmdS 322f.; MarAmdS 105ff.). Z. was mentioned cryptically in the time of King ↗Dawit as a place taken from the Ethiopian ruler (BudHist 300). Several references exist in the Chronicle of ↗Susənyos in which the Z. and the ↗Maya were both noted as cattle-keeping groups, and the Z. location may have been near ↗Angot (PerChron 150, 210 [text]).

The best-documented era for the Z. is the 19th cent. when they are mentioned by several observers and travellers as cattle and sheep herders all around the shores of Lake ↗Ṭana, especially on the eastern side in the area known as ↗Fogära. They were described as transhumant migrants who left the shores of Lake Ṭana during the rainy season for higher land in ↗Wägära (Plowden 1868: 250). In general, they were described as Amharic-speaking and partially Christianized, though one source said they spoke their ↗"Qʷara" language among themselves (Krapf 1860: 466). By the 1840s, some Z. who could afford it had acquired horses, shields, spears and swords and were said to have "warlike ability" and to "make themselves respected in soldiery" (Bell 1846: 141; AbbSéjour vol. 3, 93).

Under *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, the Z. had some of their freedoms restricted, as their cattle and other possessions were sometimes requisitioned by the king. By the 1890s, they still lived in Fogära and Wägära, but in 1902, they were listed as being south of Lake Ṭana near the mouth of the Blue Nile, and north in ↗Dämbəya, but not in Fogära (Duchesne-Fournet 1908–09).

By the 1930s, patterns of transhumance existed between Fogära and highland areas, but the people who moved were not labelled as Z. In the 1950s also, armed peasants were observed to move in "semi-nomadic (*zällan*) proportions at times" (Messing 1957: 119), but the peoples themselves were not labelled ethnically as Z. The word in Amharic has simply come to mean "nomad" (Leslau 1976: 179).

Src.: AbbSéjour vol. 3, 92; Johann John Bell, "Extrait du journal d'un voyage en Abyssinie", *Nouvelles annales des voyages et des sciences géographiques* 112, 1846, 141–42; BudHist 300; ChTana 183f.; Jean Duchesne-Fournet, *Mission en Ethiopie* (*1901–1903*), 3 vols. Paris, 1908–09, vol. 1, 133, 136, 141, 148–50, vol. 3, part 3, pls. 2, 3, 6, 8, 10 and map [at the end of part 3]; Samuel Gobat, *Journal of Three Years' Residence in Ethiopia*, New York 1834, 469; Vinigi L. Grottanelli, *Missione di studio al lago Tana*, vol. 2: *Ricerche geografiche ed economiche sulle popolazione*, Roma 1939, 91; Ludwig Krapf, *Travels, Researches and Missionary Labours*, London 1860, 466; Guillaume Lejean, "Notes d'un voyage in Abyssinie", *Le Tour du Monde* 12, 1865, 241, 15, 1867, 355 (map), 363; Wolf Leslau, *Concise Amharic Dictionary*, Wiesbaden 1976, 179; MarAmdS 105–07; PerrAmdS 322f. (text) = 361f. (tr.); PerChron 150, 210 (text) = 116, 162 (tr.); Walter Chichele Plowden, *Travels in Abyssinia and the Galla Country*, London 1868, 30, 191, 250; Henry Stern, "Journal", *Jewish Intelligence*, May 1, 1864, 113–14; Hermann Steudner, "Herrn Dr. Steudner's Bericht über seine abessinische Reise", *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde* 16, 1864, 83–117, here 90.

Lit.: Donald Crummey, "Ethiopian Plow Agriculture in the Nineteenth Century", *JES* 16, 1983, 1–23, here 4–5; Merid Wolde Aregay, "Population Movements as a Possible Factor in Christian-Muslim Conflict in Medieval Ethiopia", in: Deutsche UNESCO Kommission (ed.), *Symposium Leo Frobenius*, München 1974, 271–74; Simon Messing, *The Highland-Plateau Amhara of Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania 1957, 119; James Quirin, "Ethnic History in the Northwest: Who were the Zallan?", in: *PICES* 12, vol. 1, 868–79.

James Quirin

Zälläqä Boggalä

Z.B. (**ዘለቀ ፡ ቦጋለ**; b. 22 September 1934, Harär, d. 18 June 2009, Washington, DC) was a Navy commander and civil servant.

After completing his primary education in ↗Harär, Z.B. joined the Imperial Ethiopian Naval Academy. He belonged to its first intake and graduated with distinction. Z.B. then underwent advanced military training at the San Diego naval base, the United States Naval Academy, and the British Naval Academy in Dartmouth. He later attended the University of Birmingham, graduating with a post graduate diploma in Social Sciences and Arts.

Z.B. and other naval officers eventually took command of the Imperial Ethiopian ↗navy, which was until then commanded by British and Norwegian officers. Thus he became the first Ethiopian naval officer to command the HMS Ethiopia and served as Chief of Naval Operations.

In 1974, Lieutenant General ↗Aman Mikaʾel Andom appointed Z.B. administrator-in-chief of the Ethiopian Marine Department for the ports of ↗ʿAsäb and ↗Massawa. Z.B. helped develop a third port on Haleb and a new ship maintenance yard. Under his supervision the Maritime Academy provided degree and diploma-level training to students in a variety of Marine-related fields.

During his later years, Z.B. lived in Washington, DC.

Src.: *On the Passing of a Great Ethiopian Patriot*: *Commander Zeleke Bogale*, www.ethioguardian.com/e107_plugins/pdf/pdf.php?news.2773, last access: 31 February 2011.

Lit.: Gaitachew Bekele, *The Emperor's Clothes*, East Lansing, MI 1993, 93.

Thomas P. Ofcansky

Zämäča

The term Z. (**ዘመቻ**, Amh., Tgr., 'campaign') was used throughout Ethiopian history for different kinds of military campaigns. In the 20th cent. it also came into use in the context of political, developmental and research campaigns. Z. is also a personal name.

"Z." may derive from Gəᶜəz **ዘመተ** (*zämätä* 'go on a military campaign, plunder'; LesCDic 639). According to Conti Rossini (1912: 204) the latter may in its turn derive from Cushitic (e.g., Kəmant: *ǧimät* 'raid' and *ǧīmī* 'military expedition'). The meaning of Amh. "Z." ranges from 'campaign, military expedition, raid, foray' to, in recent times, 'fight [against disease]' as well as different kinds of revolutionary or development 'campaigns'. Derived forms are, e.g., *zämäča adärrägä* 'to wage campaign', *azämmätä* 'to lead a military expedition', *zämač* 'raider'; cp. also the military title ↗*azmač* (KaneDic 1617). The same Ethiopic root can be identified in Tgn. *zämätä* 'to sack, to pillage, to plunder, to loot, to raid, to campaign, to invade [etc.]', *zämamätä* 'to raid here and there [etc.]', and *täzämtä* 'sacked, pillaged, raided, ruined (harvest)', Tgr. *zämta* and Argobba *zämmäta* (KaneTDic 1966f.; LesCDic 639).

Historically, the term Z. was used for any kind of military campaign, including small scale raiding and plundering as well as invasion of new territories. In some cases one may even speak of a "Z. system", i.e. the regular raiding of neighbouring ethnic groups or territories in order to secure boundaries and collect booty (cp., e.g., ↗*Gaz*). Z. was also used, e.g., for the major campaigns during the southern expansion of the Šäwan kingdom and the Christian empire under kings Śahlä Śəllase and Mənilək II and his generals (↗War[s]; cp. a detailed description of the organization of Z. in Marcus 1975: 65ff.). It may additionally have the sense of "battle", as in, e.g., *Yämay Č̣äw zämäča* (↗May Č̣äw) or, during the *Därg* period, 'military operation', as in, e.g., *Qäyy baḥər zämäča* ('Red Sea Operation'), *Yäqäyy kokäb zämäča* ('Red Star Operation'), etc.

The concept of Z. was eventually widened during the Ethiopian ↗Revolution. It became the Amharic short name for the *Ǝdgät bäḥəbrät yäᵓəwqätənna yäsəra zämäča* ('Development through Cooperation, Enlightenment, and Work Campaign') which the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) launched in December 1974 for four years. This campaign was aimed at bringing the achievements of the Revolution into the rural areas. It included many practical goals of a more or less civil nature but, as already indicated by the very name of Z., in many ways it resembled a broad military operation: Ca. 60,000 teachers and students, often dressed in uniforms, were sent to around 430 rural localities all over the country to enforce the revolutionary program of the *Därg* and to replace the feudalistic and gerontocratic (↗Gerontocracy) structures by peasant associations or urban dwellers associations. Moreover, action was taken against so-called superstition (traditional ↗religions, cp., e.g., ↗*gäramanǧo*) as well as revolutionary deviationism or "counter-revolution". However, an important part of the Z. was purely developmental and included a broad-scale literacy campaign and the establishment of foundations for a modern educational (↗education) and ↗health care system (Donham 1999: 29f.). It should be noted though that participation in the Z. was compulsory and refusal to participate was punished. The Z. was abandoned in July 1976 after teachers' and students' agitation for the implementation of the land reform had led to jailing, demonstrations and strike by its personnel (cp. also Shinn – Ofcansky 2004: 414).

Src.: KaneDic 1617; KaneTDic 1966f.; LesCDic 639; Carlo Conti Rossini, *La langue des Kemant en Abyssinie*, Wien 1912 (Sprachenkommission der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften 4), 204.

Lit.: Stefan Brüne, *Äthiopien – Unterentwicklung und radikale Militärherrschaft*, Hamburg 1986, 90f., 321–31; Donald Lewis Donham, *Marxist Modern: an Ethnographic History of the Ethiopian Revolution*, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA – Oxford 1999, 29f. and s. index; Harold Golden Marcus, *The Life and Times of Menelik II. Ethiopia 1844–1913*, Oxford 1975, 65f.; David Shinn – Thomas Ofcansky, *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia*, Lanham, MD 2004, 414.

Dirk Bustorf

Zämänä mäsafənt

I. Introduction
II. Historical overview
III. Assessment

I. Introduction

The Z.m. (**ዘመነ ፡ መሳፍንት**, 'Era of the Lords/Princes', 'Age of Princes' etc., with reference to Judg 21: 25 'Era of the Judges') was a period of political decentralization in Ethiopia following an era of political and cultural prosperity in the ↗Gondärine kingdom (for an overview map s. the map section in this volume). This period is conventionally often dated between 1769 (deposition of *aṣe* ↗Iyoᵓas by *ras* ↗Mikaᵓel *Səḥul* [*səḥul* Mikaᵓel]) and 1855 (coronation of ↗Tewodros II). It was marked by conflicts among regional rulers and warlords over the control of the *nəguśä nägäśt* (↗*Nəguś*) in ↗Gondär but also peaceful consolidation of wide areas as independent princedoms such as ↗Šäwa. In general, the *nəguśä nägäśt* had no army and had to rely on his lords for military support. In return he awarded them with titles and land rights. A shift of power among the nobility in general had a direct effect on the emperor. Now, during the Z.M., the office of *nəguśä nägäśt* was reduced to that of a puppet king who represented the Solomonic Christian throne of Ethiopia but was influential only in the royal city.

"Z.m." seems to be a genuine Ethiopian concept of historical periodization which was later adopted by Western scholars. The term "Z.m." was supposedly coined in the historical discourse during the reign of *aṣe* Tewodros. This powerful monarch, probably due to his own court propaganda, was interpreted as the ruler who brought this period of instability to an end even if some historians argue that during his reign Ethiopia plunged into even more war than before (first with his rival *nəguś* ↗Nəguśe Wäldä Mikaᵓel in the north), followed by a short period of peace and then the secession of virtually all Ethiopian provinces from his reign. The French traveller ↗Lejean, a visitor at Tewodros's court, discussed the Z.m. in his account of 1865. Probably the first Ethiopian written source to mention the term is ms. St. Petersburg, Ef. 30 (= Turaiev 1906: 89 no. 48) in 1902. There, the Ethiopian historiographer *aläqa* ↗Lämläm explains: "So had terminated the succession of Gondär kings and perished the royal power. Came the time of princes, who, however, dared not to defy the name of the kings' reign and to sit on the throne of David and to crown themselves with the royal crown. So they made weak kings and kept them in obedience" (fol. 26v; s. Turaiev 1910: 273; cp. Chernetsov 1994: 99). The Z.m. was further conceptualized in 1905 by Perini, who had been part of the Italian troops in Eritrea between 1888 and 1894. Without mentioning his sources, he provided a short chronology starting with the era of "Solomonic" puppet kings followed by the Gugsa or Wärräšek dynasty and closing with the reign of Tewodros whom he understands as king "by the grace of God". The term Z.m. is also mentioned by ↗Gäbrä Śəllase Wäldä Arägay (GueCopMen I, 204 and n. 9).

II. Historical overview

The numerous events during the Z.m. tend to be confusing and sometimes a clear chronological order cannot be achieved due to contradictory information given in the sources (cp. ms. BritLib. Orient 82, fol. 559v, cp. BlunChr 164 [text] = 437 [tr.]). The complexity of this period is additionally increased in that the conflicts over political power were partly reflected and fuelled by highly contested christological positions (↗*Karra* [↗*Täwaḥədo*], ↗*Qəbat* and ↗*Ṣägga*; s. also ↗Christology) which resulted in a disintegration of the Church at an interregional level. While the *Qəbat* doctrine was supported by the ruling houses of Goǧǧam (and ↗Qʷara), the Təgrayans favoured the *Karra* doctrine which corresponded to the christology of the ↗Coptic Church. *Ṣägga* was the doctrine endorsed by Šäwa. Other regions changed sides, e.g., ↗Bägemdər from *Qəbat* to *Ṣägga*. At times the *Qəbat* party was opposed by the "House of ↗Täklä Haymanot" (*Karra* and *Ṣägga*) while on other occasions *Qəbat* and *Karra*, both followers of the ↗*Hulätt lədät*, opposed the *Ṣägga* (or *Śost lədät*) party. Moreover, the political and theological lines were not always congruent.

During the rule of *ətege* ↗Bərhan Mogäsa (Məntəwwab) of Qʷara and her son *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II, both followers of the *Qəbat* doctrine, the centralized power structure of the Gondärine kingdom gradually weakened in favour of regional lords. Out of them, *ras* Mikaᵓel *Səḥul* of Təgray, a supporter of the *Karra* doctrine, emerged as the strongest power. When Iyasu II died in 1755, his mother, Bərhan Mogäsa, served as a regent for her grandson *aṣe* ↗Iyoᵓas who was then still a child. Consecutively a puppet of the two main parties at court, either the *Qʷaräññočč*, i.e. the party of Bərhan Mogäsa, or the Yäǧǧu Oromo family of his mother Wəbit, Iyoᵓas remained a weak king. In 1769, however, *ras* Mikaᵓel *Səḥul* saw in him an obstacle to his full control of power in Gondär. He ordered him to be killed (GuiIyas 251 [text] = 260 [tr.]; BruNile II, 706) and put *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs II on the throne. Bərhan Mogäsa had to withdraw from the city. Only five months later Yoḥannəs died, and his son, *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot II was installed by Mikaᵓel *Səḥul*. This is generally seen as the first year of the Z.m.

Through control of the trade routes to the ↗Red Sea Mikaᵓel *Səḥul* had accumulated large quantity of ↗fire arms by 1769. Yet, when he was absent from Gondär, his rule was challenged by *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wänd Bäwäsän of Bägemdər, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Goššu of Goǧǧam and the Oromo *däǧǧazmač* Fasil "Wäräñña" of ↗Damot who were able to capture Gondär in 1770 and proclaimed *aṣe* Susənyos II (son of ↗Iyasu II) as a rival king. Fasil's loyalty, however, soon shifted back to Mikaʾel *Səḥul*'s candidate Täklä Haymanot II and he deposed Susənyos (BudHist 471f.). With Mikaʾel *Səḥul* he marched against his former allies Wänd Bäwäsän, Goššu and *ras* Ayadar in the Battle of ↗Sarbakusa from May to June 1771. James ↗Bruce, who fought on Täklä Haymanot II's side, gives a thorough description of these battles (BruNile IV, 138–248). Finally, Wänd Bäwäsän emerged victorious, took control of Gondär and even managed to keep Mikaʾel *Səḥul* under arrest for several years. Moreover he tried to depose Täklä Haymanot II, who was only able to remain on the throne until 1777 when he retired to ↗Waldəbba and died soon after. A group of the *Qʷaräññočč* party around *däǧǧazmač* ↗Ḫaylä Mikaʾel Ǝšäte of Damot, the Oromo *däǧǧazmač* ↗Kənfu Addam of Mäč̣č̣a (in Goǧǧam), *däǧǧazmač* (later *ras*) ↗Ḫaylu Yosedeq of Goǧǧam and Wänd Bäwäsän placed *aṣe* ↗Sälomon I on the throne as successor to his brother Täklä Haymanot II. From the beginning of his rule onwards Sälomon I was challenged by *nəguś* ↗Täklä Giyorgis, another brother of Täklä Haymanot II and a supporter of the christological "House of Täklä Haymanot". He eventually managed to ascend the throne on 17 July 1779.

Täklä Giyorgis ruled six times between 1779 and 1800. During this period the Wärrašek of ↗Yäǧǧu, recently converted from Islam to Christianity, established their influence in Gondär. During his first reign until 1784, Täklä Giyorgis proved to be a powerful figure himself without the support of his nobles, leading a campaign against the ↗Mäč̣č̣a Oromo, collecting tribute in ↗Agäw Mədər and subduing Ḫaylu Yosedeq.

In 1784 Täklä Giyorgis made *ras* ↗Ali Gʷangul, a member of the Wärrašek, *bälambaras* of Bägemdər (BlunChr 168 [text] = 342 [tr.]). In the same year Ḫaylu Yosedeq allied with Ali Gʷangul, and they overthrew Täklä Giyorgis to install *aṣe* ↗Iyasu III instead. After four years Täklä Giyorgis would again overthrow him. He pardoned Ali Gʷangul and provided him with the title of *däǧǧazmač* of Bägemdər. With Ali's sudden death one year later, however, the situation for Täklä Giyorgis changed again. Ali was succeeded by his brother *ras* ↗Aligaz (Rüppell 1840, vol. 2, 177f.) whom Täklä Giyorgis had made ↗*wag šum* before.

Aligaz marched against Täklä Giyorgis and arrested him in 1789, and kept him in custody in ↗Ǝmäkina for nearly three years (BlunChr 147 [text] = 412f. [tr.]). Aligaz now took the role of a king-maker and installed *aṣe* ↗Ḥəzqəyas, son of *aṣe* Iyasu II (BlunChr 155 [text] = 425 [tr.]). The deposition of Täklä Giyorgis, as well as his Wärrašek descent and growing power in ↗Wag and ↗Lasta, resulted in a conflict between Aligaz and a number of regional lords, such as *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Wänd Bäwäsän of Lasta and *ras* ↗Wäldä Śəllase of Təgray. Ḫaylu became governor of Lasta in 1792 and demonstrated his power by releasing Täklä Giyorgis from exile (Rüppell 1840, vol. 2, 381; BlunChr 155 [text] = 424 [tr.]). Aligaz was defeated in battle at ↗Č̣äč̣äho by the two relatives from Lasta, *ras* ↗Wäldä Gäbrəʾel and *ras* ↗ʿAśrat which forced him to move back to Yäǧǧu (cp. GueCopMen I, 200; Rüppell 1840, vol. 2, 381f.; Wudu Tafete 1995: 111, 193; BTafA 437).

After 15 months in office Täklä Giyorgis had to face another rival king, when *nəguś* ↗Bäʾədä Maryam II was placed on the throne (BlunChr 162 [text] = 433 [tr.]). This was probably accomplished either by a Wärrašek group around Aligaz and Ḫaylu Yosedeq or by Wäldä Gäbrəʾel of Lasta (cp. Rüppell 1840, vol. 2, 383; Tekle-Tsadik Mekouria in PICES 8, 208). Ḫaylu Yosedeq died suddenly in July 1795 and was succeeded as ruler of ↗Goǧǧam by his son ↗Märəd Ḫaylu. In 1796 Märəd managed to lure the powerful elite and the king out of Gondär and in their absence installed Täklä Haymanot II's son ↗Sälomon II as king. In return he was awarded the title of *ras*, while Täklä Giyorgis retreated to ↗Təgray. Sälomon married *wäyzäro* Alṭaš, apparently a daughter of *ras* Ali Gʷangul, and former concubine of Täklä Giyorgis (BlunChr 170 [text] = 445f. [tr.]). Already in 1797, however, Sälomon was chased from the throne by *ras* ʿAśrat, again in favour of Täklä Giyorgis.

The following period was again very volatile, with constant shifts of power and changing coalitions among the different regional rulers. In July 1799 *ras* ↗Gäbre Täsfa of Səmen and *ras* Märəd Ḫaylu of Goǧǧam again put Sälomon II on the throne of Gondär. Thereupon they headed to ↗Wägära where Täklä Giyorgis was said to reside (BlunChr 181 [text] = 461 [tr.]). He had, however, already departed to meet *ras* Wäldä Śəllase in ↗Aksum but had left some of his troops behind. In the bloody battle that ensued, Wäldä Gäbrəʾel of Lasta and the Goǧǧame ruler Märəd died. Sälomon was deposed and, like *ras* ʿAśrat, put in irons. Hearing of this Täklä Giyorgis retired to Waldəbba.

The Wärrašek regained power in Gondär through ↗Gugsa Märsa, son of Ali Gʷangul, and his brother *däǧǧazmač* Alula. Gugsa Märsa had previously been appointed *däǧǧazmač* of ↗Fogära by ↗Amäde Kolase (s. EAE vol. 5). They proclaimed as king ↗Dəmeṭros, great-grandson of *aṣe* Yosṭos, who in return immediately promoted Gugsa to *ras* (BlunChr 182 [text] = 462 [tr.]). The strongest challenge for the Wärrašek was now Wäldä Śəllase who still supported Täklä Giyorgis. The latter ascended the throne one last time from March to May in 1800, only to be deposed again by Dəmeṭros (BlunChr 187f. [text] = 470 [tr.]).

Dəmeṭros's second reign lasted only until 1801. *Ras* Gugsa chose ↗Əgʷalä Ṣəyon as his successor. He was a weak and quiet king who never left Gondär. Yet he "ruled" for 17 years during which Gugsa proved to be the most powerful lord in the country. One of Gugsa's strongest opponents was the successor of *ras* Märəd, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Zäwde, who after having suppressed a revolt of the ↗Agäw, ruled over Goǧǧam, Damot and Mäč̣č̣a (Goǧǧam; BlunChr 189 [text] = 473 [tr.]).

The aged *ras* Aligaz died in 1803, and only some months later, *abunä* ↗Yosab passed away. Gugsa pillaged the property of the deceased metropolitan and, with the help of *əč̣č̣äge* Wäldä Yona, issued a proclamation in favour of the *Śost lədät* and *Ṣägga* doctrines. *Däǧǧazmač* Zäwde and *ras* Wäldä Śəllase were very angered by this move. Zäwde forced Gugsa to hand over all the gold he had taken from Yosab's house. Zäwde and Wäldä Śəllase both donated additional money to acquire a new metropolitan from Egypt (BlunChr 190f. [text] = 475 [tr.]).

For some years all the protagonists were involved in regional conflicts. Gugsa had collected a strong army and managed to keep Wäldä Śəllase away from Gondär. The latter had accumulated large properties in Təgray and constantly challenged Gugsa and Zäwde. The territories in-between were ruled by *däǧǧazmač* ↗Maru (cp. his territory of ↗Maru Qämmäs) and *däǧǧazmač* ↗Ḫaylä Maryam Gäbre of Səmen, who acted as a buffer, and who had both been married to daughters of Gugsa (CRNuov 360). Challenges came also from the east, where *imām* ↗Libän Amäde ruled over large parts of ↗Wärra Himäno. Finally in 1816 the new metropolitan, *abunä* ↗Qerəllos, arrived in Ethiopia. Qerəllos, who favoured the ↗*Karra* doctrine, had to face strong opposition, especially from *əč̣č̣äge* Wäldä Yona, and was unable to develop a strong position. He died of old age four months after his arrival, in May, at the residence of the Təgrayan ruler *ras* Wäldä Śəllase, in ↗Č̣äläqot (CerDLib III, 155f.).

Əgʷalä Ṣəyon died soon after in 1818 and Gugsa immediately installed the former's brother *aṣe* ↗Iyoʾas II on the throne (CRNuov 363). *Däǧǧazmač* ↗Säbagadis Wäldu became the strongest Təgrayan lord in 1822 having defeated *däǧǧazmač* Wäldä Rufaʾel, *balabbat* of Mäč̣č̣a (in Goǧǧam; GueCopMen I, 202; CRReal 893–96). The year before king Iyoʾas had died and, after some months, he was succeeded by his brother *aṣe* ↗Gigar, according to the will of Gugsa.

Gugsa died in 1825 and his position was assumed by his son ↗Yəmam. When Yəmam was out of Gondär, *däǧǧazmač* Ḫaylä Maryam used the opportunity to depose Gigar in favour of *aṣe* ↗Bäʾədä Maryam III, yet a few days later Gigar was reinstalled. Following a battle with Yəmam, Ḫaylä Maryam died in 1826, having appointed his son ↗Märso Ḫaylä Maryam as his heir (CRNuov 368ff.).

Märso was soon challenged by his paternal half-brother ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam. Wəbe managed to take all his father's territories from Märso within 1827 and thus became Yəmam's strongest adversary. Still that same year Yəmam and Wəbe allied to fight Maru, who had connected with ↗Goššu Zäwde of Goǧǧam, at the Battle of Koso Bärr. Maru was shot dead in the course of fighting and parts of his lands were awarded to *ras* ↗Marəyye, another son of Gugsa (CRReal 903). Maru was succeeded by *däǧǧazmač* ↗Kənfu Ḫaylu who ruled over the rest of *Maru Qämmäs*. Soon afterwards Yəmam died of cholera (CRNuov 372) and Marəyye became the guardian of the king in Gondär.

In the meantime, Säbagadis was anxious to attain, through trade with the British, as many fire-arms as possible. Wəbe wanted to ally with him in the fight against the Yäǧǧu Wärrašek. However, Säbagadis did not support Wəbe in his campaigns and, thus, the latter joined forces with Marəyye and Goššu (CRNuov 375). The two groups met in 1831 in the battle of ↗May Əslamay. Marəyye was shot dead, yet his side won the battle. Säbagadis was captured and executed in revenge for Marəyye (CRReal 909f.).

In February 1831 *ras* ↗Dori Gugsa succeeded his brother Marəyye. His reign was short, only three months, but effective. He appointed Wəbe governor of Təgray, deposed Gigar and replaced him with ↗Iyasu IV. Dori was afraid of a rebellion and ordered the imprisonment of Kənfu Ḫaylu and Libän Amäde (CRNuov 376f.). Yet Dori died of a sickness in the Wärrašek capital ↗Däbrä Tabor before he could accomplish more.

The vacant position of Dori was now given to *ras* ↗Ali Alula, grandson of Gugsa and the last of the Yäǧǧu Wärrašek dynasty to rule. Owing to his young age – he was only 12 or 13 when he was elected (Rüppell 1840, vol. 2, 59) – his mother *ətege* ↗Mänän Libän Amäde functioned as regent.

Aṣe Iyasu was deposed and superseded by *aṣe* ↗Śahlä Dəngəl, who claimed descent from *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs. His nomination caused extensive doctrinal conflict. He faced strong opposition from the monks of ↗Azäzo who were followers of the *Ṣägga* doctrine, and he was soon deposed again by Mänän and replaced with *aṣe* ↗Gäbrä Krəstos in 1832 (CRReal 912) who, however, died only three months later. Śahlä Dəngəl was pardoned and reinstated, and so his rule was just as unstable. Up to 1850 he was repeatedly deposed and reinstated in alternation with *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs III.

Wəbe strengthened his position in Təgray, and for maybe the first time the whole of Təgray and the neighbouring Təgrəñña-speaking territories (Wälqayt, ᶜAgamä, Akkälä Guzay etc.) and Səmen was dominated by one single person. He had tried to obtain a new metropolitan from Alexandria after *abunä* Qerəllos died in 1828. Beyond that he was one of the first Ethiopian rulers who was directly challenged by the invading Egyptian forces in 1835, when Wəbe rushed to support *al-makk* ↗Nimr of Sandī who had moved into ↗Wälqayt (s. also ↗Nimrab). He defeated the Egyptians but they tried again to penetrate Ethiopian territory only one year later. This time they suffered a considerable defeat at the hand of Kənfu Ḫaylu around ↗Mätämma (Combe – Tamisier 1843:346; CRReal 913; Parkyns 1853, vol. 2, 356f.).

In 1838 Kənfu Ḫaylu quarrelled with his much younger half-brother Kaśa Ḫaylu (the future *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II), whom he exiled to Goǧǧam. Kaśa only returned upon Kənfu's sudden death. Kənfu's sons tried to inherit their father's territories but after several quarrels and a battle at Dəngəl Bärr (CRReal 914) these territories were given to Mänän.

In 1839 ↗*märäd azmač* ↗Śahlä Śəllase, who had successfully expanded the independent kingdom of ↗Šäwa, and had quashed the rebellion of ↗Mätäkko, felt powerful enough to proclaim himself *nəguś* (BTafA 535, 537, 541). However, this title was never recognized by Ali or Wəbe. The 1840s were also a time of the growing influence of European travellers and missionaries (↗Missions). Contrary to the Catholic missionaries, the Protestants were not well received by Wəbe (RubInd 75f.) and soon headed south for Šäwa, where they were warmly welcomed by Śahlä Śəllase. Among them were ↗Krapf, ↗Isenberg, ↗Beke and ↗Harris with whom a treaty of commerce and friendship was signed (↗Treaties and conventions, s. EAE vol. 5; Ullendorff – Beckingham 1964; RubInd 152–59; AWTarik 115). Wəbe actively sought cordial diplomatic contacts with Catholic kings hoping for European support in his claim for the throne (RubInd; RubActa I).

Mänän Libän Amäde, who governed *Maru Qämmäs*, was through this position the overlord of Kaśa Ḫaylu. In order to prevent his rebellion she married him to one of her grand-daughters, ↗Täwabäčč (CRNuov 409). Albeit with little success, he rebelled against Mänän and Ali. In order to win back his loyalty, Ali offered Kaśa the governorship of Qʷara around 1846, which Kaśa accepted. A year later, while Ali was absent, Kaśa moved against Gondär and took Mänän and *aṣe* Yoḥannəs III (now her husband) as prisoners (CRNuov 392). To appease Kaśa Ali offered him the title of *däǧǧazmač* and the governorship of *Maru Qämmäs* (RubTew 38). As a consequence Mänän withdrew from political life to ↗Maḫdärä Maryam (LefAbyss vol. 1, 356; AbbSéjour, vol. 1, 182ff.). In 1847 or 1848 *nəguś* Śahlä Śəllase of Šäwa died of an injury in his capital Däbrä Bərhan (CRNuov 394; BTafA 543; GueCopMen I, 76). He was succeeded by his son *nəguś* ↗Ḫaylä Mäläkot.

At the coast, the Ottoman (↗Ottoman empire) port of ↗Massawa was at times taken over by the Egyptian ruler ↗Muḥammad ᶜAlī (s. EAE vol. 5) in the 1840s. Due to the presence of a potential expansive power, the local ruler of ↗Ḥərgigo declared himself independent in 1847. In the same time, Wəbe expanded into the entire highlands of the ↗Märäb Məllaš, and even reached the coastal regions. In 1849, Wəbe's troops attacked Hərgigo and looted Catholic settlements such as ↗Əmkullu. Kaśa of Qʷara became a ↗*šəfta* and campaigned in the Sudan, but also in the Ethiopian regions neighbouring to his. In consequence, Ali gave Kaśa's territory ↗Dämbəya to Goššu and sent him to challenge Kaśa. The two armies met at ↗Gur Amba in November 1852 and in the ensuing battle Goššu was killed (CRNuov 404f.). In the following year Ali again sent troops to end Kaśa's growing rebellion. Kaśa was again victorious and burnt down Däbrä Tabor (CRNuov 407). Ali and Kaśa met in one last, extremely bloody battle at ↗Ayšal, out of which Kaśa emerged victorious (CRNuov 407; MonVidTheo 4 [text] = 5 [tr.]; MorTeod 158). Ali fled to Yäǧǧu, where he remained until his death in 1866.

In 1854/55 Kaśa called for a church council at ↗Amba Č̣ara, to mediate between the new metropolitan *abunä* ↗Sälama III, *əč̣č̣äge* Wäldä Maryam and other high ecclesiastics (CRNuov 409). In their presence Kaśa proclaimed himself *nəguś*. He offered peace to Wəbe if he was willing to submit. However, Wəbe declined the "offer". They met in battle near the Täkkäze, Wəbe was arrested and his son, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Ǝšätu Wəbe was killed. Wəbe's territories were merged with those of Kaśa. At ↗Ǧan Amora Kaśa proclaimed himself *nəguśä nägäśt* and took the regnal name Tewodros in 1855 (CRNuov 410); he celebrated his coronation in the church of Däräsge Maryam in Səmen which Wəbe had originally built for his own coronation (cp. also ↗Zander). Tewodros was challenged by two nephews of Wəbe, the rivalling *nəguś* Nəguśe Wäldä Mikaʾel and *däǧǧazmač* ↗Täsämma Wäldä Mikaʾel. They were fairly successful and temporarily even invaded Gondär. In the end nevertheless they were both defeated and executed by Tewodros. Tewodros's final dominion over the rival lords is generally seen as the end of the Z.m.

III. Historical assessment

The Z.m. was characterized by a bundle of interconnected historical tendencies: 1) a pronounced decentralization, e.g., the increase of power of regional lords; 2) religious conflicts; 3) changes in ethnic factions; 4) growing foreign interests and contacts of regional lords with different foreign powers.

1) During the Z.m. Christian Ethiopia underwent changes in the interregional balance of power from central authority to a decentralized or multi-centered political structure. The royal city of Gondär lost its pre-eminent role. The political business took place in the provinces, with the travelling lords. Regions like Goǧǧam, Təgray and Bägemdər grew in importance, as can be seen in the foundation of new towns, such as Däbrä Tabor. As a consequence the Z.m. witnessed general cultural change including a decay of the "classical" Gondärine culture, including Gəʿəz literature (in favour of ↗Amharic literature), painting, architecture etc. In accordance with the political decentralization, a change in historiography can also be detected, away from royal chronicles to general chronicles of a certain time span or on behalf of an individual lord (e.g., *aläqa* ↗Abägaz, Ḫaylä Mikaʾel Ǝšäte and Mikaʾel Səḥul). This tradition, however, ended with Tewodros who chose not to be a kingmaker but a king himself, despite widespread doubts about his Solomonic descent.

2) Religious conflicts went on during the Z.m. On the one hand, the conflict continued between Christian Ethiopia and Muslim powers (↗Islam). Although many had converted to Christianity, especially among the Yäǧǧu, such conversations were always suspected to be insincere, and, in fact, some reconverted just before their death.

On the other hand, the internal doctrinal conflicts within Christianity peaked during this period. In particular the metropolitans were adherents of the *Karra* doctrine and were fiercely attacked by the powerful *əč̣č̣äge*s who often followed the *Ṣägga* doctrine. In addition an increasing number of missionaries, especially from France (including Italians in French service), Britain and southern Germany started their work in the Horn of Africa.

3) Christian converts of Yäǧǧu and Wällo Oromo ethnic background became part of Gondärine society, and ↗Oromiffa became a frequently spoken language at court. During the Z.m. the most powerful group was the Wärräšek dynasty from Yäǧǧu. For nearly a century they controlled the kings in Gondär. Their nepotism provoked discontent among other groups, such as the traditional Gondärine power elites or Təgrayans who tried to challenge their power. However thanks to political marriages the networks of mutual interdependence among the different parties were strong.

4) The Z.m. coincided with the growing colonial interests of Europe, the increase in importance of the ↗Red Sea ↗trade, as well as the first phase of the expansion of ↗Egypt. The Ethiopian rulers depended on foreign supply of firearms. Some, like Wəbe, sent their own envoys and letters in Arabic to European and Egyptian rulers (RubActa I, xii; cp. Appleyard 1985, passim). During the Z.m. there were the very first negotiations between Ethiopian rulers and European

powers to strengthen the presence of Europeans in the region, such as ↗Śahlä Śəllase in his treaty with the ↗United Kingdom, and Wəbe in his contacts with French representatives. This went so far that Ethiopian officials even offered territories at the coast, although not controlled by them, to the French. This remained with no effect as France did nothing to take control of them. ↗Egypt in turn, however, started to expand into Ethiopian territories only much later.

The Z.m. is often seen as a period of political chaos, instability and decay of the Christian Ethiopian ↗monarchy (s. EAE vol. 5) and the culture and society connected to it. This interpretation, however, seems to be partially a retrospective judgement reflecting a political ideology starting from *aṣe* Tewodros II which tends to interpret the Solomonic *nəguśä nägäśt* as the "natural" legitimate ruler of Ethiopia and the only possible guarantor of stability and prosperity. This historical assessment of the Z.m., however, demands some differentiation since the regional lords could partially compensate for political weakness at the centre as far as their own realms were concerned. During the Z.m. the *nəguśä nägäśt* lost effective power but he remained a symbol of political unity and served as a source of legitimacy. The king-makers, despite their own strength, never tried to ascend the throne themselves but always chose somebody with allegedly Solomonic descent, thus keeping alive the myth of the ↗Solomonic dynasty in Gondär. Furthermore, the diversification of power and political centres resulted in a multiplication of courtly culture which before was mainly limited to the Gondärine royal court. The growing influence of different regional/ethnic as well as foreign cultures broadened the cultural endowment of Christian Ethiopia and at the same time fuelled cultural change.

In the south and south-east of the Christian kingdom the internal struggles of the Z.m. contributed to a peaceful expansion of Islam and consolidation of independent kingdoms.

Src.: AbbSéjour vol. 1, 182ff.; DAVID APPLEYARD et al. (ed., tr.), *Letters from Ethiopian Rulers* (*Early and Mid-nineteenth Century*), Oxford 1985, s. index; AWTarik 115; BlunChr; BruNile II, 706, IV, 138–248; BTafA, s. index; CerDLib III, 155f.; EDMOND COMBES – MAURICE TAMISIER, *Voyage en Abyssinie*, vol. 3, Paris 1843, 124–64, 346; CRReal; CRNuov; FusTeod; SAMUEL GOBAT, *Journal d'un séjour en Abyssinie pendant les années 1831–1832*, Paris – Genève 1835; GueCopMen I, 75, 200, 204, s. index; GuiIyas 251 (text) = 260 (tr.); IGNAZIO GUIDI, "La storia di Ḫāyle Mikāʾēl", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 11, 1902, 2–79; JAMES HALLS, *The Life and Correspondence of Henry Salt*, London 1834; HarAeth; IsKrapf; MANFRED KROPP, *Die äthiopischen Königschroniken in der Sammlung Däğğazmač Ḫaylu*, Frankfurt am Main – Bern – Paris 1989 (Heidelberger Orientalische Studien 13); LefAbyss vol. 1, 356; GUILLAUME LEJEAN, *Théodore II, le nouvel empire d'Abyssinie et les intérêts français dans le sud de la Mer rouge*, Paris 1865; MonVidTheo 4 (text) = 5 (tr.); MorTeod; MANSFIELD PARKYNS, *Life in Abyssinia*: *Being Notes Collected During Three Year's Residence and Travels in that Country*, London 1853, vol. 2, 356f.; NATHANIEL PEARCE, *Life and Adventures in Abyssinia*, London 1831, vol. 2, iv, et passim; RUFFILLO PERINI – GÄBRÄ NEGUS, *Di qua dal Marèb* (*Marèb-mellàsc*), Firenze 1905, 210–22; WALTER CHICHELE PLOWDEN, *Travels in Abyssinia and the Galla Country*, London 1868; CHARLES FRANÇOIS XAVIER ROCHET D'HÉRICOURT, *Voyage sur la côte orientale de la mer Rouge, dans le pays d'Adal et le royaume de Choa*, Paris 1841; RubActa I, s. index; EDUARD RÜPPELL, *Reise in Abyssinien*, vol. 2, Frankfurt am Main 1840; SalTrav; BORIS ALEKSANDROVIČ TURAEV, *Ėfiopskija rukopisi v' S.-Peterburge* ('Ethiopian Manuscripts in St. Petersburg'), St. Petersburg 1906 (Zapiski Vostočnago otdelenija Imperatorskago Russkago Arheologičeskago Obščestva), 89; ID., "Zametki k kratkoj ėfiopskoj hronike" ('Notes on an Ethiopian Short Chronicle'), *Vizantijskij vremennik* 17, 1910, 270–82; GEORGE ANNESLEY MOUNTNORRIS (ed.), *Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt*, *in 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806*, London 1810, vol. 3; ZanLitTheod.

Lit.: AbPrince; MORDECHAI ABIR, "Salt, Trade and Politics in Ethiopia in the 'Zamana Masafent'", *JES* 4, 2, 1966, 1–10; BERHANOU ABBEBE, "Distiques du Zamana Masafent", *AE* 14, 1987, 15–38; BudHist 469–92; SEVIR CHERNETSOV, "The Crisis of Ethiopian Official Royal Historiography and its Consequences in the 18th Century", in: *PICES* 11, 87–101; CrumMis, s. index; DONALD CRUMMEY, "Doctrine and Authority: Abuna Salāmā̹, 1841–54", in: *PICES* 4, 567–78; ID., "Some Notes on Č̣äč̣äho and the Politics of the Northern Wällo-Bägémder Border", *JES* 13, 1, 1975, 1–9; ID., "Theology and Political Conflict during the Zämänä Mäsafent: the Case of Esté in Bägémder", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 5, 201–11; MANFRED KROPP, "Les premières querelles théologiques d'Abuna Salama III en Ethiopie", *AE* 14, 1987, 101–16; MOLLA TIKUYE, "The Rise and Fall of the Yajju Dynasty (1784–1980)", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 1, 197–216; RubInd 16–20, 75f., 152–59; RubTew 38; SHIFERAW BEKELE, "The State in the *Zamana Masafent* (1786–1853): an Essay in Reinterpretation", in: TADDESE BEYENE – RICHARD PANKHURST – SHIFERAW BEKELE (eds.), *Kasa and Kasa. Papers on the Lives*, *Times and Images of Téwodros II and Yohannes IV* (*1855–1889*), Addis Ababa 1990, 25–68; ID., "Reflections on the Power Elite of the Wärä Seh Mäsfenate (1786–1853)", *AE* 15, 1990, 157–79; ID., *The Chronicle of Täklä Giyorgis I* (First r. 1779–84): an Introductory Assessment", in: *StudAeth* 247–58; TADDESSE GEBRE IGZIABHER, *Power Struggle during the Zamana Masafent*, *1769–1855*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1971, 26f.; TEKLE-TSADIK MEKURIA, "Histoire abrégée de Haylou Esheté (Degiazmatche)", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 189–213; TSEGAY BERHE, "A Historical Reappraisal of Political Conflicts and Peasant Life in Tigray during the Zamana Masafent: the Case of Agama, 1831–1855", in: *PICES* 14, vol. 1, 538–56; EDWARD ULLENDORFF – CHARLES FRASER BECKINGHAM, "The First Anglo–Ethio-

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Sophia Dege

Zämaryam

Däǧǧazmač Z. (**ዘማርያም**) of ↗Ǝndärta was a nobleman and warlord who rebelled together with ↗Fares of ↗Säläwa (later *ras bitwäddäd* under ↗Iyasu I) against *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I. Z.'s homeland was Ad Aqet, a sub-district of Ǝndärta.

In the tenth year of his reign (1677) Yoḥannəs led a campaign against ↗Lasta and ↗Təgray whose leaders submitted to him. Fares escaped and thereafter Z. allied with him. On 13 *Gənbot* (18 May) 1678 they raised a new revolt in several districts of south/eastern Təgray and Lasta, including ↗Wäǧǧärat, ↗Dobaᵓa, Säläwa, ↗Säḫart and Ǝndärta. Yoḥannəs sent *däǧǧazmač* ↗Dəlbä Iyäsus who was able to defeat the rebels (GuiIohan 25 [text] = 26 [tr.]). Fares then sent Z. to ↗Gärᶜalta and Wəšafat where he killed 1,700 men. The following months saw constant clashes between Dəlbä Iyäsus and the rebels, without clear supremacy. In the meantime Z. and Fares promoted Maḫdäro Krəstos from ↗Wag as their candidate for the throne (GuiIohan 36 [text] = 27 [tr.]). In January 1679 Z. and Fares appealed for aid and overlordship from the governor of ↗ᶜAdal, who, however, declined the request (GuiIohan 28f. [text] = 28f. [tr.]).

In May 1679 Z. and his son, Wäldä Haymanot, abandoned Fares and the rebellion to reconcile with Yoḥannəs. Fares and Yoḥannəs also reconciled for a short time through the mediation of *abba* ↗Mäzraᵓətä Krəstos (GuiIohan 30f [text] = 30f. [tr.]). But when Yoḥannəs offered Z. the governorship of Təgray, an enraged Fares rebelled anew. Z. pursued Fares relentlessly across Lasta and south-eastern Təgray. Z. and his brother, Bənyam, repeatedly defeated Fares and the Lastans and finally occupied even Säläwa (GuiIohan 30f. [text] = 30 [tr.]). At last, in mid-1681, Bənyam captured Fares, who then submitted to the court (GuiIohan 31–35 [text] = 32–35 [tr.]).

Hereafter, Z. presumably continued to govern Təgray, but he is not mentioned again in the royal chronicles. His career must have ended, however, soon after the succession of Iyasu I in 1682, an act that marked the ascent of Fares at court.

Src.: BassÉt 287, 368; DombrChr 199, 210ff.; GuiIohan 25–35 (text) = 25–35 (tr.).
Lit.: HuntGeogr 235.

LaVerle B. Berry

Zämikaᵓel

Ǝč̣č̣äge Z. (**ዘሚካኤል**; also known as Z. II; d. 11 December 1725, Däbrä Libanos) was the 29th abbot of ↗Däbrä Libanos in Šäwa and headed the community twice, in 1696–99 and in 1711–16.

His first tenure followed the deposition of *əč̣č̣äge* ↗Ṣägga Krəstos and lasted from 3 October 1696 until January 1699 (GuiIyas 192f. [tr.]; BassÉt 308 [tr.]; BegCron 70 [tr.]). Z. had some political influence and played the role of protector of *däǧǧazmač* Giyorgis, son of *ras* ↗Anəsṭasyos and officer of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I, who had rebelled against the Emperor in 1697 (GuiIyas 192f. [tr.]; BassÉt 308 [tr.]; BegCron 70 [tr.]; CerDLib II, 180f.). The house of the ↗*əč̣č̣äge* was apparently used to grant ↗asylum to Giyorgis.

Z. was elected for a second time on 18 October 1711 through the promotion of *aṣe* ↗Yosṭos (DombrChr 260 [tr.]; BegCron 94 [tr.]). During the time of transition from Yosṭos to his successor *aṣe* ↗Dawit III, in February 1716, Z. was among a group of nobles who sent a messenger to the dying monarch to question him about his reign (BassÉt 336 [tr.]; BegCron 97; DombrChr 263 [tr.]). Only two months later on 12 April Z. was deposed (DombrChr 265 [tr.]; BegCron 99 [tr.]; BassÉt 338 [tr.]).

Z. died in Däbrä Libanos and was buried at Čalma, in ↗Dämbəya (BegCron 115 [tr.]; DombrChr 283 [tr.]; CerDLib III, 145). This is an uncommon place for the burial of an *əč̣č̣äge* who were usually buried at ↗Azäzo. This may mean that Z. was somehow considered different from other *əč̣č̣äges*, or that he became unpopular during his second tenure.

Z. is one of the four *əč̣č̣äge*s who are not mentioned in the list of the abbots of Däbrä Libanos published by Cerulli (CerDLib). No obvious reasons are given to explain this omission and Cerulli notes that the writer had consciously omitted him (CerDLib III, 145). Z. may have been a person of political or religious controversy and may not have been recognized as an official representative of the community. The religious context of his time was quite turbulent, which is mirrored by the rapid succession of the *əč̣č̣äge*s after the death of *əč̣č̣äge* ↗Qalä ᶜAwadi, in September 1686: Yoḥannəs III, Säfani Krəstos, Ṣägga Krəstos, Z., Agnaṭəyos and Wäldä Ḥawaryat (CerDLib II, 180f., III, 170; DombrChr 306 [tr.]).

Z. should not be confused with another *əč̣č̣äge* of the same name, Z. (I), whose tenure converged with that of *əč̣č̣äge* Zäwängel in 1623 (FotiCr 117; CerDLib II, 160).

Src.: BassÉt II, 308, 336, 338 (tr.); BegCron 70, 94, 97, 99, 115; DombrChr 260, 263, 265, 283, 306 (tr.); FotiCr 117; GuiIyas 183f. (text) = 192f. (tr.).
Lit.: CerDLib II, 160, 180f., III, 144ff., 170; ELSA ROSSIGNOL, *L'aqqäbe säʿat et l'eccagé: deux hauts-dignitaires éthiopiens entre l'Église et l'État (16ème–18ème s.)*, M.A. thesis, Université de Paris I 2004, 33, 67, 78, 99, 103, 106, 132, 148ff.

Elsa Rossignol

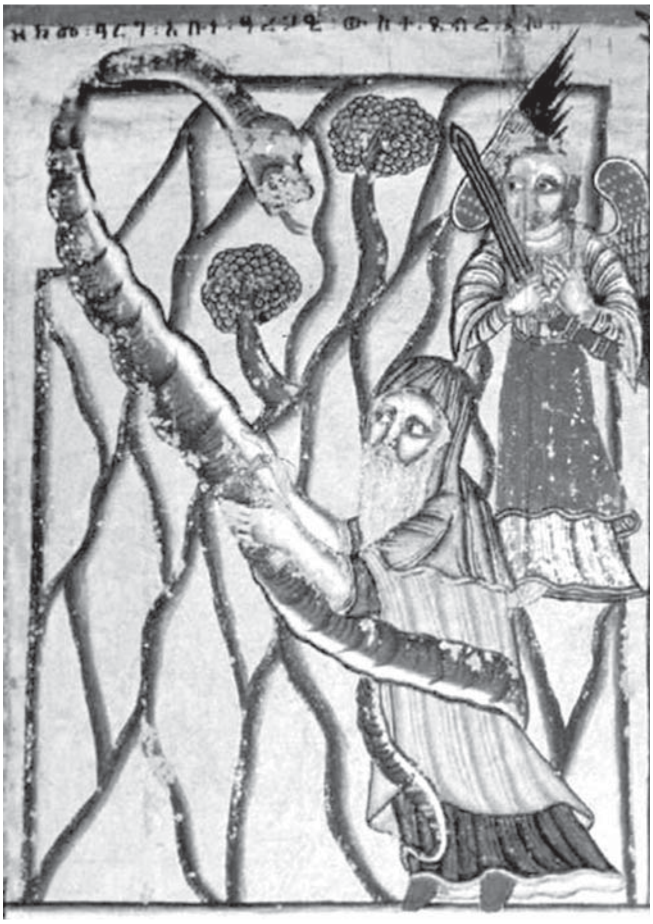
Zämikaʾel Arägawi

Abba Z.A. (ዘሚካኤል ፡ አረጋዊ; also known as Arägawi) is the most famous of the ↗Nine Saints, who reached Ethiopia during "the second Christianization", in the late 5th/early 6th cent. He is commemorated in the *Sənkəssar* on 14 *Ṭəqəmt*.

The main source of his life is his 16th-cent. Vita (*Gädlä Arägawi*). According to this text, Z.A. was the second-born son of a noble Christian family in ↗"Rom". His parents, Yəsḥaq and Ǝdna, gave him the name Gäbrä Amlak and his brother was named Tewodros. At an early age Z.A. studied the holy books and Ǝdna called him Abdal Masiḥ, i.e. the Arabic Servant of Christ, ʿAbdalmasīḥ of which Gäbrä Krəstos is the "Ethiopianized" form. His parents wanted him to marry into the royal family, but he refused and took refuge in the Egyptian desert of Thebes, with *abba* ↗Pachomius. As a 14 year-old boy, he received the ↗*askema* and the monastic name of Zämikaʾel from Pachomius. In later life, Ǝdna followed him to Thebes and to Ethiopia, became a nun, and later established a nunnery in Təgray, in a place called Bäʾatä Ləm, near ↗Däbrä Damo.

Z.A.'s reputation rose and he attracted some other "members" of the future Nine Saints, who also took up the monastic habit under Pachomius. After some years the group returned to "Rom". In a vision the archangel Michael showed Aksum to Z.A. and he decided to move there with the group of the Nine Saints. They arrived in Ethiopia in the 5th year of king ↗Ǝllä ʿAmida. Soon Z.A. was highly respected and was given the name Aragäwi, i.e. 'the Senior'.

The Nine Saints spent several years in Aksum, living in the royal palace, but in the 6th year of King ↗Tazena they decided to part company. After an adventurous journey and performing several miracles, Z.A., his mother Ǝdna and his disciple Matyas reached the foot of Däbrä Damo. The steep rock face of the mountain prevented him from reaching the top, which saddened him and he started to pray. A large snake (60 cubits long), of which he was forewarned by St. Michael, appeared in the sky and tried to dissuade Z.A. from living in such a desolate place, but the monk ordered the snake to lower its tail and used it to climb the mountain. In the beginning Z.A. lived in a cave, praying, fasting and performing miracles. When king ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl succeeded his father ↗Kaleb on the throne, he ordered a church to be built in Z.A.'s honour. The construction of the church, endowed with precious vestments, golden crosses and holy books, was completed in the second year of his reign and consecrated by the metropolitan.



Ascent of Zämikaʾel Arägawi to Däbrä Damo with the legendary assistance of a snake, 19th/20th-cent. wall painting on cloth, church of St. George at Ruba Qʷisa, Tämben, Təgray; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

Z.A. converted numerous people to Christianity and even to monasticism; the monks in his church totalled six thousand. At the end of his days, Jesus Christ appeared to him in a vision and gave him the ↗*kidan*. Soon after, his disciple and successor Matyas came into Z.A.'s cell but did not find his body.

The relationship with Pachomius, far from being of historical value (the two protagonists did not live in the same period), must be interpreted as a hagiographical requirement to claim renowned spiritual descent for Z.A. According to his Vita, the proposed lineage goes on after Z.A.'s death and is represented by *abba* Matyas, *abba* Yosef, *abba* ↗Mädḫäninä Ǝgziʾ, *abba* ↗Yoḥanni, to ↗Iyäsus Moʾa and ↗Täklä Haymanot (Guidi 1896: 85f.; Van den Oudenrijn 1939: 66; Brita 2010: 86–92).

A tradition handed down in the Vita mentions Z.A., instead of *abba* Ṗänṭälewon, as the protector saint of the ↗Nağrān military expedition, but the account of this war is vague and mixed up with the story of the rebellion of the people of ↗Bur against Kaleb (narrated, in a similar way, in the Vita of the ↗*Ṣadəqan*, too). The Vita of Z.A. shows connections to the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*məśṭir*, in the sections concerning the arrival of the Nine Saints in Ethiopia and the general list of miracles. It also shows similarity in some biographical data with the legend of Saint Alexis, whose Arabic name is ᶜAbdal-masīḥ (↗Gäbrä Krəstos; Brita 2010: 43–46, 75ff.).

The authorship of Z.A.'s Vita is attributed in the incipit to St. ↗Yared, who is also mentioned in the text, but also to Z.A.'s disciples, on the basis of an account made to them by *abba* Matyas, at the end.

The Vita of Z.A. was published by ↗Guidi 1895 on the basis of four manuscripts (one of which – ms. Mus. Borg. L. V 12 [GréTisVat II, 828] – is lost today; Guidi 1896: 55). In 1939 it was translated into French by Van den Oudenrijn. In his introduction he points out that in the days of Guidi's edition, another manuscript of the text was known, yet ignored by the author (cf. Van den Oudenrijn 1939: 34). Since then the number of known manuscripts transmitting the Vita has increased immensely. Of the Nine Saints' hagiographies, the *Gädlä Arägawi* is the text with the most extensive manuscript tradition (s. a preliminary list in Brita 2010: 231f.). Among other sources known there are his miracles in the manuscripts EMML nos. 3729, 3736, 3931, a collection of miracles in the manuscript EMML no. 633 and several ↗*sälam*, ↗*mälkəʾ* and other hymns dedicated to him (s. list in Brita 2010: 232ff.).

Land grants to Däbrä Damo made by Gäbra Mäsqäl are attested in the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Aksum* (CRAxum I, 19f. no. 4 [text] = II, 21f. no. 3 [tr.]) and in the Vita of Z.A. (Guidi 1896: 83f.; Van den Oudenrijn 1939: 64), while a land grant to Däbrä Damo by *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV is attested in ms. ANLin, CR 44 (CrumLand 211). Since Z.A.'s name is omitted in the list of names in the edited version of the Homily of ↗Gärima, Conti Rossini conjectured there was hostility between the clergy of Däbrä Mädära monastery founded by Gärima, and the clergy of Däbrä Damo. This may have been caused by land grants from Gäbrä Mäsqäl to Däbrä Damo (for a study on this complicated case s. Conti Rossini 1939: 155f.; Brita 2010: 25–29).

Z.A. is mentioned in the monastic genealogies of the line of Iyäsus Moʾa and Täklä Haymanot. In local iconography Z.A. is often depicted climbing the *amba* of Däbrä Damo on the snake's tail. Up to the present day the only means of access to the monastery is to climb the sheer wall of the cliff with the help of a rope, symbolizing the tail of the snake.

Src.: mss. EMML nos. 633, 3729, 3736, 3931; BudSaint 155; ColSyn VII, 84f.; CRAxum I, 19f. no. 4 (text) = II, 21f. no. 3 (tr.); GreTisVat II, 828 [ms. Mus. Borg. L. V 12]; IGNAZIO GUIDI (ed.), "Il Gadla ʾAragāwi", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 2, 1, 1894 [1895], 54–96; ID. (ed.), ገድለ ፡ አረጋዊ ። ('Gädlä Arägawi') *Vita Za-Mîkâʾêl ʾAragâwî*, Roma 1896; MARC-ANTOINE VAN DEN OUDENRIJN (tr.), *La vie de saint Za Mikā'ēl Aragāwi, traduite de l'éthiopien, avec introduction et notes*, Fribourg 1939.

Lit.: BHO 24f., no. 96; BrakKirche 117–32; ANTONELLA BRITA, *I racconti tradizionali sulla seconda cristianizzazione dell'Etiopia. Il ciclo agiografico dei Nove Santi*, Napoli 2010 (StAfEt 7); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "La leggenda di Abbā Afṣē in Etiopia", in: *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud*, vol. 1, Paris 1939, 151–56; CRStor 141–65; ARTHUR K. IRVINE – OTTO F.A. MEINARDUS – SEIFU METAFERIA, "Za-Mikaʾel ʾAragawi", in: *DicEthBio* 209–10; AUGUST DILLMANN, "Zur Geschichte des Axumitischen Reiches im vierten bis sechsten Jahrhundert", *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1880, 3–51; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Ethiopian Saints", in: *CE* vol. 4, 104–56, here 1045ff. ("The Nine Saints"); ALOIS GRILLMEIER – THERESIA HAINTHALER, *Le Christ dans la tradition chrétienne*, vol. 2: *L'Église d'Alexandrie, la Nubie et l'Éthiopie après 451*, Paris 1996 (Cogitatio fidei 172); KinBibl 64–65, no. 19; OSVALDO RAINIERI, "Zamikā'ēl Aragāwi", in: *EncSan* vol. 2, 1382; SerHist 115ff.

Antonella Brita

Zämikaʾelites

Z. (or Mikaʾelites) were scholars who challenged many aspects of the theology taught by *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa

Yaʿəqob (1436–68), and, therefore, were declared heretics. Known by name from the writings of their detractor, *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, are Zämikaʾel, Gämalyal, ʿAṣqa, Fəre Maḫbär and Giyorgis (Wendt in *PICES* 1, 141f.; CRRicBerhan II, 126–30, 143 [text] = 72ff., 81 [tr.]). The *Gädlä Elyas Gädamawi* (Getatchew Haile 2011) indicates that these scholars were from the region of ↗Tägulät and that Gämalyal was blind.

There is no evidence that the Z. and their disciples had constituted a community or acted in unison, such as the "Ǝsṭifanosites" (↗Stephanites) and ↗Ewosṭateans. Nevertheless, Western scholars, especially Enrico ↗Cerulli, group them under the name Z., an appellation derived from the name of one of them, Zämikaʾel (**ዘሚካኤል**), the theologian repeatedly referred to by Zärʾa Yaʿəqob whenever he refuted their theological views.

None of their works has been discovered, even though through the treaties of Zärʾa Yaʿəqob we know that the Z. "have written homilies on Christianity and Eucharistic prayers or anaphoras, ignoring the ones that are from the ↗*Senodos* (the Anaphora of the Apostles) and *Kidan zäʾəgziʾənä Iyäsus Krəstos* (↗*Testamentum Domini*)" (cp. CRRicBerhan II, 40f. [text] = 24 [tr.]).

The issues of discord between the Z. and the established Church of the time, as represented by Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, were the image of God, the concept of the unity and ↗Trinity of God, millenarian theology (↗Eschatology), the canonical scriptures of the Church (↗Bible: Bible canon), and the place of ↗Mary in Christian worship (↗Mariology). Zärʾa Yaʿəqob taught that God has an image that looks like the image of man. The Z. rejected this view, quoting Jn 1:18, "No one has ever seen God". They said, "God has no form like the form of man. God did not create in his image and likeness the form of Adam's body which is palpable and visible. The image of God and his likeness are an invisible spirit which was breathed upon Adam's face" (cp. CRRicBerhan II, 126–30 [text] = 72ff. [tr.]; cp. Getatchew Haile 1983:149 [text] = 159 [tr.]). The emperor accused Zämikaʾel of composing the trisagion chant, "Holy, holy, holy God who is not likened to the image of creatures", to be chanted "in his church by his followers" (CRRicBerhan II, 126 [text] = 72 [tr.]).

The Emperor's strongest evidence in support of his view, that God has a human image was Gen 1:27 "God created man in his own image" and the incarnation of the Word of God, or the Son, in the image of man.

The local literature preserves two understandings of the concept or theology of the unity and trinity of God. One, to which the Z. adhere, perceives God as one sun—the disc representing God the Father, the light God the Son, and the heat God the Holy Spirit (CRRicBerhan II, 143f. [text] = 81f. [tr.]). Zärʾa Yaʿəqob saw ↗Judaism in this; that is, one person of one God with several attributes that are not equal to the body. He (and apparently the Church of the time) maintained, quoting the Church Fathers, that God's trinity should be compared to three equal suns, and his unity to their united light (ibid. 144 [text] = 82 [tr.]). God's oneness is, he insisted, in his divinity. For the Z., to depict God with three suns was abominable, as it meant three Gods.

The Z. equally rejected the teaching that, before the end of the world, Christ and his righteous will reign one-thousand years, enjoying a "banquet on Mount ↗Zion" (**ምሳሕ ፡ በደብረ ፡ ጽዮን**, *məsaḥ bädäbrä Ṣəyon*). In the words of the Emperor, Gämalyal, "with that friend of his, Zämikaʾel", says, **አልቦ ፡ ደብረ ፡ ጽዮን** (*albo däbrä Ṣəyon*) or "There is no Mount Zion" (Getatchew Haile 1991:4 [text] = 4 [tr.]). The Emperor wrote extensively on this issue (s., e.g., Wendt 1963:137–44 and *Täʾammərä Maryam* 1967/68:132–36).

Among the scriptures the Z. rejected were the books of ↗Enoch, ↗Jubilees, ↗Maccabees and the *Testamentum Domini* (Wendt 1964, I, 107–13 [text]; Getatchew Haile 1982:193f. [text] = 217f. [tr.]). The Emperor believed that they rejected these books because they speak openly about the personhood of the Trinity.

Zärʾa Yaʿəqob's order that his subjects worship the Blessed Virgin Mary had put him in an irreconcilable conflict with many teachers, including the Z. They defied his order to put the miracles of Mary (↗*Täʾammərä Maryam*) on the level of the canonical scriptures and to observe the many feast days he instituted in her honour. Possibly as a reaction to what seems to be an unreasonable command, Gämalyal reportedly called the Virgin Mary "the tabernacle of Moloch […] and her Son, God the Word, Gog" (Getatchew Haile 1991:3, 38, 82 [text] = 2, 30, 65 [tr.]). There is a thinly veiled Nestorian heresy in their teaching, if Gämalyal had, indeed, composed also the ↗*qəne*, "'Fire was solidified in living blood; wind was fused with earth', likening the wonderful incarnation of Divinity […] with the conception of

Solomon through the intercourse of David with Bathsheba" (ibid.: 4, 39, 83 [text] = 3, 31, 66 [tr.]). This is clearly applying Wis 7:1–6 to the Incarnation of the Word or the birth of Christ.

The most important writing ascribed to the Z. is the ↗*Fəkkare mäläkot* (s. EAE vol. 5) composed in the early 17th cent. and transmitted through the codex unicus ms. BN Éth. 119 (ZotBNat 141) fols. 1r–25r. Cerulli (1958) published the manuscript which also contains three other texts ascribed to the Z.: the **ሐመረ ፡ ነፍስ** (*Ḥamärä näfs*, 'The ship of the soul', fols. 25ra–36ra; Cerulli 1958: 153–89 [text] = 191–213 [tr.]); the **መርስ ፡ አሚን** (*Märs amin*, 'The safe haven' or the 'The haven of the faith', [as proposed by Piovanelli 2004: 196]; fols. 36r–48vb; Cerulli 1958: 233–69 [text] = 271–314 [tr.]); and the **ፀወነ ፡ ነፍስ** (*Ṣ́äwänä näfs*, 'Refuge of the soul', fols. 49r–58vb; Cerulli 1960: 103–17 [text] = 119–35 [tr.]; Leslau 1964: 451–64 [text] = 465-84 [tr.]; Ludolf 1691: 494–507).

Src.: ms. BN Éth. 119 (ZotBNat 141); ms. Ṭānāsee 6, 8, 19 [HamTana I, 101–07, 126ff.]; ENRICO CERULLI, *Scritti teologici etiopici dei secoli XVI–XVII*, I: *Tre opuscoli dei Mikaeliti*, II: *La Storia dei Quattro Concili e altri opuscoli monofisiti*, Città del Vaticano 1958, 1960 (Studi e Testi 198, 204); CRRicBerhan II, 40f., 126-30, 143f. (text) = 24, 71ff., 81f. (tr.); DillmZarY 54ff.; GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Homily of *Aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob of Ethiopia in Honour of Saturday", *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 13, 1982, 185–231; ID., "The Homily of Zärʾa Yaʿəqob of Ethiopia in Honour of St. John the Evangelist, EMML 1480, ff. 48r–45v", *OrChr* 67, 1983, 144–66; ID., *The Epistle of Humanity of Emperor Zärʾa Yaʿəqob* (*Ṭomarä Təsbəʾt*), Lovanii 1991 (CSCO 522, 523 [SAe 95, 96]); ID. (ed., tr.), "Gädlä Elyas Gädamawi ('The Acts of Elyas Gädamawi')", *OrChr* 95, 2011, 100–55; WOLF LESLAU, "A Monophysite Epistle **ፀወነ ፡ ነፍስ** 'The Refuge of the Soul'", *OrChrP* 30, 1964, 447–84; [HIOB LUDOLF], *Iobi Ludolfi, Ad suam historiam Aethiopicam antehac editam Commentarius*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1691, 493–508; KURT WENDT, *Das Maṣḥafa Milād* (*Liber Nativitatis*) *und Maṣḥafa Sellāsē* (*Liber Trinitatis*) *des Kaisers Zarʾa Yāʿqob*, Louvain 1962, 1963 (CSCO 221, 222, 235, 236 [SAe 41, 42, 43, 44]); **ተአምረ ፡ ማርያም ። በግዕዝ ፡ እና ፡ በአማርኛ** (*Täʾammərä Maryam. Bägəʿəz ənna bäamarəñña*, 'Miracles of Mary. In Gəʿəz and Amharic'), Addis Abäba 1961 A.M. [1968/69 A.D.].

Lit.: LEONARDO COHEN, *The Missionary Strategies of the Jesuits in Ethiopia* (*1555–1632*), Wiesbaden 2009 (AeF 70), 8, 116–20, 130ff., 169; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Religious Controversies and the Growth of Ethiopic Literature in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries", *OrChr* 65, 1981, 102–36, here 108ff.; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Stellung und Bedeutung des Sabbats in Äthiopien*, Stuttgart 1963, 55f. (Studia Delitzchiana 7); PIERLUIGI PIOVANELLI, "Connaissance de Dieu et sagesse humaine en Éthiopie. Le traité *Explication de la Divinité* attribué aux hérétiques «mikaélites»", *Le Muséon* 117, 2004, 193–227; KURT WENDT, "Die theologischen Auseinandersetzungen in der äthiopischen Kirche zur Zeit der Reformen des XV. Jahrhunderts", in: *PICES* 1, 137–46; ID., "Der Kampf um den Kanon Heiliger Schriften in der Äthiopischen Kirche der Reformen des XV. Jahrhunderts", in: *PICES* 2, 107–13.

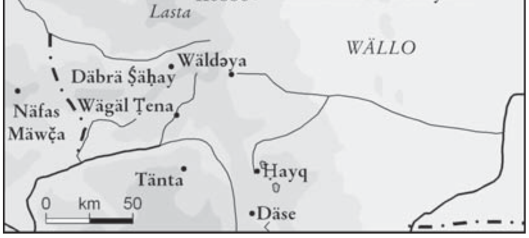
Getatchew Haile

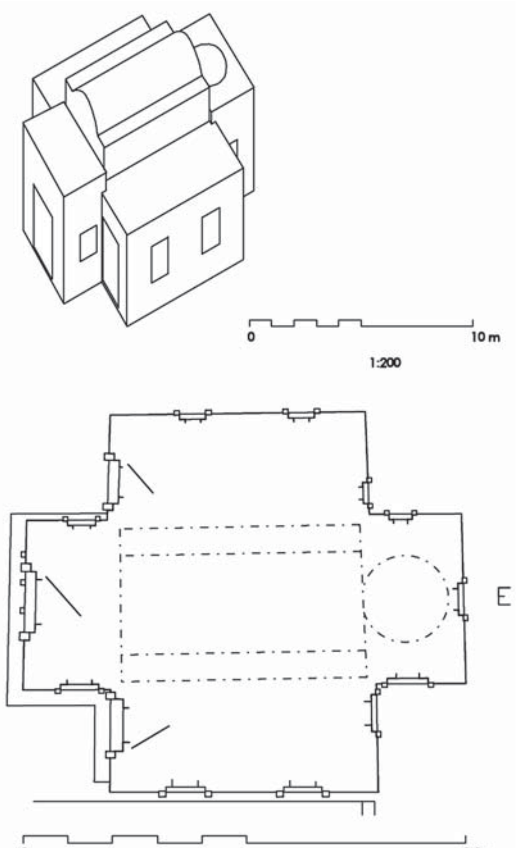
Žämmädu Maryam

Ž.M. (**ዠመዱ ፡ ማርያም**, also Ğämmadu Maryam) is a church and a monastery situated on an escarpment (2,345 m A.S.L.) in eastern ↗Lasta, between Däse and Allamaṭa (Kobbo *wäräda*, 031 *qäbäle*). According to tradition, it was founded by the local saint Bärtälomewos during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak. The ↗*tabots* are dedicated to St. ↗Mary, *abba* Bärtälomewos and *abba* Yoḥannəs. Z.M. may be identical with the monastic community described by ↗Alvares as "Acate" (BeckHuntAlvar 201f.) and mentioned by ↗Zorzi as Gumat (s. Conti Rossini 1943: 167).

The church is built in a cave (4.5–6 m high) which was closed by a high wooden wall, decorated with painted carvings. Sometime in the 1950s the wall was replaced by a bamboo fence and recently by a brightly painted stone wall. At its western end a small fragment of the old wooden panels is preserved.

The oriented church (9.9 x 7.5 x 5.5 m) rests on a plinth and is constructed of reddish, dressed stones, partly of different size, broken below window level by a wooden course. Another one runs around the top of the building. The church has three naves of equal width. The central one, higher than the aisles and barrel-vaulted, extends towards the east and the west, which gives the church the shape of a Latin cross. The eastern





Ground plan and stereometry of Zämmädu Maryam; drawing by Zara Thiessen

arm of the cross houses a domed sanctuary, the western a flat-roofed vestibule. The roof of the central nave and the dome are wooden and plastered white, the latter recently covered by a textile.

The church has three entrances leading to the central nave and the two aisles, respectively. The doors have massive wooden frames with corner transversal binders and double lintels which are decorated with simple whitewashed carvings. Each aisle has three windows: two on the long wall and one on the short, eastern side; the central nave has two windows on the long walls and one cruciform window at the eastern end. In the vestibule, there is one triple window above the door and one in the south and north sides. The sanctuary is illuminated by six windows arranged on two levels in the eastern, southern and northern walls; the upper level windows are small and cross-shaped. All windows, except for the cruciform ones, are covered with carved grills of varying designs.

The interior of the church is only known from a few, unclear photographs. Two wooden pillars with bracket capitals divide the space and support the lintel beams which run around the nave. Above, there is a frieze of wooden panels. The wooden vaulted ceiling of the central nave has a centrally located tie beam with two bosses below a carved wooden arch. All ceilings are coffered and painted with geometrical motifs. Similar decoration covers the capitals, lintel beams and the frames of the wooden panels. On the vaulted ceiling, ↗angels are depicted, some frontally, some in pairs and armed with swords; the wooden panels of the frieze bear effigies of saints and monks rendered in half figure, each holding a cross or a scroll. Among them is also an ↗equestrian saint riding a white mount. On stylistic grounds the ↗paintings can be dated to the end of the 15th or to the beginning of the 16th cent. ↗Spencer also reported the presence of a 15th-cent. painting of Mary with Child flanked by two archangels over the *mänbärä tabot*.

Paintings on canvas in the so-called Second Gondärine style decorate the external, southern and eastern walls of the sanctuary and of the southern aisle. Murals on the southern wall, between the windows, show St. ↗George the dragon killer, Mary nursing Jesus and a ↗donor, the ↗Crucifixion and Entombment or Lamentation, above the windows Christ nailed to the cross and his Mocking; the cherubs appear on the frieze below the edge of the roof and around the windows, framed with floral and geometrical ornamentation; at the east end of the south aisle, Christ with the apostles and a standing donor, Job (?), St. Alexis, and Jesus's miracles including the healing of a paralytic; on the frieze below the roof, the martyrs or the righteous; on the south wall of the sanctuary, a large representation of the ↗Trinity with a donor. The windows of the same wall have floral ornamentation. The string course running around the church is painted with geometrical motifs. Two paintings were added on each side of the lower window on the eastern wall of the sanctuary sometime after the 1950s: The Virgin and Child, and St. George. All outside paintings are covered by textiles hanging from the top of the wall to the ground.

The architecture and the paintings of the interior suggest the 15th cent. as the construction date.

The church building is treated as a sanctuary and accessible only to the clergy; the ceremonies take place in the cave or outside the wall which closes the cave. The dwellings for the monks and nuns surround the church and some hermits live at the top of the escarpment.

Ž.M. is a pilgrimage site, famous for the miraculous Marian icon known as the *Śəᶜəl gəbṣawit* (‘Egyptian Picture’), painted, according to a legend, by St. Luke himself. This 17th-cent. triptych of a Levantine school shows, on its central panel, the Virgin breastfeeding the Child, flanked by two angels; on the wings (probably a later addition), St. Peter and St. John the Baptist. It is displayed for public veneration together with the prayer stick of *abba* Bärtälomewos and the throne of *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs at the feasts of ↗*Lədäta* (1 *Gənbot*), *Däbrä Məṭmaq* (21 *Gənbot*) and *abba* Bärtälomewos (4 *Ṭəqəmt*).

The monastery reportedly possesses a good collection of manuscripts, but only a few have been seen, including two early copies of the ↗*Gädlä sämaᶜətat*. A shafted, pear-formed ↗cross dating to the 12th or 13th cent. is kept in the church.

Src.: BeckHuntAlvar 201f.; Carlo Conti Rossini, “Gli itinerari di Alessandro Zorzi”, *RSE* 3, 1943, 167–99, here 167f.

Lit.: Irmgard Bidder, *Lalibela: the Monolithic Churches of Ethiopia*, Cologne 1957, 103–06, 132, figs. 65, 67; David Buxton, “The Christian Antiquites of Northern Ethiopia”, *Archaeologia* 92, 1947, 1–42, here 12, 21, pl. IV; Id., *Travels in Ethiopia*, London 1949, 188f., fig. 139; Carlo Conti Rossini, [review of Buxton 1947], *RSE* 6, 1947, 203–08, here 204; Eric Godet, “L’église et les habitations rupestres du vallon de Kistâna”, *AE* 10, 1976, 145–56, here 146; Marilyn E. Heldman, “Saint Luke as Painter: Post-Byzantine Paintings in Early Sixteenth-Century Ethiopia”, *Gesta* 44, 2, 2005, 125–48, here 141; Claude Lepage, “Découverte d’un art étonnant: les églises éthiopiennes”, *Archéologia* 64, 1973, 45–58, here 45, 56; Id., “L’art chrétien d’Éthiopie du Xe au XVe siècle. Premier bilan des missions de 1971 et 1972 (résumé)”, *Comptes Rendus de l’Académie des Inscriptions & Belles Lettres,* October 1972, 495–514, here 509ff., figs. 5, 8f.; Beatrice Playne, *St. George for Ethiopia*, London 1954, 168, 171ff., 186f.; Roger Sauter, “Où en est notre connaissance des églises rupestres d’Éthiopie”, *AE* 5, 1963, 235–92, here 271f.; Diana Spencer, “In Search of St. Luke Icons in Ethiopia”, *JES* 10, 2, 1972, 67–95, here 78–83; Ead., *The Woman from Tedbab*, Dorking 2003, 208–17.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Žan hoy ↗Žanhoy

Žan Žəg

Ž.Ž. (**ዣን ፡ ዥግ**) was a Muslim governor (↗*Gärad*) of ↗Bale at the time of *aṣe* ↗Bäˀədä Maryam I in the 15th cent.

Shortly after the death of *aṣe* ↗Zärˀa Yaᶜəqob in 1468, *sulṭān* Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Badlāy of ↗ᶜAdal sent a peace proposal to Bäˀədä Maryam promising to pay an annual tribute if Abyssinian troops would stop making incursions into Muslim territory. However, when Muḥammad died, the ᶜAdalites apparently resumed hostilities for Bäˀədä Maryam, after celebrating ↗*Ṭəmqät* (of 1472[?]), despatched an important military force against ↗Dobaˀa (in ↗Wäǧǧärat) but they were defeated and many perished. The Emperor severely punished the survivors for having engaged in battle without waiting for him to participate. After that he sent Ž.Ž., *gärad* of Bale, with a number of soldiers to the land of Gam, where Ž.Ž. was killed. Waiting anxiously for his return, Bäˀədä Maryam sent explorers to find out about his whereabouts. When he heard that Ž.Ž. had died, the Emperor retired from Dobaˀa and went to Hayä in ↗Təgray, where he stayed during Lent.

Src.: BassHist 353; Enrico Cerulli, “Documenti arabi per la storia dell’Etiopia”, *MRALm* ser. 6a, 4, 1931, 39–96, here 48 [repr. in: CerIslam 135–206]; PerrZarY 139–42 [text, tr.].

Lit.: TadTChurch 294.

Emeri van Donzel

Zander, Eduard

Z. (b. 22 October 1813, Anhalt-Dessau, Germany, d. 25 September 1868, Ǝmkullu), bearer of the “Anhalt Medal for Art and Science” in Gold (1858), was an outstanding German traveller, ar-

Historical photograph of a lost portrait of Eduard Zander from Dessau; private collection of the Hall family chitect, arts- and craftsman in 19th-cent. Ethiopia. His talent as a painter was widely known and many of his sketches were used by contemporary travellers to illustrate their narratives, but few originals have survived.

Z. was the third son of the farmer Johann Gottfried Zander (b. 19 March 1790) and Maria Sophia Zander, née Schlemmer (b. 28 August 1785). After completing his military service as artillerist he went to Munich at the end of 1834 where he enrolled in the Academy of Arts in 1835 to study painting. There he became acquainted with the natural scientist Johannes Rudolph Roth (1815–58), honorary member of the Bavarian Royal Academy of Science, who had travelled to ↗Šäwa on behalf of the Expedition of William Cornwallis ↗Harris in 1840. In those days Roth had contact with the famous botanist Georg Wilhelm ↗Schimper from Mannheim. Reports about Schimper stimulated Z. to plan a journey to Ethiopia himself in order to meet the natural scientist in person. He left the Academy without graduation in 1836 but only on 30 May 1847 did he manage to start his journey. Via Trieste, Alexandria, Cairo, Suez and Jeddah he reached Massawa on 12 September 1847 from where he proceeded to the Ethiopian highlands. His meeting with Schimper in December 1847 marked the beginning of a fruitful cooperation and life-long friendship.

Their first common expedition to the ↗Märäb valley took place in January 1848. Over the following period Schimper trained Z. in collecting and preparing plants and insects which were sent to Roth – Z. gradually became Schimper's scientific factotum.

In the service of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam, Schimper and Z. built a palace and a church known as ↗Däräsge Maryam. During this time the two collaborated with ↗Schweinfurth in Berlin for the famous *Flora of Ethiopia*. In this time Z. produced a wide collection of pen-and-ink landscape drawings of ↗Səmen, the most complete collection of Z.'s works which has survived in one piece. The leather-bound sketchbook, now preserved in London and recently edited and published, was the basis for Sophie Veitch's book *Views in Central Abyssinia* (1868).

After the battle of ↗Däräsge, where Z. commanded Wəbe's artillery, *ras* Kaśa Ḫaylu was crowned *nəguśä nägäśt* ↗Tewodros II. While Schimper lost his governor-post in Ǝntič̣č̣o, Z. won the new emperor's confidence, and served as military, medical and technical advisor, first in ↗Gorgora (1856/57), later in the workshops of ↗Gafat near Däbrä Tabor (1863) and finally in the fortress of ↗Mäqdäla (1867), where he was detained with other European hostages of Tewodros. He was freed by the ↗Napier Expedition (1867/68) but died shortly after.

He left behind his daughters Katherina (Amh.: ↗Wälättä Iyäsus) who in 1863 married Moritz Hall in Gondär, Maria Sophia (b. 1854) who later married a merchant called Bərru in Massawa, and Theresa (b. 15. June 1866) the later wife of the Italian architect and traveller Giacomo ↗Naretti. Z.'s son Kaśa (b. 1863) served as interpreter for the Eritrean Government in 1905.

Src.: [ANONYMOUS], "Abessinien, wie der Anhaltiner Zander es sah", in: *Anhalter Anzeiger*, 2. Beilage zu Nr. 3 Stadtarchiv Dessau 1937; Ahnenpass des Josef Hall, Privatbesitz, Stuttgart ca. 1938; GERD GRÄBER, "Über einen Brief aus Amba Sea an Karl Friedrich Schimper (Abessinien 1848)", paper presented at the Schimper-Symposium, Landesverband Badische Heimat Freiburg e.V. – Stadt Schwetzingen 2003; SOPHIE VEITCH, *Views in Central Abyssinia*, London 1868, passim; EDUARD ZANDER, Abyssinian Studies, Sketchbook German, 197.a.5., British Museum, London.

Lit.: GERD GRÄBER, "Auf Spurensuche im Simiengebirge", *Kirche und Schule in Äthiopien* 50, 1997, 13–25; ID., "Die befreiten Geiseln Kaiser Tewodros'II. Aus dem Photoalbum der Royal Engineers 1867/68", *Aethiopica* 2, 1999, 159–82, 173–75; ID., "Eduard Zander – Abenteurer, Maler, Architekt und Handwerker in Äthiopien", *Aethiopica* 8, 2005, 10–28; FRIEDERIKE VON KROSIGK, *Ein Weizenkorn fliegt gegen den Wind, Abenteuer eines Deutschen in Äthiopien*, Mühlhausen 1938, passim; VOLKER MATTHIES, *Unternehmen Magdala*, Berlin 2010, 31ff., 127–45; DOROTHEA MCEWAN – GERD GRÄBER – JOHANNES HOCK, *Das Skizzenbuch Eduard Zander – Ansichten aus Nordäthiopien (1852–54)*, Verein für Anhaltische Landeskunde e.V. Köthen – Dessau 2006 (Veröffentlichungen des Stadtarchivs Dessau 4); ALBERTO SBACCHI, "Le memorie di Giacomo Naretti alla corte dell Imperatore Giovanni IV d'Etiopia", *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* ser. 7a, 6, 1999, 751–63.

Gerd Gräber

Zanğ

Z. (Arab. زنج, also Zinğ; singulative *nisba Zanğī*; pl. *Zunūğ*) is a collective name used in Arabic to indicate blacks in general and particularly those living on the coast of East Africa southwards of ↗Mogadishu (*bilād az-Zanğ* 'the land of the Z.'). Etymologically, the word Z. is considered to be of Persian origin (Middle Persian *zangīg* 'negro', New persian *zangī* '[person] of rusty colour', s. Shapira 2002: 117f. and n. 6), but this derivation is far from being unanimously accepted (Tolmacheva 1986 gives a critical list of other hypotheses).

Z. is commonly related to the ancient Greek toponym *Azanía*. However, no direct linguistic relation between the two terms can be proven. Desanges (1978: 73 n. 209, 162) quite convincingly proposes a derivation of *Azanía* from Gr. *áza*, 'drought, dryness', and underlines the connection between the African *Azanía* and the *Azanía* region in Arcadia, which was also considered to be extremely dry and sun-burnt (other proposed etymologies in Hilton 1992, 1993; Huntingford 1980: 62; Dihle 1978: 564 n. 61). *Azanía* and Z. are, thus, comparable only from a geographical point of view.

In classical sources, the oldest mention of *Azanía* seems to be in a quotation of Diodoros of Samos (1st cent. B.C.) to be found in a passage of Marinos of Tyre (fl. ca. 100 A.D.) preserved in the *Geography* of ↗Ptolemy (I, 7, 6: "[while] those who set sail from Arabia to *Azanía* direct their boat towards the South and the star Canopus"). The Greek geographer confirms in other passages (I, 9, 1; I, 17, 6) the existence of commercial ties linking *Azanía* to *Armata* (Cape Guardafui) and the Arabian Peninsula. ↗Pliny the Elder in his *Naturalis Historia*, mentions the "Oceanus Azanius" (VI, 108) and the "Azanium mare" (VI, 153, 172). The Roman naturalist contradictorily locates this sea both north of ↗Adulis and around Soqoṭra (Dihle 1976: 562f.; Desanges 1999: 341ff.; for a complete discussion of the problems posed by these three passages s. Desanges 2008: 75ff.). In the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (chs. 15, 16) *Azanía* is the name of the territories between *Opne* (Cape Guardafui) and *Rhapta* (today Mnyuzi, Fiaccadori 1992: 77ff.) which exactly corresponds – geographically – to the medieval Arabic *bilād az-Zanǧ*.

There could be a direct link between Z. and the "Zangenae" people mentioned by Pliny on the basis of the work of Juba II (*Nat. Hist.* I, 176) as a subgroup of the *Troglodytae*. Later, Ptolemy (I, 17, 8) mentions south of *Opne* a "Zíngis promontory" which is the head of a gulf where the land of *Azanía* begins (one more clear geographical connection between Z. and *Azanía*). In the *Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes (II, 29f., 50), a place called *Zíngion* is mentioned: it is located "beyond the country of incense called Barbaria" at the confluence of the Red Sea and the [Indian] Ocean.

In Arabic literature *Azanía* is not attested at all, while the Z. are mentioned for the first time by the poet Ǧarīr (d. 728/29) in his *Dīwān* (ed. 1986: 65, 360; for other early attestations of the word s. Rizvi 1967 and Tolmacheva 1986: 105). The famous scholar al-Ǧāḥiẓ (d. 861) in his short treatise exalting the good qualities of the blacks uses the word Z. interchangeably with Sūdān and Ḥabaš (↗Abyssinia, ↗Habāš). From 869 to 883, the Z. were the protagonists of an uprising in Baṣra. The most widely accepted assumption is that the rebels were black slaves from the East African coast (but for a different view s. Talhami 1977; ↗Slavery).

In geographical literature, the Z. are first recorded by al-Ḫwārazmī (d. ca. 850) in his Arabic rearrangement of the *Geography* of Ptolemy (1926: 99), where he speaks of the "island of the anthropophagous Z." not mentioned in the Greek original (s. also Trimingham 1975: 119 and n. 10). Ibn Ḫurradāḏbih (fl. 850) briefly notes (1889:170 [text]; 132 [Fr. tr.]) that "whoever goes to the land of the Z. catches scabies". Some years later, both al-Iṣṭaḫrī (fl. 950) and ↗Ibn Ḥawqal (d. after 988) locate the Z. in front of Aden and India on the Ocean, and refer to the possible existence of white Z. living in the cold regions of their lands, mentioning that wood was traded from *bilād az-Zanǧ* to Sīrāf in Persia (de Goeje 1870: 11; Kramers 1938–39: 59).

In the vast Arabic geographical literature, information about Z. can be found from almost every important author (e.g., al-Mas^{c}ūdī, ↗al-Idrīsī). The major medieval Arabic sources about Z. are translated and analysed by Devic (1883); Kubbel' – Matveev (1960) and Miquel (1975: 167–73).

Src.: LIONEL CASSON (tr.), *The Periplus Maris Erythraei*, Princeton, NJ 1989; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD (tr.), *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, London 1980 (The Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser., 151), 62; MICHAEL JAN DE GOEJE (ed., tr.), *Kitâb al-masâlik wa-'l-mamâlik* (*Liber viarum et regionum*) *auctore Abu 'l-Kâsim Obaidallah ibn Abdallah ibn Khordâdhbeh et excerpta e Kitâb al-Kharâdj auctore Kodama ibn Dja'far*, Leiden 1889 (Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum 6), 170 (text), 132 [Fr. tr.]; ID. (ed.), *Viae regnorum. Descriptio ditionis moslemicae auctore Abu Ishák al-Fárisí al-Istakhrí*, Leiden 1870 (Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, 1) 11; *Dīwān Ǧarīr bi-šarḥ Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb*, ed. by NU^{c}MĀN MUḤAMMAD AMĪN ṬĀHĀ, vol. 1, Cairo 1987, 65, 360; JOHANNES HENDRIK KRAMERS (ed.), *Opus geographicum auctore Ibn Ḥauḳal*, Leiden 1938-39 (Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum 2), 59; J. LENNART BERGGRENN – ALEXANDER JONES, *Ptolemy's Geography: an Annotated Translation of the Theoretical Chapters*, Princeton, NJ 2000; HANS VON MŽIK (ed., tr.), *Das Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ des Abū Ǧa^{c}far Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Ḫuwārizmī*, Leipzig 1926, 99; PLINE L'ANCIEN, *Histoire Naturelle. Livre IV*, *4e partie* (*L'Asie africaine sauf l'Egypte, les dimensions et le climats du monde habité*), ed., tr. by JEHAN DESANGES, Paris 2008, 75ff.; GAIUS PLINIUS SECUNDUS, *Storia Naturale. I. Cosmologia e geografia. Libri 1–6*, ed. tr. by ALESSAN-

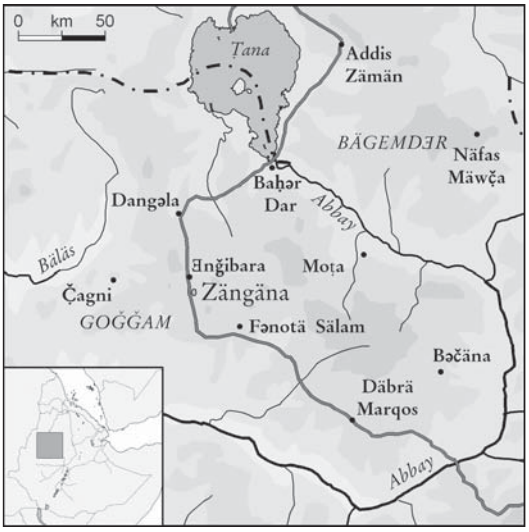
DRO BARCHIESI et al., Torino 1982, 73 n. 209, 162; PLINIUS SECUNDUS DER ÄLTERE, *Naturkunde. Lateinisch – Deutsch,* Buch 6: *Geographie*: *Asien*, ed., tr. by KAI BRODERSEN, Zürich — Düsseldorf 1996; KLAUDIOS PTOLEMAIOS, *Handbuch der Geographie Griechisch – Deutsch*, ed. by ALFRED STÜCKELBERGER – GERD GRASSHOF, 2 vols., Basel 2006 (Ergänzungsband, Basel 2009); WANDA WOLSKA-CONUS (ed., tr.), *Cosmas Indicopleustès, Topographie chrétienne, tome 1* (*Livres I–IV*), Paris 1968 (Sources Chrétiennes 141).

Lit.: JEHAN DESANGES, *Recherches sur l'activité des méditerranéens aux confins de l'Afrique* (*VI*^{e} *siècle avant J.C.–IV*^{e} *siècle après J.C.*), Rome 1978 (Collection de l'école française de Rome 38), 73 n. 209, 162; ID., "Sur la mer hippale, au souffle du vent hippale", *TOPOI* 6, 1996, 665–70 (reprint *Toujours Afrique apporte fait nouveau. Scripta Minora*, Paris 1999, 339-43, here 341ff.); LOUIS-MARCEL DEVIC, *Le pays des Zendjs, ou la côte orientale d'Afrique au Moyen-âge* (*Géographie, mœurs, productions, Animaux légendaires*) *d'après les écrivains arabes*, Paris 1883; ALBRECHT DIHLE, "Die entdeckungsgeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen des Indienhandels der römischen Kaiserzeit", in: HILDEGARD TEMPORINI – WOLFGANG HAASE (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*, Teil 2: *Principat*, Band 9: *Politische Geschichte*, vol. 2, Berlin 1976, 546–80, here 562f., 564 n. 61; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992 (Biblioteca di «Felix Ravenna» 7); JOHN HILTON, "Azania. Some Etymological Considerations", *Acta Classica* 25, 1992, 151–59; ID., "Peoples of Azania", *Electronic Antiquity* 1, 5, 1993 (on-line journal); GREVILLE S.P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE, "al-Zandj", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 11, 444–46; LEV E. KUBBEL' – VIKTOR V. MATVEEV, *Drevnie i srednevekovye istočniki po ėtnografii i istorii narodov Afriki iužnee Sahary – Arabskie istočniki VII–X vekov*, Moskva – Leningrad 1960; ANDRÉ MIQUEL, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusq'au milieu du 11*^{e} *siècle*, Paris – La Haye 1975, 167–73; SAEED AKHTAR RIZVI, "Zenj: its First Known Use in Arabic Literature", *Azania*: *Archaeological Research in Africa* 2, 1967, 200–01; DAN SHAPIRA, "Zoroastrian Sources on Black People", *Arabica* 49, 2002, 117–22, here 117f. and n. 6; GHADA HASHEM TALHAMI, "The Zanj Rebellion Reconsidered", *IJAHS* 10, 1977, 443–61; MARINA TOLMACHEVA, "Toward a Definition of the Term Zanj", *Azania*: *Archaeological Research in Africa* 21, 1986, 105–13, here 105; JOHN SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, "The Arab Geographers and the East African Coast", in: NEVILLE H. CHITTICK – ROBERT I. ROTBERG (eds.), *East Africa and the Orient. Cultural Synthesis in Pre-Colonial Times*, New York – London 1975, 115–46, 272–83; MANFRED ULLMANN, *Der Neger in der Bildersprache der arabischen Dichter*, Wiesbaden 1998; EWALD WAGNER, [review of ULLMANN 1998], *Aethiopica* 4, 2001, 263–66.

Alessandro Gori

Zängäna

Z. (Amh. **ዘንገና**, Agäw: *Zingini*, 10°54' N, 36°57' E; 2,514 m A.S.L.) is a highland plateau crater lake in the ↗Abbay basin in the former sub-province of ↗Agäw Mədər, Goǧǧam, in today's Banǧa *wäräda* of Agäw-Awi Zone, Amhara Region. It is located between the towns of Kässa and Ǝnǧibara, in the direct vicinity of Čäwsa town, about 200 m off the Addis Abäba–Baḥər Dar road.



Z. is a closed circular lake (hence locally known as Z. Kəbäb, 'circular Z.') with a ridge of unconsolidated ash sediments. The shore of the lake and its surrounding area is dominated by *Cupressus lusitanica* flora managed by the Agricultural Bureau at Ǝnǧibara. There is shallow algal growth and the water is of good quality.

With a depth of 148 m, Lake Z. is the second deepest crater-lake in Ethiopia after Lake ↗Šala. The lake covers 0.5 km^2 of area and has a volume of ca. 39,000,000 m^3, with 1,300 mm evaporation loss per annum.

Z. has an important place in the oral tradition of the local ↗Agäw people particularly in their creation myth.

Z. increasingly attracts tourists who appreciate the beauty of the lake and its natural surroundings.

Lit.: *Guida* 372f.; SEIFU KEBEDE, *Environmental Isotopes and Geochemistry in Investigating Groundwater and Lake Hydrology*: *Cases from the Blue Nile Basin & the Ethiopian Rift* (*Ethiopia*), Ph.D. thesis, University of Avignon 2004, 111.

Desalegn Amsalu

Žanhoy

Ž. (Amh. **ዣንሆይ**, also **ጃንሆይ** *ǧanhoy*) is a title of address for the ↗*aṣe*. Etymologically it can be explained as the juxtaposition of the substantive **ጃን**, *ǧan*, or **ዣን**, *žan*, 'elephant', a loanword from ↗Agäw (s. below), by extension also meaning 'large, vaste, big', and the Amh. vocative marker **ሆይ**, *hoy*, with the resulting meaning of 'O Majesty', then lexicalized as a substantive. The form has also passed into ↗Gurage as *ǧanḫ*^{w}*e*, 'majesty', a term of address for the deity ↗*Waq* (Leslau 1979: 64, 453).

The first element is also present in royal personal names since or immediately before the ↗Zagʷe period at the latest, cp., e.g., **ድግናዠን** ↗Dəgnažan; **ግድዓ ፡ ዠን** Gədᶜa Žan (cp. BassÉt 98, 226, n. 57; DombrChr 34 [text] = 151 [tr.]); **ጃን ፡ ሥዩም** Ğan Śəyyum (Zanśəyyum, var. Zänśəyyum, in CRDLib 186, 189, docs. nos. 6a, 7a, a member of the Zagʷe dynasty, probably the uncle of *aṣe* ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos and father of *aṣe* ↗Lalibäla, s. TadTChurch 55, n. 3, and 61); **ዠን ፡ ከለለ** Žan Källälä (a queen in ↗Täklä Ḥawaryat's Vita); **ዠን ፡ መንገሣ** Žan Mängäśa (one of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon's wives, s. MarAmdS 54f., also for **ዠን ፡ ሞገሳ** Žan Mogäsa); **ዠን ፡ አስግድ** Žan Asgəd (probably the successor of ↗Yagba Ṣəyon and the predecessor of ↗Wədəm Räᶜad, s. GuiSLett 99); and in titles, e.g., from the *Mäṣḥafä Aksum* (s. CRAxum passim; Bausi 2006: 146f.; also Guidi 1940: 181), *žan däräba* (var. *žandäräba*), *žan ḥaṣäna* (or *zan ḥaṣäna*, *zänḥaṣäna*), *žan mäᵓasäre*, *žan ṣəge* (also a proper name), *žan ṣərar* or *žan ṣərar gʷeta* (var. *geta*), *žan täkäl*, probably also *zän Bäläw*, as well as **ዛን ፡ ባርያ** Zan Barya (a proper name), it is also found as a second onomastic element in **ግርማ ፡ ዠን** Gərma Žan; **ብሉል ፡ ዠን** Bəlul Žan (var. Bəlulzan, Bəlulazan); in other texts, e.g., **እንግዳ ፡ ዠን** Ǝngəda Žan (Conti Rossini 1921–23: 56), **እንግዳዠን** (CRHist 75 [text] = 87 [tr.]); **ዠን ፡ አስፍሐ** Žan Asfəḥ (CRStor 262).

The connection between the element *žan*, *ğan* and Ethiopian kingship (divine ↗kingship; ↗monarchy, s. EAE vol. 5) is clear and agreed (beginning with Ludolf 1691: 4, n. s., who reluctantly admits: "**ዠን ፡** autem *Regem* Amharicè significat", 'yet **ዠን ፡** means *king* in Amharic') and *žan* was considered a royal title or, better, a royal appellative. This may have played some role in the transfer to Ethiopia of the legend of ↗Prester John. This was done on the simple basis of the assonance with the various vernacular forms for "John" (Ital. "Gianni", French "Jean", etc.), as noted early on by Páez, Almeida etc. (cp. BecRASO II, 72; V, 5; CRStor 333).

The derivation from *däyyani* and the resulting posited connection with *daňňa*, 'judge', proposed earlier by Halévy (1874: 138ff.; also GuiVoc 637; hesitantly accepted by Praetorius 1878: 85f., 93, §§ 59a, 65a) has no solid linguistic foundation, and had already been rejected by d'Abbadie (1882), who favoured an alternative etymology from the term for 'elephant', also present in Amh. as **ዝሆን** *zəhon*. Haberland in turn rejected this proposal as popular etymology, while himself regarding *ğan* as derived from Cushitic *dān*, *don* or *donzo* (the latter appellative also listed for "*Gongani* & *Enareenses*" by LudHist book II, ch. 18, § 20), but with the meaning of 'lord, judge, elder', hereby approaching the etymology formerly proposed by Halévy (HabKön 130f.). Mittwoch (1911) attempted to affirm the etymology from the term for 'elephant' on the basis of an Abyssinian tradition, written down in Amharic by *aläqa* ↗Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam. According to this tradition, *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl, while leading an expedition in ↗Dämbəya, heard the cry "*ğanhoy*, *ğanhoy*" during the night, which, as the inhabitants explained, was used to drive away the elephants lest they destroy the crops. The *aṣege* was favourably impressed by the event and in the place of his former appellation, **መለክ ፡ ደንዞ** (*mäläk dänzo)*, adopted the new one of *ğanhoy*: whoever addressed him in this way would immediately acquire the right to appeal to him for justice. A similar practice was earlier related by Lobo (1971: 692), quoting the appellation "Jan Coy", i.e. 'My king', because "Jan val tanto come Rey, Coy, Meu", 'Jan means King, Coy means My', as well as by Almeida (BecRASO V, 5). Ludolf had also already reported (LudHist book II, ch. 18, § 17ff., cp. Lobo 1670: 42ff.) that it was customary among the people of Amhara and Šäwa to appeal to the king by calling him **ዠን ፡ ኰይ ፡ ዠን ፡ ኰይ**, *Žan ḵoy, žan ḵoy*!, 'My king, my king!', or even **ብሉል ፡ ኰይ ፡ ዠን ፡ ኰይ ፡ ብሉል ፡ ኰይ**, *Bəlul ḵoy, žan ḵoy, bəlul ḵoy*!, 'My pupil, my king, my pupil!', while other people would use corresponding expressions in other languages. He also gives an account of **ብሉል ፡ ዠን** Bəlul Žan – actually a proper name used by ↗Ṣägga Zäᵓab, which was also reported by Damião de Góis (Goes 1540: 90, s. Uhlig – Bühring 1994: 146, 273). He also mentioned the appellation **ዠን ፡ ዕንቈ** Žan ᶜƎnqʷ, transcr. by him as "Ioannes Encoe", and translated as "Ioanes Preciosus", 'Precious John', which involves a misinterpretation of Ž. (s. above) — as well as providing the musical notation for the appellation (Ludolf 1691: 222, 262f., nos. lxiif.).

The etymological connection of Ž. (definitely not a Gəᶜəz term, contrary to EAE vol. 4, 213) with 'elephant' (already proposed by Almeida, BecRASO V, 5, "Jan na lingua antiga de Ethiopia dizem que significa elefante") is to be accepted, both on linguistic grounds, given the perfect correspondence between **ʒan-a* in some of the

Agäw languages with Amh. *žan* (cp. Appleyard 2006: 60f.), and in view of the Ethiopian kingship, where the ↗elephant, together with the ↗lion, comes to play the role of the main symbol of royal power, strength, majesty, and invincibility (cp. Caquot 1957: 211f.). The derived notion of 'king', and not the primitive one of 'elephant', is probably present in names such as ↗Dämbäzan (EAE vol. 5; both a place and a personal name, cp. KolTrad III, 57, 59). The Amh. term *zəhon* 'elephant' is also a Cushitic loanword, yet of a different provenance, which is difficult to determine in detail (cp. Appleyard 2006: 61). Ž. remains one of the few loanwords from Cushitic which have affected the delicate institutional sphere of Christian kingship. The term was in use in the 20th cent. (e.g., s. Ḫaylä Maryam Särabyon 1913), yet is not formally listed among the royal titles ratified in the last decades of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's reign (s. MahZekr).

Src.: BassÉt 98, 226, n. 57; ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Un indice del *Liber Aksumae*", *Aethiopica* 9, 2006, 102–46; BecRASO V, 5; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "La guerra turco-abissina del 1578", *Oriente moderno* 1, 1921–22, 634–36, 684–91; *ibid.* 2, 1922–23, 48–57, here 56; CRDLib 186, 189; CRHist 75 (text) = 87 (tr.); DombrChr 34 (text) = 151 (tr.); DAMIANUS A GOES, *Fides, religio, moresque Aethiopum …*, Lovanii 1540, 90 [repr. in UHLIG – BÜHRING 1994: 57–152, here 146]; GuiVoc 9, 637; IGNAZIO GUIDI (in collaboration with FRANCESCO GALLINA and ENRICO CERULLI), *Supplemento al vocabolario amarico–italiano*, Roma 1940 (Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto per l'Oriente), 181; ḪAYLÄ MARYAM SÄRABYON, **የኢትዮጵያ ፡ ትምህርተ ፡ መንግሥት ። በሰንደቅ ፡ ዓላማና ፡ ዘውዱን ፡ የጃንሆይንም ፡ አዋጅ ፡ የሚናገር ፡ መጽሐፍ** (*Yäʾityopya təmhərtä mängəśt. Bäsändäq ʿalamanna zäwdun yäǧanhoyənəmm awaǧ yamminnaggär mäṣḥaf*, 'The Doctrine of the Government of Ethiopia. The Book which Describes the Flag, the Crown and the Proclamation of the Emperor'), Addis Abäba 1906 A.M. [1913/14 A.D.]; KaneDic 1867a; KolTrad III, 56f., 59; WOLF LESLAU, *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage* (*Ethiopic*), vol. 1: *Individual Dictionaries*, Wiesbaden 1979, 64, 453; JERÓNIMO LOBO, *Itinerário e outros escritos inéditos*, ed. by P.e MANUEL GONÇALVES DA COSTA, Barcelos 1971, 692; ID., *Hieronymi Lobo eines Jesuiten in Portugal neue Beschreibung und Bericht von der wahren Beschaffenheit des Morenlandes, sonderlich des Abyssinischen Kayserthums …*, Nurnberg 1670, 42ff.; MahZekr; MarAmdS 54f.; FRANZ PRAETORIUS, *Die Amharische Sprache*, Halle 1878–79, 85f., 93, §§ 59a, 65a; SIEGBERT UHLIG – GERNOT BÜHRING (ed., tr.), *Damian de Góis' Schrift über Glaube und Sitten der Äthiopier*, Wiesbaden 1994 (AeF 39), 146 (text) = 273 (tr.).

Lit.: DAVID L. APPLEYARD, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Agaw Languages*, Köln 2006 (Kuschitische Sprachstudien 4), 60f.; ANTOINE THOMPSON D'ABBADIE, "Nouvelles et mélanges. Séance du 10 février 1882. Annexe n° 2 [Note sur le mot *jana*]", *JA* sér. 7, 19, 1882, 248–52; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "La royauté sacrale en Éthiopie", *AE* 2, 1957, 205–18, here 211f.; CRStor 262, 333; GuiSLett 99; HabKön 130ff.; JOSEPH HALÉVY, *Mélanges d'épigraphie et d'archéologie sémitiques*, Paris 1874, 137–40; LudHist book II, ch. 18, §§ 17ff.; [HIOB LUDOLF], *Iobi Ludolfi, Ad suam historiam Aethiopicam antehac editam Commentarius*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1691, 4, 222, 262f.; EUGEN MITTWOCH, "Dchanhoi – die amharische Bezeichnung für 'Majestät'", *ZA* 25, 1911, 281–86; TadTChurch 55, n. 3, and 61.

Alessandro Bausi

Zännäb

Aläqa, also *däbtära*, Z. (**ዘነብ**; b. ca. 1825, Yəfat, d. October 1876, Šäwa) was a secretary of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II, and a missionary and writer.

Z. first appears in historical records as a young monk in Tewodros's camp at ↗Mäqdäla, entrusted with writing the Emperor's first chronicle. His authorship (previously questioned, s. MorTeod: "attributed to") is confirmed by Martin ↗Flad, who brought the manuscript of the chronicle to Europe (Flad 1922: 105). Z.'s successor as chief scribe was *aläqa* (later *ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz*) ↗Ǝngəda.

Under the influence of the missionaries from ↗St. Chrischona-Pilgermission (esp. ↗Kienzlen and Johannes ↗Mayer), Z. converted to ↗Protestantism in 1858, without, however, leaving the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (Flad 1968: 32). This was in the line of the mission, which hoped for a reformist movement within the Church. The mission's first indigenous "Evangelist", Z. taught Christian doctrine to the soldiers of Mäqdäla (Flad 1922: 105; 1968: 32; CrumMis 133). He learnt English from Flad in order to be able to compare the Amharic and English versions of the Bible (Flad 1922: 105), and probably taught Oromiffaa to Kienzlen and Mayer. Two of his letters written together with his "brother" called "Mäsqäl" are known from 1861 (ed. by Smidt in VarAeth; Mäsqäl was probably a priest, who had converted with him, not a real brother as Strebel 2000: 138 interprets it). In these letters they both praise the missionary activities (cp. further letters written by Z., RubActa III).

In April 1868, at the end of the ↗Napier campaign, Z. followed the liberated captives to the coast. He was initially appointed tutor (together with Flad) to Tewodros's son, ↗ʿAlämayyähu (Smidt 2001); the task was later transferred to ↗Speedy. Z. stayed in Massawa, where, hosted by ↗Munzinger, he worked on an Oromo Bible translation (in *fidäl*). In September 1868 he sent his version of the Four Gospels to ↗Krapf in Kornthal, Germany (Rassam 1868:192; Pankhurst 1976:203f.; Smidt in PICES 14). In March 1869, Z. joined the Bible reading circle organized by the missionaries ↗Bender and Mayer in ʿAdwa (Chrischona-Blättchen 1869). He continued working on his Bible translation, assisted by two Oromo from Nonnoo, Waaree, a court eunuch from Mäqdäla (s. *Mittheilungen*, Nr. 6, Dezember 1870, 23f.) and Gäbrä Mikaʾel (*Sixty-Seventh Report* of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1871; most probably one of the Oromo mentioned [under his Oromo name] as co-translators in Krapf et al. 1876; cp. wrong identification by ArEvang 446ff.). In June 1870 Z. sent his (now lost) final manuscript of the N.T. to Krapf, who had just finalized his and ↗Ruufoo's Oromo translation of the N.T., in Latin letters, and had even printed a part of it earlier that year. Krapf used Z.'s manuscript to slightly correct his version and re-transcribe the text into *fidäl*. In 1875 Mt and Mk were printed, and, in 1876, the complete N.T. Mk was later re-transliterated into Latin letters by an Oromo group in South Africa and printed in 1893 (Darlow – Moule 1903:469).

In Təgray, Z., with Waaree and Gäbrä Mikaʾel, distributed Amharic Bibles, held regular masses and continued Oromiffaa studies. In March 1872, Z., Bender and Mayer travelled together to Šäwa where Mayer was allowed to start an Oromo mission (*Mittheilungen* Nr. 6, Dezember 1872, 25; Smidt 2008). It is not known if Z. evangelized among the Oromo of Šäwa; he died before he could complete an Oromiffaa translation of the O.T. (Smidt in PICES 14).

Z. is primarily remembered for his contribution to the development of modern ↗Amharic literature. His works mark the beginning of a new linguistic era, the (also politically significant) shift from the domination of Gəʿəz to the popular Amharic, following the Protestant idea that religious (and other) texts should be written in the language the people most easily understand. Z.'s chronicle of Tewodros's reign (publ. in 1902 by ↗Littmann, ZanLitTheod; tr. into Italian in 1942 by ↗Moreno, MorTeod) was the first to be compiled entirely in Amharic. Though sympathetic towards Tewodros, the text not only documents great deeds but also the extreme excesses of the ruler, without any self-censorship, "stressing that it was God who had 'raised up' Tewodros to punish and to put an end to all the sin and evil practised in the country before" (RubTew 13). Its language reaches a high level of literary, "almost poetic", elegance (BZHist 35; Bahru Zewde in StudAeth 309).

Z.'s collection of proverbs and aphorisms, *Mäṣḥafä* ↗ *č̣äwata mänfäsawi wäsəgawi* (an original manuscript is kept at the Museum für Völkerkunde Hamburg; s. SixDeu 333; MorTeod 147), compiled in 1864/65 and published in 1924, is considered the earliest work of secular Amharic literature.

The Victoria and Albert Museum, London, keeps Z.'s Oromo–Amharic word list. A collection of letters from Z. to ↗Mənilək II is mentioned by Haile Gabriel Dagne (1967: 251).

Src.: *Sixty-Seventh Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society,* [London] 1871; Staatsarchiv Basel-Stadt, PA 653 documents B7 Nr. 3, D 1 – Organisation 7 (*Chrischona-Blättchen* Nr. 3, September 1869); *Mittheilungen aus der Correspondenz der Pilgermission* Nr. 6/Dezember 1870, 23f.; *ibid.* Nr. 6/Dezember 1872, 25; JOHANN MARTIN FLAD, *60 Jahre in der Mission unter den Falaschas in Abessinien*, Gießen – Basel 1922, 105, 277f.; LUDWIG KRAPF – *Debtera* SANEB – ROOFO (tr.), **ወንጌሌ ፡ ሉቃሴ**. *The Gospel according to St. Luke*, St. Chrischona 1870; JOHANNES LUDWIG KRAPF (tr.), with *Debtera* SANEB – SCHOLAN – WARE – DCHAGAN – RUFO, *Novum Testamentum … in linguam Gallanorum vertit …*, St. Chrischona 1875; Rev. Dr. KRAPF [YOHANÏS LUWIS KRAPF – *aläqa* ZÄNNÄB – RUFO – ŠOLAN – WARE – GAGÄN] (tr.), *The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ Translated into the Galla Language*, St. Chrischona 1876; MorTeod; HORMUZD RASSAM, *Narrative of the British Mission to Theodore*, vol. 2, London 1868, 192; RubActa III, index; SixDeu 333; ZanLitTheod; *däbtära* ZÄNNÄB, letters to *aṣe* Mənilək II, mss. kept in Addis Abäba, Archaeological Museum, *Yäbetä mängəśt sena mazzägağa*, vols. 7, 21, 23.

Lit.: ArEvang 154–57, 446ff.; BAHRU ZEWDE, "The Changing Fortunes of the Amharic Language", in: *StudAeth* 303–16; BZHist 35, 38; CrumMis 133; THOMAS HERBERT DARLOW – HORACE FREDERICK MOULE, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of the Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, vol. 2: *Polyglots and Languages Other than English*, London 1903, 469; JULIUS FLAD, *Johann Martin Flad*: *Ein Leben für Äthiopien*, Basel – Gießen 1968, 32; GEBREHANA GEBREMEDHIN, *A Thematic Approach to the Aphorisms of Zeneb in Metsehafe Chewata Sigawi Wemenfesawi*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1985; HAILE GABRIEL DAGNE, *Versuch einer Erziehungsreform in Äthiopien von 1896 bis 1936*, Ph.D. thesis, Freie Universität Berlin 1967, 251; THOMAS L. MANN, *Biographical Dictionary of Anthropologists Born before 1920*, Chicago, IL 1988, 217; MolLit xiii; RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Beginnings of Oromo Studies in Europe", *Africa* (Roma) 31, 2, 1976, 171–206, here 199ff.; ID., "Zannab, D.", in: *DicAfrBio* 1977, 14; PrRosDic 190; RubInd 22f.; RubTew 13, 42, 68, 77; WOLBERT SMIDT, "The Unknown First Oromo Bible Translator Christian Rufo: Some Insights From Private Missionary Archives", in: *PICES* 14, vol. 1, 634–50; ID., "Quellenübersicht zur Biographie des ehemaligen Sklaven und ersten Oromo-Bibelübersetzers Christian Rufo", *AAP* 67, 2001, 181–97; ID., "Deutsche Briefe von Äthiopiern 1855–1869 aus dem Umkreis der protestantischen Mission zur Regierungszeit von Tewodros II.", in: *VarAeth* 287–316; ID., "Deutsche Briefe von Äthiopiern aus der Protestantischen Mission: Vom Fall des Téwodros bis zur Unterwerfung des Königs Minílik (1869 bis 1878)", *Orientalia Parthenopea* 8, 2008, 9–56; BARBARA STREBEL, "Leben auf dem Missionsfeld. Chrischona-Pilgermission in Äthiopien (1856–1868)", *Aethiopica* 4, 2001, 121–57, here 138; TÄKLÄ ṢADƎQ MÄKʷƎRIYA, **ዐፄ ፡ ቴዎድሮስና ፡ የኢትዮጵያ ፡ አንድነት** (ʿ*Aṣe Tewodrosənna yäʾityoṗya andənnät*, ʻ*Aṣe* Tewodros and the Ethiopian Unity’), Addis Abäba 1981 A.M. [1988/89 A.D.], 49, 507; *Yäʾityoṗya yäʾafriqa qänd ṭənatənna mərəmmära mäṣḥet* [Asmära] 1–2, 1981, 51.

Wolbert G.C. Smidt

Zännäbä Wärq Ḫaylä Śəllase

Ləʾəlt Z. (**ዘነበ ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ኀይለ ፡ ሥላሴ**, baptismal name: Hirut Śəllase; b. 25 July 1917, Addis Abäba [?], d. 25 March 1933, Mäqälä) was the fourth child of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, and his third child by his wife *ətege* ↗Mänän Asfaw, after ↗Tänaññä Wärq and the heir to the throne ↗Asfa Wäsän. She was believed to be the Emperor’s favourite child.

In 1932, for political reasons, Z. was married to *däǧǧazmač* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase Gugsa from Təgray, the son of *ras* ↗Gugsa Arʾaya and grandson of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV. In the same year she moved to ↗Mäqälä to live with her husband. She died soon afterwards, during pregnancy, following a bout of influenza.

Her husband, who was believed to mistreat Z., did not allow Italian doctors, hired by Gugsa Arʾaya, to treat her. Moreover, even after the Emperor sent his personal physician, ↗Zervos, to treat Z., she did not recover.

Z.’s body was taken to Addis Abäba by plane and not allowed to be buried by the family of her husband, an act which offended Ḫaylä Śəllase Gugsa.

The death of Z. had a great impact on Ḫaylä Śəllase, who, as a consequence, introduced a new law which changed and restricted the custom of mourning (↗*Täzkar*).

Src.: HSLife 166, 243, 246; YARED GÄBRÄ MIKAʾEL, **የታሪክ ፡ ሰው** (*Yätarik säw*, ‘Man of History’), Addis Abäba 1955 A.M. [1962/63 A.D.], 84, 126; ID., **ግርማዊት ፡ እቴጌ ፡ መነን** (*Gərmawit ətege Mänän*, ‘Her Majesty *ətege* Mänän’), Addis Abäba 1950 A.M. [1958 A.D.], 16f.

Lit.: FanTarik 594f.; HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *Haile Sellasie I*: *the Formative Years 1892–1936*, Berkeley, CA 1987, 140; MockWar 20, 29, 399.

Hanna Rubinkowska

Zäntära ↗Wäynä Däga

Zanutto, Silvio

Z. (b. 1870, Venice, d. 8 June 1946, Rome) was an Italian bibliographer. In 1892–94, whilst serving as a military officer, he studied Oriental languages in Florence, following courses in Arabic, Chinese and Japanese at the renowned Regio Istituto di Studi Superiori (cp. Marrassini 2007). He also pursued the study of Russian, Hungarian and Georgian. Z. entered the service of the Ministry of Finances in 1894. In 1912 he was called to join the staff of the newly instituted Ministero delle Colonie as director of the library, a post that he carried up to his retirement in 1944.

Z. was extremely active in compiling bibliographies both on colonial matters and of a purely scholarly character. His two bibliographies dedicated to Ethiopia remain an outstanding scientific contribution to ↗Ethiopian Studies (s. Simon 1933; Cohen 1933): a general one of an introductory character resumes the work of Fumagalli (Zanutto ^{2}1936 [1st ed. 1926]); and a specific contribution is dedicated to a survey of the Ethiopic manuscripts in the world (ZanBibl), with detailed information on many little known public and private collections, for some of which his contribution has not yet been wholly superseded by the most recent “catalogue of catalogues” by Beylot – Rodinson (1995). A third contribution dedicated to Ethiopian linguistics was finished and prepared for print, but could not be published (s. Rossi 1946: 56). From the mid-30s to the early ’40s Z. was closely engaged in the compilation of colonial bibliographies. The indexing and systematization of Z.’s huge bibliographical output still awaits due attention.

Src.: bibliographies on Ethiopia: ZanBibl; SILVIO ZANUTTO, *Bibliografia etiopica, in continuazione alla “Bibliografia Etiopica” di G. Fumagalli*, Primo contributo: *Bibliografia*, Roma ^{2}1936b [1st ed. 1926]. – Systematic bibliographies: ID., *Catalogo delle pubblicazioni edite dall’amministrazione coloniale presentate all’Esposizione Coloniale di Anversa*, Roma 1930; ID., *Pubblicazioni edite dall’amministrazione coloniale o sotto i suoi auspici 1882–1937*: *Fascicolo primo*, Roma 1938 (Ministero dell’Africa italiana Ufficio Studi); ID., *Pubblicazioni edite dall’amministrazione coloniale o sotto i suoi auspici: 1882–1937*: *Fascicolo secondo*, Roma 1940 (Ministero dell’Africa Italiana Ufficio Studi); ID., *L’Africa italiana nelle pubblicazioni dell’Amministrazione coloniale*, Roma 1940. – Periodical bibliographies: ID., “Libri sull’Etiopia e sul conflitto italo-etiopico”, *Oriente moderno* 16, 1936a, 424, 533–40 (1st part); *ibid.* 17, 1937, 409–22 (2nd part); *ibid.* 18, 1938, 386–98 (3rd part); *ibid.* 19, 1939, 174–89 (4th part); *ibid.* 20, 1940, 146–52 (5th part); *ibid.* 21, 1941, 590–95 (6th part); ID., *Bibliografia dell’Italia d’Oltremare: anno 1939*, Roma 1940, 5–191; ID., *Bibliografia dell’Italia d’Oltremare: anno 1940*, Roma 1942, 5–155; ID., *Saggio di bibliografia giuridico-agraria coloniale*: *anni 1937, 1938, 1939*, Roma 1940 (Osservatorio italiano di diritto agrario 2); ID., *Saggio di bibliografia giuridico-agrario coloniale*: *anno 1940*, Roma 1941 (id. 3); ID., *Saggio di bibliografia giuridico-agrario coloniale: anno 1941*, Roma 1942 (id. 6); ID., “Rassegna bibliografica”, *Rivista delle Colonie* 9, 1935, 540ff.; *ibid.* 10, 1936, 125ff.; *ibid.* 11, 1937, 100ff.; *ibid*. 12, 1938, 117ff.; *ibid*. 13, 1939, 142ff.; ID., “Bibliografia dell’Africa Orientale Italiana [Anni 1936–1939]”, *Gli Annali dell’Africa Italiana* 3, 1940, 1269–313; 4, 1941, 1395–405; ID., *Bollettino bibliografico coloniale*:

Suppl. mensile alla Rivista delle Colonie*, Anno I* (*1940*), Bologna 1940; ID., *id., Anno II* (*1941*), *ibid.* 1941; ID., *id., Anno III* (*1942*), *ibid.* 1942 [repr. plus a preceding subject index with proper page numbers of: "Bollettino bibliografico coloniale", *Rivista delle Colonie* 14, 1940, 1–119; 15, 1941, 1–96; 16, 1942, 1–62]; ID., *Bollettino bibliografico coloniale*, Supplemento a *Gli Annali dell'Africa Italiana* 6, 1943, 283–94. – Other: ID., "Studi e aspirazioni coloniali tedesche", *Rivista delle Colonie Italiane* 7, 1933, 808–14; ID., "La stampa periodica etiopica", *ibid.* 9, 1935, 478–84; ID., "Una tipografia che gli italiani non impiantarono ad Addis Abeba", *Annali IUO* 2, 1, 1943, 239–42.

Lit.: ROBERT BEYLOT – MAXIME RODINSON, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits éthiopiens*, Paris 1995 (Documents, Études et Répertoires Publiés par l'Institut de Recherches et d'Histoire des Textes [46]); MARCEL COHEN, [review of ZanBibl], *JA* 223, 1933, 187–88; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, [review of Zanutto 1936b], *Annales Lateranenses* 1, 1937, 302–03; ENNO LITTMANN, [review of ZanBibl], *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 7, 1934, 434–36; ID., [review of Zanutto 1936b], *ibid.* 11, 1938, 693–94; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "Le discipline orientalistiche all'Istituto di Studi Superiori di Firenze", in: NICOLETTA MARASCHIO (ed. in collaboration with PAOLO BELARDINELLI – MARINA BONGI), *Firenze e la lingua italiana fra nazione ed Europa. Atti del Convegno di Studi Firenze, 27–28 maggio 2004*, Firenze 2007, 157–64; ETTORE ROSSI, "Zanutto, Silvio (1870–1946)", *Oriente moderno* 26, 1946, 55–57; JEAN SIMON, [review of ZanBibl], *Orientalia* nova ser. 2, 1933, 188–91.

Alessandro Bausi

Zaphiropoulos, Photios

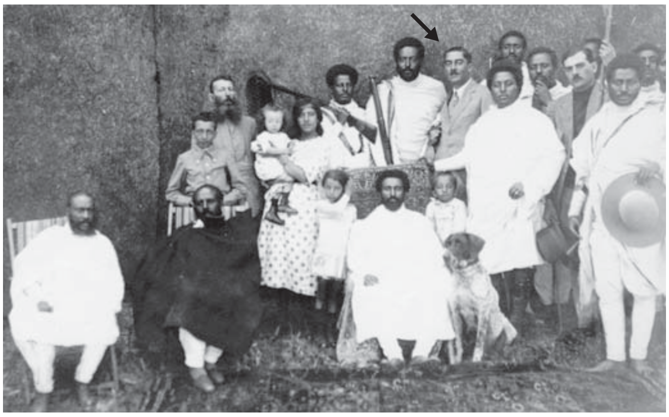
Z. (also known as Zaphiro, b. 10 January 1879, Constantinople, d. 29 August 1933, Dərrä Dawa) was a translator and a zoologist, who served as a diplomat for the British Residency in Ethiopia between 1905–33.

As a child he attended Greek schools in Cairo, was later employed at an uncle's store and became a pharmacy apprentice in a hospital. Sometime around the turn of the century he went to ↗Harär where he opened a pharmacy and offered rudimentary medical service.

He learned Amharic, Oromiffaa and other local languages. In 1902 he organized a two-year expedition for John ↗Harrington, in which animals were collected in the south of the country for the British Zoo. Z. also worked as a taxidermist travelling throughout southern Ethiopia, preparing insects, reptiles and birds for exhibition in the British Museum (Natsoulas 1994–95: 637; Procopiou 1930: 87; Chenevix-Trench 1965: 48f.).

In 1905 he entered the British service in which he remained until his death in 1933. The British, concerned over further Ethiopian advancement to the south, appointed Z. border inspector for the boundary of the East African Protectorate (EAP) with Ethiopia, due to his knowledge of the region and the people. His duties were to monitor the border, establish good relations with the local peoples, repulse Təgray elephant hunters (↗Elephants) who were encroaching into the EAP, to stop the arms trade and, in general, to stimulate local trade. The border line, which was referred to as the Maud line, ran for 400 miles from Kismayu (↗Kismaago) n the east to Lakes Stephanie and Rudolf in the west, and was patrolled by Z. with the help of 30 to 60 ↗*askaris* and ca. 60 Ethiopian soldiers (Foreign Office 371/2; Foreign Office 491/10; Natsoulas 1994-95: 637–40; Chevenix-Trench 1965: 50; ↗Boundaries, ↗Treaties s. EAE vol. 5).

In the following year Z. became a member of an Anglo-Ethiopia boundary commission which was to fix the border permanently. He was on the commission until 1911 when he was appointed first interpreter with the title of Abyssinian secretary in the British Residency in Addis Abäba. In 1915 he was appointed a vice-consul and spent six months on Lake ↗Ṭana, involved in the Nile water negotiations. In the same year he was appointed to the Order of St. Michael and St. George. In 1918, Z. was seconded to General Ronald Storrs' staff in Jerusalem with the position of Oriental secretary. He returned to his duties in Addis Abäba in 1919, and also became a commercial adviser for British companies. In 1921 the new British Resident Minister promoted Z. to first secretary in the British residency in Addis Abäba and put him in permanent diplomatic service. By the early 1930s his health started to deteriorate and he passed



Zaphiro (s. arrow), behind *ras* Täfäri, on the left, in the back row, the Russian settler Babitcheff (with his children in front of him); photo early 1920s, from the collection of André Evalet away only three years later (for the circumstances of his death s. Natsoulas 1994–95: 640f.; Hudson 1927: 265; Rey 1927: 236; Hertslet 1922: 457; Colonial Office 533/408/16).

Src.: Great Britain, Public Record Office, Foreign Office, 371/2, 371/595, 491/10–12; Colonial Office, 533/408/16; Godfrey Hertslet, *Foreign Service List and Consular Yearbook for 1921*, London 1922, 47, 457, 598; Arnold Hudson, *Seven Years in Southern Abyssinia*, London 1927, 265; Charles Rey, *In the Country of the Blue Nile*, London 1927, 236.

Lit.: Charles Chenevix-Trench, "Why a Greek?: An East African Frontier in 1905", *History Today* 15, 1965, 48–56; Theodore Natsoulas, "Accommodation to Ethiopia: Sketches of Four Greek Lives in Africa", *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* 10/11, 1994–95, 629–51; Socrates Procopiou, *Neo-Ellenes stin Asia kai Afriki* ['Neo-Hellenes in Asia and Africa'], Athens 1930; Frederic Sharf (ed.) *Letters from Abyssinia, 1916 and 1917*, Hollywood, CA 2004, s. index.

Theodore Natsoulas

Zar ↗Possession cults

Zärᵓa Abrəham

Abba Z.A. (**ዘርአ ፡ አብርሃም**; fl. 15th cent.) was a saintly monk of the spiritual line of *abba* ↗Anorewos "the Elder" of Wägäg.

The main source of information on Z.A. is his short Vita (↗*Gädl*), known from a 19th-cent. copy prepared for Antoine d'↗Abbadie (BN d'Abbadie 161, CRAbb 228–48 no. 63). The manuscript also includes an Amharic explication on ↗Henok (pp. 1–220), the Acts of Z.A.'s contemporary ↗Fəre Mikaᵓel of Wäräb (pp. 221–27) and a lengthy Arabic text (a hagiography of *šayḫ* ↗Ḥusayn, pp. 1–94 from right to left).

According to his Acts, Z.A. was born to Amməḫa Ṣəyon and Wälättä Ṣəyon. His father was the head of the royal army, and Z.A. was raised to be a soldier and assumed his father's position after the latter's death. He married twice, but both his wives died while pregnant. He left his military role and became a warrior for God; a great ascetic living in the wilderness among ↗demons and wild animals. He also had a vision of St. ↗Anthony. He became a disciple of Zälibanos of Däbrä Yälmetän (KinBibl no. 193); however, he eventually travelled to Wäräb and the monastery of Däbrä Ṣəgaga, the site of the grave of Anorewos "the Elder". Upon his departure, he took leave of his mother (who had become a nun and apparently resided nearby), saying that she would only see him again in spirit and in heaven.

Much of the text is composed of miracles or accounts of his extreme asceticism, which ran the complete gamut of such practices. Z.A. dressed in harsh garments which wore away his flesh, bowed incessantly, refused to eat prepared food, assumed the form of a human cross mimicking the passion of the Lord etc. He also copied the crown of thorns worn by Jesus. He had a vision of Anorewos and Frumentius (↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan), who commanded him to spread Christianity in ↗Damot. The importance of his connection to Däbrä Ṣəgaga and a passage in his Acts which condemn the ↗Stephanites would appear to place him among the royal loyalist monks of his period. He died on 18 *Säne*.

Gädlä Zärᵓa Abrəham appears similar in style to *Gädlä Fəre Mikaᵓel*, including the idea of a spiritual relationship with *abba* Anorewos.

Src.: ms. BN d'Abbadie 161 (ChAbb no. 161 = CRAbb no. 63); Boryssus Turaiev (ed., tr.), *Vitae Sanctorum Indigenarum*: *Acta S. Ferē Mikāᵓēl et S. Zarᵓā Abrehām*, Lipsiae 1905 (CSCO 35, 36 [SAe 18, 19]), 14–36 (text) = 11–32 (tr.).

Lit.: KinBibl 101 (nos. 193, 195); Friedrich Heyer, *Die Heiligen der Äthiopischen Erde*, Erlangen 1998 (Oikonomia 37), 100ff.; Rudolf Kriss – Hubert Kriss-Heinrich, *Volkskundliche Anteile in Kult und Legende äthiopischer Heiliger*, Wiesbaden 1975, 98, 112; Osvaldo Raineri, "Zarᵓa Abreham", in: *EncSan* vol. 2, 1382–83.

Steven Kaplan

Zärᵓa Buruk

Abunä Z.B. (**ዘርአ ፡ ቡሩክ**, also Zärᵓabruk and variants, baptismal name Ṣägga Krəstos [?]; b. ca. 1630–40, d. 18 January 1700 [?]) was a saintly figure from ↗Goğğam, a contemporary of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I and *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I.

The main source of information on his life is a collection of miracles (↗*Täᵓammər*), edited by Jäger (1912) and translated by Ricci (1979) after the manuscripts

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Hs. orient. quart 1015 (1705/06 A.D., Goğğam; HamSixBerl 251f., no. 135, 26 miracles and a ↗*mälkəᵓ* to Z.B.); Rome, ANLin, Conti Rossini 83 (20th cent., copy from a manuscript kept at Zärᵓa Buruk church, Gəš Abbay; StrANLin 210–16, 30 miracles including a *Dərsanä Mikaᵓel*, and two miracles of Mary); ANLin, Conti Rossini 115 (1900/01, copy for Conti Rossini from a manuscript kept at Ǝnda Śəllase, Bur; ibid. 284–88, 24 miracles).

To this list, one should add the following recently discovered witnesses:

ms. Schøyen 2074 (after 1732, 42 and 6 miracles and other texts); ms. ZA-002 from Zärᵓa Buruk, Ḥawzen (18th cent., 42 miracles [including a *Dərsanä Mikaᵓel*] and other texts); ms. NSM-015 from Däbrä Sälam Mikaᵓel in Nəḥbi (ᶜAddigrat, 1928/29, 23 miracles); ms. AM-009 from Asir Mätira (1935/36, 23 miracles); photoset Ceccarini 10, Comboni house (mid-19th cent., 35 miracles); and a manuscript seen by Kinefe-Rigb Zelleke in Waldəbba (KinBibl 101).

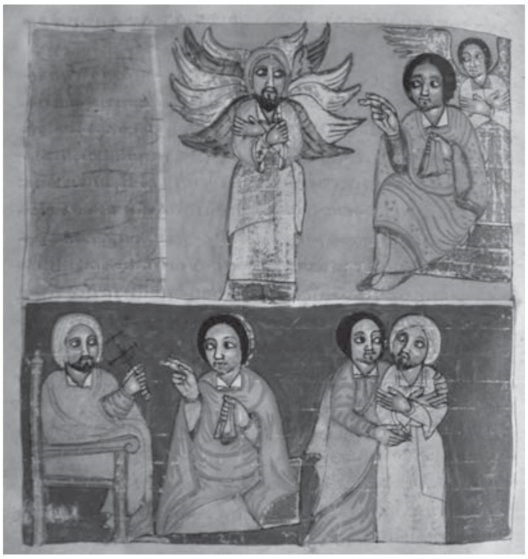
Most manuscripts contain a more or less extensive hagiographic dossier: apart from the *Miracles* (in some copies referred to as the Contendings, ↗*Gädl*), they may include one or more ↗*mälkəᵓ*, ↗*sälam*, ↗*qəne* and liturgical compositions devoted to the Saint. Furthermore, both a short and a long redaction appear to exist (Nosnitsin – Sokolinskaia, in preparation).

Some hymns to Z.B. appear to have been inserted into other collections or texts. Very widespread is the *sälam* on Z.B.'s love for the Saviour of the World, containing a story against ↗tobacco (based on one of the miracles, s. Ricci 1979: 55f.; s. Nosnitsin – Sokolinskaia, in preparation for the list of manuscripts; cp. also Bosc-Tiessé 2010, n. 42 and esp. n. 52).

Additionally, Kinefe-Rigb Zelleke (KinBibl 101) lists manuscripts of the *Gädlä Zärᵓa Buruk* kept at Aṣbi Śəllase and ᶜAndido Gäbrəᵓel, Təgray. It is not clear how these texts relate to each other, or whether the Z.B. of these hagiographies ("native of Eritrea") is the same as the one venerated in Goǧǧam (s. Ricci 1979: 5ff.). According to some oral traditions (*märigeta* Mälaku Fälläqä, s. Heyer 1998: 201f. and AmhChurchD vol. 4, 153f.; other copies of texts on him are kept in Däbrä Bizän), a *Gädlä Zärᵓa Buruk* is kept in [Ǝnda] Zärᵓa Buruk in ↗Šire, Təgray.

In the *Miracles*, Z.B.'s parents were Dämä Krəstos and Maryam Mogäśa. According to local oral traditions, he was born in Densa. The child, who became blind at the age of seven, grew up to be very pious. After a period of spiritual wanderings, Z.B. settled in Ṣima (south of Lake ↗Ṭana). The centre of his activity was, reportedly, the area of the sources of the Blue Nile (↗Abbay). He was also active in the entire region of ↗Ǝnfraz, especially on the Lake Ṭana island of Məṣraḥa.

Towards the end of his life, Z.B. appears to have been deeply involved in the Christological controversies of his time. For disagreeing with the king, he was condemned, and subsequently imprisoned, for five years (possibly at ↗Azäzo, according to the reading of ms. Conti Rossini 83). Z.B. was released to attend, together with other exiled "heretics", a royal church council (possibly that of ↗Yəbaba convened by Iyasu, in accordance with the reading suggested by Ricci, but cp. Nosnitsin – Sokolinskaia, in preparation). Z.B. was allowed to return to his community, and died soon after, on 12 *Ṭərr*.



Zärᵓa Buruk taken to heaven; Zärᵓa Buruk and the Trinity, *Gädlä Zärᵓa Buruk*, 18th cent., Schøyen 2074, fol. 16v; photo 2011 by Evgenia Sokolinskaia, courtesy of the Schøyen Collection

During his wanderings, Z.B. is said to have enjoyed the company of saints and prophets in the heavenly ↗Jerusalem and to have had the power to intercede on behalf of those condemned to the fires of Hell, including *abba* ↗Absadi, a disciple of ↗Ewosṭatewos. His hagiographer viewed Z.B. as being the greatest of all saints including both Ewosṭatewos and Täklä Haymanot (to whom Z.B.'s spiritual genealogy is traced, via Gerəlos, or Gərlos, a disciple of ↗Yafqərännä Ǝgziᵓ).

Z.B. does not figure in the texts of historiographical genres of the time. His life shows some parallels to that of the contemporary *əččäge* ↗Ṣägga Krəstos (!) and to such *Qəbat* "martyrs" as *abba* ↗Zäᵓiyäsus ("ᶜəwwur"). In some, possibly earlier, compositions (e.g., the *Səbḥatä fəqur* in the Ḥawzen ms.), Z.B. and Ṣägga Krəstos are two different characters, the teacher and the disciple.

The centre of veneration of Z.B. is the church dedicated to him (formerly: to St. Michael) at Gəš Abbay. It is still frequently referred to as Mikaᵓel Zärᵓa Buruk. A water source at that site is believed to have ↗healing powers (↗*Ṣäbäl*) due to the blessing of Z.B. (in accordance with his ↗*kidan*), who is considered a patron of healers. He is commemorated monthly on the day of his death (cp. Mercier after Ricci 1980-81: 71; Fritsch 2001), but does not appear in the ↗*Sənkəssar*.

In Wällo, a ↗spirit locally known as Ṭadqu is identified by tradition with Z.B. (and the possessed demand that the *Gädlä Zärᵓa Buruk* be read to them; Mercier in EtRicci 235f.).

[Ǝnda] Zärᵓa Buruk in ↗Šire was, according to *märigeta* Mälaku, founded in the 14th cent. by a Z.B. from Egypt (Heyer 1998: 201f.). Half a century earlier, however, Ellero had been told that its founder was a 15th-cent. Z.B. from Šäwa (EllLusAnt 23f.).

The church of Ǝnda Zärᵓa Buruk is located in Təgray, ca. 10 km east of Aksum. One of the *tabots* of the May Anbäsa monastery in East Təgray is also consecrated to Z.B.; it possibly originates from an old cave church located on the slope beneath the monastery.

The rock-hewn church Zärᵓa Abruk in ↗Gärᶜalta (Plant 1985: 65) considerably predates the life of Z.B.; if the dedication is also of an earlier date, this may be another indication to two Z.B. (Fiaccadori 1989: 152).

The known hagiographies from Təgray only speak of Z.B. of Goǧǧam. The veneration of the "southern" Z.B. in Təgray was also noted by Parkyns in the 19th cent. (1966:321ff.: the cult of Z.B. among the group he calls "Fellaty"). It seems possible that different origins are ascribed to Z.B. only by relatively recent oral traditions.

Src.: ChTana 16, 72; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI – CARL JAEGER (eds.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum. I. Acta S. Walatta Pēṭros. II. Miracula S. Zara-Buruk*, Louvain 1912 (CSCO 68 [SAe 30]), here 145–216 [ed. by JAEGER], 217–47 [variant readings by Conti Rossini]; MANSFIELD PARKYNS, *Life in Abyssinia*: *being Notes Collected During Three Year's Residence and Travels in that Country*, London ^{2}1966, 321–25; LANFRANCO RICCI (tr.), *Miracoli di Zarᵓa Buruk*, Louvain 1979 (CSCO 409 [SAe 72]); StrANLin 210–16, 284–88; BORIS TURAIEV, "Zara-Buruk, abissinskij svjatoj XVII–XVIII vv. Zametki iz ėfiopskih rukopisej Vatikana" ('Zärᵓa Buruk, an Abyssinian Saint of the 17th–18th cent. Notes from the Ethiopic Manuscripts from Vatican'), *Vizantijskij vremennik* 15, 1909, 170–88.

Lit.: AmhChurchD vol. 4, 152f.; CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ, "La tête qui fume de l'église de Nārgā. Histoire des mœurs et histoire politique du royaume d'Éthiopie du XVI^{e} au XX^{e} siècle", *Afriques* 1, 2010 (*http://afriques.revues.org/414*); CARL JAEGER, "Über den jüngsten bisher bekannten hagiologischen Geᶜez Text: Die Taᵓāmer des Zarᵓa Būrūk", *ZA* 25, 1911, 227–74; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Aethiopica minima", *Quaderni utinensi* 7 [13–14], 1989 [1993], 145–64, here 152 and nn. 163f. (VI. *Ad Zarᵓa Buruk*); EMMANUEL FRITSCH, *The Liturgical Year of the Ethiopian Church,* Addis Ababa 2001 (Ethiopian Review of Cultures, Special Issue IX–X); FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Die Heiligen der Äthiopischen Erde*, Erlangen 1998 (Oikonomia 37), 201–08; KinBibl 101, no. 196; RUDOLF KRISS – HUBERT KRISS-HEINRICH, *Volkskundliche Anteile in Kult und Legende äthiopischer Heiliger*, Wiesbaden 1975, 61–66; JACQUES MERCIER, "Zarᵓa Buruk, 'le père des plaies'", in: *EtRicci* 233–44; DENIS NOSNITSIN – EVGENIA SOKOLINSKAIA, "Some New Considerations on Zärᵓa Buruk" (in preparation; Lit.); OSVALDO RAINERI, "Zarᵓa Buruk", in: *EncSan* 1383–84; RUTH PLANT, *Architecture of the Tigre, Ethiopia*, Worcester 1985, 65 no. 20; LANFRANCO RICCI, "Ad Zar'a Buruk", *RSE* 28, 1980–81, 61–76.

Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob

I. Introduction and sources
II. Biography
III. Internal politics: Administrative reforms; Religious reforms; Calendar reforms; Contribution to literature; Relation to magic practice; Church constructions
IV. Foreign relations
V. Family and descent

I. Introduction and sources

Aṣe Z.Y. (**ዘርአ ፡ ያዕቆብ**, throne name Qʷäsṭänṭinos; b. 1399, Fäṭägar (Ṭəlq), d. 1468, Däbrä Bərhan; r. 1434–68) was the outstanding ruler of the early Solomonic period (1270–1527). His attempts to provide a firm basis for both Church and State were unmatched by either his predecessors or successors (cp. TadTChurch 302).

Sources on the reign of Z.Y. are numerous, various and partly produced under the supervision of the Emperor himself. Z.Y. was not only a patron of literature, he had large numbers of books composed, translated and copied probably in a scriptorium in his court. This scriptorium was composed by such members of the high clergy as Zäkarəyas, the *qäsis ḥaṣay* of Z.Y. (EMML V, 323 [ms. no. 1835]; Getatchew Haile 1992: 59) or Yosṭinos of Däbrä Maryam, belonging to the court clergy (Getatchew Haile 1981: 311, 323; Lusini 1996: VI [tr.]). The texts elaborated in the royal court were then sent to the churches of the kingdom (and to more remote places) to be read during specific feasts (Derat 2005). One of the most famous manuscripts linked to the scriptorium of Z.Y. and sent to the church of ↗Däbrä Maryam in Qʷäḥayn is EMML no. 1480, gathering a large part of the texts produced under the supervision of the Emperor (texts edited by Getatchew Haile).

The work known as the chronicle of Z.Y. actually combines two independent works, with one taking a far less critical tone than the other (Kropp 1983–1984: 58f.; Derat 2004: 212f.). Both works were produced by Z.Y.'s contemporaries but without royal control. The later version appears to date to the beginning of the 16th cent., approximately 40 years after Z.Y. death. These texts reflect the reforms undertaken by Z.Y., the organization of the kingdom, the royal foundations, the authoritarian nature of Z.Y. who put to death several of his children whom he suspected of plotting against him. The chronicle of Z.Y. marks the inauguration of a new tradition of indigenous Ethiopian ↗historiography.

II. Biography

Z.Y. was born in 1399 in ↗Fäṭägar, as the youngest son of *aṣe* ↗Dawit II and his Queen Ǝgziʾ Kəbra. According to a story included in the ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam*, he was born safely through the intervention of the Virgin ↗Mary. He is said to have joined the monastery of ↗Däbrä Abbay and later resided on a mountain (↗*Amba*) where he was imprisoned (Taddesse Tamrat in PICES 4, vol. 1, 516f.). Some scholars identify this mountain with the royal prison of ↗Amba Gəšän (Getatchew Haile 1982: 24f.).

Z.Y. was the fourth of Dawit's sons to become emperor and his ascension took place only after several years of chaos following the death of his brother ↗Yəsḥaq and the short reigns of another brother Ḥəzbä Nañ (↗Täklä Maryam) as well as three of his nephews. In the first years of his reign he faced a conspiracy of the highest dignitaries of the kingdom, among whom *bitwäddäd* Isayəyyas and his wife Šiḥ Mängäśa (who may be identified with one of the daughters of Z.Y.). These opponents had a strong regional base in Təgray (Derat 2004: 221). *Bitwäddäd* Isayəyyas was dismissed and replaced by a certain ↗ʿAmdä Mäsqäl who then was also dismissed and replaced by Z.Y.'s daughter Bərhan Zämäda (Getatchew Haile 1991: 53–63; PerrZarY 4–12). For this reason Z.Y. travelled to ↗Aksum in 1437 in order to re-establish his authority in Təgray. He was crowned in Aksum on 21 *Ṭərr*, most probably of the year 1439, after the arrival in Ethiopia of the two metropolitans ↗Gäbrəʾel and Mikaʾel (CRAxum 67f. [text] = 81f. [tr.]; KolTrad III, A31). For this ceremony, Z.Y. established new regulations based on "the rites followed by his ancestors", the *Śərʿatä qʷərḥat* also known as the *Ḥəggä qʷərḥat* (↗coronations; PerrZarY 49ff., 83; DillZarY 18ff.; Sciarrino 1994: 150ff.).

Many events marked the reign of Z.Y. Among them one can evoke his victory over ↗Aḥmad Badlāy of ↗Ifat in 1445, the council of ↗Däbrä Məṭmaq in 1450, or the establishment of a permanent capital for the last 14 years of his reign in ↗Däbrä Bərhan. According to the chroniclers, Z.Y. died in Däbrä Bərhan. Being sick, knowing that he would die, he appointed his son ↗Bäʾədä Maryam as his successor.

III. Internal politics

Administrative reforms

In general Z.Y. is known for his efforts in producing regulations for the Christian kingdom. In addition to the *Śərʿatä qʷərḥat*, he established the regulations for the yearly banquet of *Mäskäräm* (↗*Śərʿatä gəbər*) which specified the obligations of the different members of the court in bringing food (Kropp 1988; Derat 2002b) or the regulations for the moving of the court, the *Śərʿatä gʷəzo* (PerrZarY 44f.; Deresse Ayenachew 2009: 230ff.).

Religious reforms

Z.Y. also undertook many religious reforms. On ascending the throne he quickly made his sympathies for the ↗Ewosṭateans and their two-↗Sabbath position clear. In 1442, while the de jure leaders of the Church, the Egyptian bishops Gäbrəʾel and Mikaʾel, were still supporting the Alexandrian teachings, Z.Y. sent to the Ethiopian community of ↗Jerusalem a copy of the ↗*Senodos* for the use on the days of the first Sabbath and Sunday (Ludolf 1691: 303). In 1450 at the council at Däbrä Məṭmaq at which he personally presided, the observance of the Saturday Sabbath was declared mandatory for all Christians. He marked the event by giving generous land grants to the Ewosṭateans, but at the same time appeased their rivals, the followers of *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot, by showing them a similar generosity and renaming the monastery of Däbrä ʿAsbo with the more prestigious name of ↗Däbrä Libanos. The two bishops Gäbrəʾel and Mikaʾel had no other choice than to agree with observing the two Sabbaths. They wrote a letter inviting the Christians to observe them and this letter was copied in the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*bərhan* sent to the churches of the kingdom (Getatchew Haile 1981).

In contrast to his conciliatory attitude towards the Ewosṭateans, Z.Y. had violent clashes with the ↗Zämikaʾelites and ↗Ǝsṭifanos and his followers (↗Stephanites). In their first meeting Z.Y. was outraged by Ǝsṭifanos's audacity and refusal to pass judgment in civil matters. He had him flogged. At their second meeting in January 1444, faced by Ǝsṭifanos's refusal to accept his innovations regarding the Cross and the cult of ↗Mary, and perhaps more than anything else his refusal to bow before the Emperor, Z.Y. had him tortured and imprisoned (cp. Piovanelli

1995: 207–13). When Ǝsṭifanos died in prison, Z.Y. ignored the request of his disciples that he be buried in Təgray and had his corpse placed near a Muslim grave in Ṣakara in ↗Däwaro and burnt in public. The Stephanites followed their leader and also refused to prostrate in front of images of Mary. All those who refused the enhanced veneration of Mary in the way Z.Y. demanded it were called *ṣärä Maryam* (lit. 'Enemy of Mary') or ↗*Ayhud*.

Visual images played a key role in Z.Y.'s religious programme. While his father Dawit is credited with acquiring a ↗relic of the True Cross (↗Mäsqäl: Legend of the Finding of the Holy Cross), it was Z.Y. who fully developed the devotion to the Cross in ritual and art. The custom of displaying a cross on royal dwellings was initiated during his reign as did the use of a particular type of processional cross with knotted ribbon finals which was combined with an icon (usually the Virgin and Child). The presentation of the cross was not limited to formal works of art. During his reign the sign of the Cross (as well as declarations of faith) were tattooed on believers' hands and foreheads (PerrZarY 6), and affixed to Christians' clothes, weapons and ploughs. It was also during his reign that Marian icons gained dramatically in popularity with the works of the monk-painter ↗Fəre Ṣəyon being perhaps the most important examples (Heldman 1994).

Calendar reforms

Calendaric reform was yet another part of Z.Y.'s programme of religious reform (↗Calendar). Although it has been suggested that Z.Y.'s aforementioned support of the two-Sabbath position was "a sensible political decision" (TadTChurch 226) in light of the comparative strengths of the rival parties within the Church, this was only part of the story. It also fits with a more general policy through which he embedded the Christian ↗feasts and fasts (↗fasting) in the rhythm of the believers' daily lives. He is credited with the introduction of no less than 32 (most sources say 33) Marian feasts. The celebration of the feast of St. Michael on the 12th of each month is also an example of his reforms as was a monthly commemoration of the birth of Christ, which also marked Z.Y.'s own victory over Aḥmad Badlāy (Cerulli 1933; Derat 2002a).

Contribution to literature

Works which Z.Y. composed, co-composed or commissioned from scholars at the court, dealt with the controversies of the time including the Saturday-Sabbath issue, the theology of the ↗Trinity, the number of canonical scriptures (↗Bible: biblical canon), the veneration of the Virgin Mary, icons and the Cross. They included, e.g., the ↗*Ǝgziʾabəḥer nägśä*, the ↗*Səbḥatä fəqur*, the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*bərhan*, the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*milad*, the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*śəllase*, the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*baḥrəy*, the ↗*Täʿaqəbo məśṭir*, the ↗*Ṭomarä təsbəʾət*, the *Kəhdätä säyṭan* and the *Dərsanä mäläʾəkt*. Some new miracles of Mary were also added to the compilation translated during his father's reign (*Täʾammərä Maryam*), e.g., those dedicated to the victory of Z.Y. against Aḥmad Badlāy in Gomit (Cerulli 1933: 80–99). Most of these works are highly polemical in character and focus on refuting the views of Z.Y.'s opponents. They also give a good idea of the ↗kingship ideology of Z.Y., his version of the events concerning his reign and his opponents.

Relation to magic practice

Special note should be made in this context of Z.Y.'s efforts to eradicate "magical" practices from the church (↗magic). Feeling personally threatened by magicians, priests had to sprinkle holy water (↗*Ṣäbäl*) at his court night and day while reciting prayers (PerrZarY 40f.). In his fight to abolish magic practice Z.Y. did not even spare his own family, from his chronicle we know that his sons Tewodros, Gälawdewos, ʿAmdä Ṣəyon, Zärʾa Abrəham, and his daughters Aṣnaf Sämra and Dəl Sämra were severely punished for idolatry (PerrZarY 5, 98, 202). Passages from the *Mäṣḥafä baḥrəy*, are often seen as an example for Z.Y.'s fight against magic practice, also in many other texts such evidence can be found.

Church constructions

Z.Y. also made the royal presence and that of the Church felt on the landscape. He established his court in Däbrä Bərhan, building a royal church and a palace, ca. 1456 in the wake of a miraculous event, perhaps the appearance of Halley's Comet, breaking with the custom of his predecessors who had a mobile court (↗*kätäma*). He spent the last 14 years of his reign in this locality, where in later years the church of Betä Qirqos was also founded (PerZarY 72ff.). He also established other royal churches in the kingdom (a total of seven) among which Däbrä Məṭmaq and ↗Däbrä Nägʷädgʷad had a specific role. It was in Däbrä Məṭmaq, built in commemoration of the destruction of the Egyptian monastery of Məṭmaq, where Z.Y. summoned the council on the observance of the Sabbath. Däbrä Nägʷädgʷad was conceived as the future necropolis of the Emperor where he had his father and mother buried (PerrZarY 83–87). After his victory over Aḥmad Badlāy, he donated trophies to the church. He himself was buried at the site but later transferred by ↗Naᶜod to the monastery of Däbrä ↗Daga Ǝsṭifanos at Lake ↗Ṭana (DerDom 284–313).

IV. Foreign relations

In addition to his concentration on the internal problems of Ethiopia, Z.Y. also engaged aggressively in the defence of Ethiopia's borders. Throughout much of his reign he focused on the ↗Walašmaᶜ sultanate of Ifat. In August 1443 the leader Aḥmad Badlāy along with his brother ↗Ḫayraddīn (s. EAE vol. 5) staged a successful incursion into Šäwa. Two years later they repeated their victory in Däwaro. However, on 25/26 December 1445, they were defeated by Z.Y. in a decisive battle at Gomit (↗Egubba; PerrZarY 64, 88). Not only did Z.Y. personally kill the Ifat ruler but he also cut his body into pieces and distributed it throughout his kingdom.

Z.Y. also entertained foreign relations with ↗Barsbāy, ruler of Egypt, whom he requested to treat his Christian inhabitants respectfully. Yet this might have had the contrary effect for in 1440 Z.Y. received a letter from the Coptic patriarch John XI, informing him of the destruction of the monastery of Məṭmaq (PerrZarY 55ff.). Z.Y. also dispatched Pietro ↗Rombulo (s. EAE vol. 5) with two Ethiopians as envoys to Europe. They visited Pope Nicholas V in Rome and participated in king ↗Alfonso V's triumphal entry into Naples 1450. They argued about sending military aid and craftsmen to Ethiopia (Ryder 1990: 282; De Witte 1956).

V. Family and descent

The details regarding the wives and descendants of Z.Y. are complex and the textual evidence appears at times to be contradictory. While in part this is clearly due to differing transcriptions and perhaps the identification of individuals by several ↗names (royal, baptismal, pseudonym), it also reflects in some measure the tremendous tensions which existed at court during his reign. Z.Y. married three wives: ↗Ǝleni, Fəre Maryam and ↗Ṣəyon Mogäsa. Perhaps the best known member of his family was his "queen of the right" Ǝleni (Admas Mogäsa or Žan Zela; PerrZayY 16, 59), the daughter of the ruler (↗*gärad*) of Hadiyya. According to some scholars, she became one of the queens of *aṣe* ↗Bäʾədä Maryam, as "queen of the right" (PerrZarY 125) and continued until her death ca. 1522 to be the most influential female figure in Ethiopia for over half a century. She entertained relations with the Portuguese (↗Portugal, relations with), and is even said to have authored a number of religious scriptures. For some other scholars, the longevity of this queen is suspicious and they consider there were two different queens named Ǝleni (Kropp 1988: 3 n. 9; DerDom 269).

The "queen of the left" Žan Ḫayla (Christian name Fəre Maryam; PerrZarY 55, 85) gave birth to two daughters, Mädḫən Zämäda and Bərhan Zämäda, who acquired the prestigious title of ↗*bitwäddäd*, the latter after her husband ᶜAmdä Mäsqäl (renamed ᶜAmdä Säyṭan) fell foul of her by committing adultery and was exiled by her father (PerrZarY 9ff.). Their third daughter, Ṣäbälä Maryam, governed over Bägemdər (PerrZarY 13, 55, 95). Yet another daughter of Z.Y., Šiḥ Mängäśa, may have been involved in anti-royal conspiracies with her husband, Isayəyyas (Getatchew Haile 1991: 53 n. 103). Other children of Z.Y. about whom less is known even by his chroniclers are his sons ᶜAmdä Maryam, Zärʾa Abrəham, Bäträ Ṣəyon and his daughters Dəl Sämra, Rom Gänäyäla, Sofya and Adäl Mängəśa (PerrZarY 5, 13f., 95; cp. genealogic table in BassHist I, 211).

The last queen of Z.Y., known as his youngest wife, was Ṣəyon Mogäsa, also known as Žan Källäla (PerrZarY 106; ms. BritLib Or. 481 fol. 154; Taddesse Tamrat in PICES 1). She is said to have been the mother of Bäʾədä Maryam, who succeeded his father Z.Y. in 1468. Similarly, Bäʾədä Maryam may be the same person as Gälawdewos or Bäträ Gela Maryam, since they are also said to have rebelled against their father. In any event it appears that Bäʾədä Maryam's mother fell out of favour with Z.Y. and did not live to see her son's rise to power. He was, moreover, imprisoned for commemorating her death.

It is interesting to note in this context that ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel traditions claim that one of the sons of Z.Y. rebelled against his father, became a "Jew" and eventually joined the Betä Ǝsraʾel as a monk (PerrZarY 96f.). Groups in southern Ethiopia, like the "Žärä" among the ↗Səlṭi and the ↗Gurage, also claim legendary descent from Z.Y. (s. Bustorf 2006).

Src.: mss. EMML IV, 599–603, no. 1480; V, 323, no. 1835; BritLib Or. 481 (WrBriMus 1–6); CerMaria; ENRICO CERULLI, "L'Etiopia del secolo XV in nuovi documenti storici", *Africa Italiana* 2, 1933, 57–112; CRAxum; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Un frammento degli atti di Batērgēlā Māryām", *RSE* 3, 1943, 131–38; CRRicBerhan; DillmZarY; GETATCHEW HAILE (ed., tr.), "The Letter of Archbishops Mikaᵓel and Gäbrəᵓel", *JSS* 26, 1981, 73–78; ID., "The Homily of Aṣe Zarᵓa Yaᶜəqob of Ethiopia in Honour of Saturday", *Orientalia Lovaniensia periodica* 13, 1982, 185–231; ID., *The Different Collections of Nagś Hymns in Ethiopic Literature and Their Contributions*, Erlangen 1983a (Oikonomia. Quellen und Studien zur orthodoxen Theologie 19); ID., "The Homily of Zarᵓa Yaᶜeqob in Honour of Saint John the Evangelist, EMML 1480, ff. 48r–52v", *OrChr* 67, 1983b, 144–66; ID., "The Life of Abuna Yosṭinos (EMML 1480, ff. 44r–47r)", *AbBoll* 101, 1983c, 311–25; ID. (ed., tr.), *The Epistle of Humanity of Emperor Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob* (*Ṭomarä Təsbəᵓt*), Louvain 1991 (CSCO 522, 523 [SAe 95, 96]); ID., *The Mariology of Emperor Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob of Ethiopia*, Roma 1992 (OrChrA 248); KolTrad III; MANFRED KROPP, "The Sərᶜatä Gəbr: a Mirror View of Daily Life at the Ethiopian Royal Court in the Middle Ages", *NEASt* 10, 2–3, 1988, 51–87; [HIOB LUDOLF], *Iobi Ludolfi, Ad suam Historiam Aethiopicam antehac editam Commentarius* …, Francofurti ad Moenum 1691, 303; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI (ed., tr.), *Il «Gadla Absādi»* (*Dabra Māryām, Sarā'ē*), Lovanii 1996 (CSCO 557, 558 [SAe 103, 104]); PerrZarY; KURT WENDT (ed. tr.), *Das Maṣḥafa Milād* (*Liber Nativitatis*) *und Maṣḥafa Sellāsē* (*Liber Trinitatis*) *des Kaisers Zarᵓa Yāᶜqob*, Louvain 1962–63 (CSCO 221, 222, 235, 236 [SAe 41, 42, 43, 44]).

Lit.: DIRK BUSTORF, "Aṣe Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqobs Kinder: Spuren der Vorbevölkerung von Səlṭe-Land", *Aethiopica* 9, 2006, 23–48; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Aethiopica", *RSO* 9, 1923, 452–55; MARIE-LAURE DERAT, "Elaboration et diffusion de récit d'une victoire militaire: la bataille de Gomit, décembre 1445", *OrChr* 86, 2002a, 87–102; EAD., "Le banquet royal en Éthiopie au XVᵉ siècle: fiscalité et festivités", in: MONIQUE CHASTANET – FRANÇOIS-XAVIER FAUVELLE – DOMINIQUE JUHÉ-BEAULATON (eds.), *Cuisine et société en Afrique*: *histoire, saveurs, savoir-faire,* Paris 2002b, 41–52; EAD., "'Do not Search for Another King, one whom God has not Given you': Questions on the Elevation of Zärᵓä Yaᶜeqob (1434–1468)", *Journal of Early Modern History* 8, 3, 2004, 210–28; EAD., "Les homélies du roi Zarᵓa Yaᶜeqob: La communication d'un sovereign éthiopien du XVᵉ siècle", in: ALAIN BRESSON – ANNE-MARIE COCULA – CHRISTOPHE PÉBARTHE (eds.), *L'écriture publique du pouvoir*, Bordeaux 2005 (Études 10), 45–57; DerDom 269, 284–313; DERESSE AYENACHEW, *Le* kätämä: *la cour et le camp royal en Éthiopie* (*XIVᵉ–XVIᵉ siècle*). *Espace et pouvoir*, Ph.D. thesis, Université Paris I 2009; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Inside the royal confinement", *NEASt* 4, 1, 1982, 19–25; ID., "Martyrdom of Abunä Täklä Ḥawarəyat of Shoa and the Translation of his Relics", in: *EtRicci* 93–113; ID., "Power Struggle in the Medieval Court of Ethiopia: the Case of Bätergela-Maryam", *JES* 15, 1982, 37–55; ID., "The Cause of the Ǝsṭifanosites: a Fundamentalist Sect in the Church of Ethiopia", *Paideuma* 29, 1983, 93–119; ID., "Ethiopian Heresies and Theological Controversies", in: *CE* vol. 3, 384–87; ID. – EWALD WAGNER, "Die Geschichte Nūr b. Muǧāhids von Harar oder The History of Aẓe Zarᵓa Yaᶜqob", *ZDMG* 139, 1989, 43–92; MARILYN E. HELDMAN, *The Marian Icons of the Painter Frē Ṣeyon*: *a Study in Fifteenth Century Ethiopian Art, Patronage, and Spirituality*, Wiesbaden 1994 (Orientalia Biblica et Christiana 6), s. index; KapMon; STEVEN KAPLAN, "Magic and Religion in Christian Ethiopia: Some Preliminary Remarks", in: *StudAeth* 413–22; MANFRED KROPP, "La réédition des chroniques éthiopiennes: perspectives et premiers résultats", *Abbay* 12, 1983–84, 49–72; PIERLUIGI PIOVANELLI, "Les controverses théologiques sous le roi Zarᵓa Yāᶜqob (1434–1468) et la mise en place du monophysisme éthiopien", in: ALAIN LE BOULLUEC (ed.), *La controverse religieuse et ses formes*, Paris 1995, 189–228; ALAN RYDER, *Alfonso the Magnanimous*: *King of Aragon, Naples and Sicily, 1396–1458*, Oxford 1990, 282; JEAN-FRANÇOIS SCIARRINO, *Le «Serᵓatä Qʷerhät». Recherches sur le cérémonial éthiopien du sacre des rois avant le XVIᵉ siècle*, M.A. thesis, Université Paris I 1994; TadTChurch s. index; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Some Notes on the Fifteenth Century Stephanite 'Heresy' in the Ethiopian Church", *RSE* 22, 1966 [1968], 103–15; ID., "Problems of Royal Succession in Fifteenth Century Ethiopia: a Presentation of the Documents", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 501–35, here 519–27; CHARLES-MARTIAL DE WITTE, "Une ambassade éthiopienne à Rome en 1450", *OrChrP* 22, 1956, 286–98.

Steven Kaplan – Marie-Laure Derat

Zärᵓay

Käntiba Z. (**ዘርኣይ**; d. mid-1820s) was a ruler of ↗Ḥamasen (in today's *zoba* Maᵓkäl, Eritrea) for over four decades. He descended from the ↗Hazzäga branch (the so-called Minabä Zärᵓay) of the ᶜAd Däggiyat dynasty, which belonged to the ↗Däqqi Täššəm sub-group. Z. was the son of Gäbrat, the seventh descendant of the homonymous Zärᵓay, founder of the Hazzäga branch, after whom Z. was named (↗Genealogy; cp. also Conti Rossini 1942: 183).

Z.'s reign is notable as it marks a long period of relative peace, after which the conflict with the younger, competing branch of ↗Ṣäᶜazzäga (the so-called Täkkälä ᶜAggäba) was revived. In the late 18th cent., Z. managed to take over power from the well-established lineage of *däǧǧač* Hab Śəllus (Habtä Sullus) and his son Gäbrä K̠rəstos (s. also ↗*Ḥəggi Hab Səllus Gärä K̠əstos*) of the house of Ṣäᶜazzäga (namely from *baḥri nägaśi* ↗Sälomon Täsfa Ṣəyon and his son *baḥri nägaśi* ↗Bok̠ru Sälomon, who had become vassals of ↗Təgray). After the reduction of the influence of Hab Śəllus' lineage, Z. controlled most of Ḥamasen and much of the surrounding ↗*käbäsa* (the highlands, i.e. ↗Märäb Məllaš), and assumed the traditional title of ↗*käntiba*, with which he seems to have symbolically underlined lordship in his own right. The general political situation in the Christian highlands made the development of such local autonomies possible (↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*).

Z. is said to have wished that his young and energetic grandson, Gäbray Habtä Ṣəyon, should become his successor. Instead, it was his official heir and son *aytä* Sälomon of Hazzäga, although regarded as not sufficiently strong, who followed Z. in his office, while Gäbray inherited much of Z.'s wealth. The lordship over Ḥamasen was then soon taken over by Sälomon's wife, later widow, *əmmäbet* ↗Ǝllen as regent (during much of her reign again as a vassal of the strongly reemerging Təgray). This finally culminated in the renewed feud between Hazzäga and Ṣäᶜazzäga under the leadership of their son *raᵓəsi* ↗Wäldä Mikaᵓel Sälomon.

↗Däqqi Minab; ↗Təgrəñña-speakers

Src.: interview with Bärhe Gäbrä Mikaᵓel Gäbrä Ab, 72 years, Ṣäᶜazzäga, March 2000; **ሓረግ ፡ ትውልዲ ፡ ደቂ ፡ ተሸም** (*Ḥaräg təwləddi Däqqi Täššəm*, 'The Genealogical Pedigree of Däqqi Täššəm'), Giyorgis Church, Ṣäᶜazzäga n.d. (ms.); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Proverbi, tradizioni e canzoni tigrine*, Verbania 1942 (Collezione scientifica e documentaria dell'Africa Italiana V), 183.

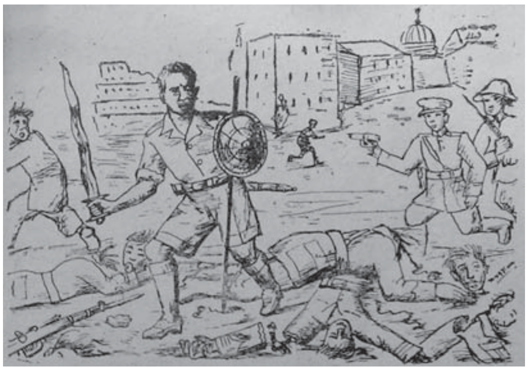
Lit.: GÄBRÄ IYÄSUS ABBAY, **መሰረት ፡ ዓሌት ፡ ህዝቢ ፡ መረብ ፡ ምላሽ** (*Mäsärät ᶜalet həzbi Märäb Məllaš*, 'The Origins of the People of Märäb Məllaš'), Asmära 1965; KilDic 411; KolTrad I–III, s. index; RUFFILLO PERINI — GABRE NEGUS, *Di qua dal Marèb* (*Marèb-mellàscᵓ*), Firenze 1905; YƎSḤAQ YOSEF, **እምቢ ፡ ያለ ። ወልዱ ፡ ጎሚዳ ፡ ታሪክ ፡ ራእሲ ፡ ወልደ ፡ ሚካኤል** (*Ǝmbi yalä*: *Wäldu Gomida tarik raᵓəsi Wäldä Mikaᵓel*, 'Wäldu the Severer Refused: a Biography of *raᵓəsi* Wäldä Mikaᵓel'), Asmära 1999, 41–67, 251f.; ID., **ንግስነት ፡ ሃገረ ፡ ምድሪ ፡ ባሕሪ [ኤርትራ] ፣ ታሪኽ ፡ ደጊያት ፡ ሃይሉ ፡ "አባ ፡ ጋላ"** (*Nəgsənnät hagärä Mədri Baḥri* [*Erətra*], *tarik̲ däggiyat Haylu "abba Galla"*, 'The Narrative of the Land of the Sea [Eritrea], the History of *däggiyat* Haylu "Abba Galla"'), Asmära 2000.

Wolbert G.C. Smidt

Zärᶜay Därräs

Z.D. (**ዘርዓይ ፡ ደረስ**; b. 1916, Hazzäga, d. July 1945, Rome) was an Eritrean public servant. While working at the Asmära Post Office, he was recruited as an interpreter for the Ethiopian nobility confined in Rome. Z.D. became famous for an act of defiance during an official parade celebrating the second anniversary of the proclamation of the Italian Empire.

On 13 June 1938 Z.D. was parading dressed as an Ethiopian soldier along with colonial troops and Fascist guards when he found himself in front of the monument to the Italian battalion fallen at ↗Dogᶜali in 1887, located in Rome in the gardens adjacent to Piazza Esedra (today Piazza della Repubblica). Z.D.'s rage was supposedly triggered by either Fascist oratory or the sight of the Lion of Judah (↗Lions), which had been looted from Addis Abäba and relocated at the base of the Dogᶜali memorial on the previous 12 May.



Zärᶜay Därräs illustrated for a popular Amharic historical novel; from Antänäh ᶜAlämu n.d.: 37

Z.D. was reported to have abandoned the parade and approached the steps of the memorial to pray. After having been interrupted by an Italian officer Z.D. execrated the Italian government and shouted pro-Ethiopian and pro-↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I slogans and then directed his rage against the officers who attempted to restrain him. Z.D.'s intentions following his harangue are dubious as accounts report that he either attempted to flee the scene or attack the Fascist crowd without concern for his own life. The injuries supposedly resulting from Z.D.'s actions are also unclear: accounts range from the small injury inflicted on a passerby to the killing of as many as five officers and Blackshirts. However, the most gruesome versions appear inconsistent with Z.D.'s imprisonment, a relatively mild sentence in pre-war Fascist Italy.

There are different and contradicting accounts of the episode; it remains unclear to this day whether Z.D.'s actions represented a spontaneous outburst of anger and patriotism or if they were part of a plot orchestrated by sections of the Ethiopian nobility confined in Rome. By 1938 the Italian government had indeed started a repatriation scheme in an attempt to incorporate more Ethiopian nobles within the colonial administration in order to improve an unstable situation. Z.D.'s actions may have been a way for some nobles to remind the Fascist government that they had no intention to surrender to any colonial order. The repatriation policy seems to have been accelerated after Z.D.'s actions, which appeared to have frustrated ↗Mussolini himself and to have ensued in additional restrictions for Ethiopians sojourning in Rome.

Z.D.'s rebellious act seems to have ended with the actions of two officers who reportedly shot him not far from the Dog^{c}ali monument. Other accounts described Z.D. being run over by either a police motorcycle or a passer-by on a bicycle. Wounded, Z.D. was taken to the hospital and managed to survive the episode. He died in captivity.

↗Africa Orientale Italiana

Src.: "Abyssinian Shot in Rome", *The Times*, 16 June 1938; "Abyssinia in Rome Fight", *New Times and Ethiopia News*, 12 July 1938.

Lit.: ANGELO DEL BOCA, *Gli Italiani in Africa Orientale*, vol. 3: *La caduta dell'impero*, Roma 1982; ALAZAR TESFA MICHAEL, "Eritrean Heroes", *New Times and Ethiopia News*, 2 July 1948; ANTÄNÄH ^{c}ALÄMU, **ዘርዓይ ፡ ደረስ** (*Zär^{c}ay Därräs*), Addis Abäba n.d., 37 (ill.); RICHARD PANKHURST, "Ethiopia, The Aksum Obelisk, and the Return of Africa's Cultural Heritage", *African Affairs* 98, 1999, 229–39; ID., "'Old Stones' – The Loot of Ethiopian Antiquities during the Italian Invasion of 1935–6", *Dialogue* 3, 1, 1970, 33–34; SYLVIA PANKHURST (ed.), "Ethiopian Young Navy", *EthObs* 3, 9, 1959, 281–300; ALBERTO SBACCHI, *Legacy of Bitterness*: *Ethiopia and Fascist Italy, 1935–1941*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1997; [Obituary] *The Ethiopian Herald*, 22 October 1945; YƎLMA MANNAYE, **ጎሞራዊ ፡ ዘርዓይ ፡ ደረስ** (*Gomorawi Zär^{c}ay Därräs*, 'The Explosive Zär^{c}ay Därräs'), Asmära 1970.

Matteo Salvadore

Zarema Giyorgis

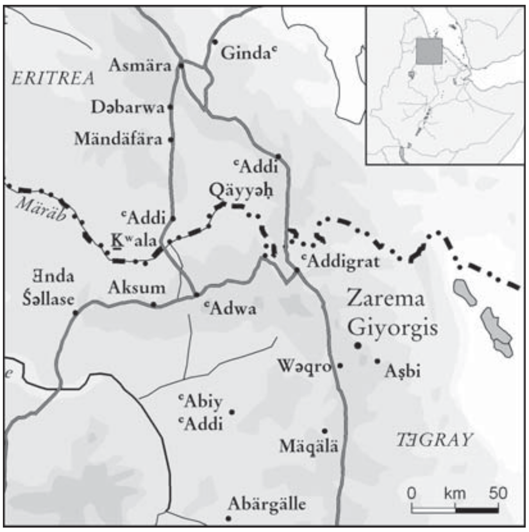
Z.G. (**ዛሬማ ፡ ጊዮርጊስ**) is a church dedicated to St. ↗George located at the settlement of Zärema, ca. 15 km east of the town of Aṣbi and ca. 20 km east of Wəqro on the Mäqälä–^{c}Addigrat road, in the Aṣbidära district of Təgray. It represents a notable example of free-standing ecclesiastical architecture of northern Ethiopia, similar to the churches of the monastery of ↗Däbrä Damo. It was first noted and described by Lepage (1973; s. also Plant 1985: 120ff.).

In an area noted for ↗rock-hewn and semi-rock-hewn churches, Z.G. is a constructed church, somewhat similar to the neighbouring churches of Däbrä Sälam, Agobo Čerqos and Ṣäba Anya Čerqos, although the latter are built in close relation to a rock overhang. The church itself was enclosed within a later, roughly-built stone thatched building (now rebuilt) and has since been seriously damaged through indiscriminate local "building" work since it was first described by Lepage (1973).

The building is entered through a modern built narthex or pronaos. The door, notable for an Aksumite-style surround (cf. Däbrä Damo), leads into an unusual semi-circular lobby. The main building is orientated along an east-west nave, with flanking aisles and flanking subsidiary rooms (the main church body itself measures approximately 10 x 10 m, excluding pronaos complex) and was previously roughly cruciform in plan. Taking into account the *apparent* remnants of an apse at the western end of the church, Lepage argues that the church shows strong similarities to the familiar square-cruciform "domed" churches so redolent of Caucasian (especially Armenian) tradition or indeed might be regarded as a "royal" or "funerary" church. Sadly the transepts have been destroyed since 1973, making the overall plan more linear. Another noteworthy feature is the structural use of metal plates to join the horizontal wooden beams of the walls to the door and window frames (Phillipson 2009 points out that these are also known from ↗Yəmräḥannä Krəstos, Lalibäla). "Monkey heads", or transverse wooden ties, are not utilized here.

Particular interest attaches to the wooden embellishments; chamfered stone columns support wooden capitals that themselves support unusual wooden roof trusses. These capitals as well as the carved wooden sanctuary arch are decorated with cross and foliage motifs. A wooden chancel screen separates the western bay and apse of the nave. Both the wooden embellishments (particularly the roof trusses) and the free-standing building are notable exceptions to the prevailing style of local ecclesiastical architecture.

Plant (1985) suggests that the church itself may date from a period between ↗Däbrä Damo and the later rock-hewn examples in the immediate lo-



Zarema Giyorgis, central nave; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

cality. Lepage was able to radiocarbon date a piece of structural wood from the church to 200–560 A.D., +/- 200. Lepage further narrowed down the date on stylistic grounds: the wood ornamentation appears to show affinities with 6th–8th cent. Mediterranean and Coptic motifs, whilst traces of Islamic-inspired decoration (which he hypothesizes first appeared in Ethiopia from the 11th cent.) are not present. As such, a conservative estimate of a 9th or 10th cent. date (supported broadly by Phillipson) for this highly important church may not be unreasonable, but given the unfortunate circumstances surrounding its recent remodelling we can only despair at the loss of the valuable archaeological and art-historical evidence which might help elucidate further its chronology.

The church preserves an 18th-cent. triptych on wood in the Second Gondär style (↗Painting), with Trinity and Mary with Child with two angels on the central panel; the side panels show Passion scenes as well as such saints as St. George (left), Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus, Täklä Haymanot and probably Ewosṭatewos (right).

Lit.: EMMANUEL FRITSCH – MICHAEL GERVERS, "Pastophoria and Altars: Interaction in Ethiopian Liturgy and Church Architecture", *Aethiopica* 10, 2007, 7–52, here 13 n. 24; CLAUDE LEPAGE, "L'église de Zarema (Éthiopie) découverte en Mai 1973 et son apport à l'histoire de l'architecture éthiopienne", *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres* Juillet–Octobre 1973, 416–54; ID. – JACQUES MERCIER, *Art éthiopien. Les églises historiques du Tigray. Ethiopian Art. The Ancient Churches of Tigray*, Paris 2005; DAVID PHILLIPSON, *Ancient Churches of Ethiopia*, New Haven, CT – London 2009, 73f.; RUTH PLANT, *Architecture of the Tigre, Ethiopia*, Worcester 1985, 120ff.

Niall Finneran

Zargulla ↗Zayse and Zargulla

Zäśəllase

Z. (**ዘሥላሴ**, also Zammo; b. Darẖa [Wäläqa?], d. 24 June 1608) was a nobleman in the early 17th cent. His father came from Wäräb and his mother from G^{w}änan (PerChron 86). As far as Z.'s region of birth, Darẖa, is concerned there are a number of sites with the same name: in the south of Šäwa, in ↗Wäläqa, in Bägemdər and between Däwaro and Bale (PerChron 13, 50, 201, 213, 246f. [tr.]; TadTChurch 188 n. 3). Preference could be given to Wäläqa, where Z. escaped when he was defeated by *aṣe* ↗Susənyos (PerChron 88 [tr.]).

Z. married one or even two daughters of ↗Śärṣ̌ä Dəngəl and ↗Maryam Śəna (BegCron 40; FotiCr 109). He was also actively involved in the succession disputes that ensued in the early 17th cent. According to Susənyos's chronicle Z. was foretold that after killing two kings, *aṣe* ↗Zädəngəl and *aṣe* ↗Ya^{c}əqob, he was to commit a third regicide (PerChron 88 [tr.]).

After Zädəngəl's death (13 October 1604), *ras* ↗Atnatewos replied favourably to Susənyos's call but with one reserve: he required the agreement of the *q^{w}ərban* (↗Eucharist) and Z. by reason of a pact made with them. The *q^{w}ərban* refused the proclamation of Susənyos as Emperor and began a war against the latter (PerChron 43, 47ff. [tr.]). Then, during a brief meeting with Maryam Śəna in Wədo, Z. offered to choose a heir from "those of Israel" who "have grown upon the *amba*", or to let Susənyos reign (PerChron 53f. [tr.]). The second solution being accepted, it only remained for Z. to attempt to back up Ya^{c}əqob's return. According to the Jesuit Pedro ↗Páez, Z. proposed this solution moved by a will to thwart "the total fall of the empire". Páez, when he came to ↗Guba^{ɔ}e to meet Maryam Śəna, was welcomed by Z., which can be taken as evidence that Z. was attempting to take power into his hands (BecRASO XI, 71, 73). He succeeded for a short period. Susənyos's chronicle mentions that *aṣe* Ya^{c}əqob made him ↗*bitwäddäd* (PerChron 86ff.

[tr.]) and two versions of the "Short Chronicles" specify that he became ↗*ras* and that the power remained in his hands for a year after Zädəngəl's death (Perruchon 1896: 361f.; BegChron 41).

Z. went to war against Susənyos but was defeated. He suffered a first defeat on 14 February 1606. In early 1607, when he became *persona non grata* with Yaᶜəqob, he finally made peace with Susənyos. Susənyos, after having defeated Yaᶜəqob in March 1607, banished Z. from his court at the very time he rounded on him (PerChron 62f., 66, 79 [tr.]). Z. ultimately died when he was going from Wäläqa to Goǧǧam killed by the local inhabitants (BecRASO III, 395f.; also Bruce 1813: 287ff.).

Bruce portrayed Z. as a ↗Gurage of low birth (Bruce 1813: 288; also Perruchon 1896: 362) but also as esteemed by the soldiers for his behaviour and his bravery in the battlefield (Bruce 1813: 262, 288; also BecRASO XI, 64). However, he also is seen in historical literature as a traitor, unruly and rebellious (Bruce 1813: 262, 267f., 270, 288; cf. also BecRASO VI, 92).

Src.: BecRASO III, 395f.; VI, 92; XI, 64, 71, 73; BegCron 40f.; JAMES BRUCE, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile, In the Years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772 and 1773*, ed. by ALEXANDER MURRAY, vol. 3, Edinburgh ^{3}1813, 262, 267f., 270, 279, 287ff.; FotiCr 109; PerChron 13, 37, 40, 42f., 47, 50, 53f., 62f., 66, 79, 86ff., 201, 213, 246f. (tr.); JULES PERRUCHON, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie: Règnes de Yaᶜqob et Za-Dengel (1597–1607)", *RevSém* 4, 1896, 355–63, here 361f.
Lit.: TadTChurch 188 n. 3.

Dimitri Toubkis

Zäträ Wängel

Z.W. (**ዘትረ ፡ ወንጌል**, also known as Bäträ Wängel; fl. end of 16th cent.) was the 17th head (↗*əčč̣äge*) of the monastery of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa, successor of Yoḥannəs (II) Mäṭhər.

Information about Z.W. is scarce. His name is mentioned in rhyming lists of the abbots of Däbrä Libanos between the tenure of Yoḥannəs (II) Mäṭhər and ↗Abrəham (CerDLib II, 155f.). The text, known as the *Zena Däbrä Libanos* ('Story of Däbrä Libanos') clearly dates Z.W.'s tenure to the time of the reign of ↗Śärṣ̌ä Dəngəl (DerDom 342f.). The only mention of Z.W. in a text of historiographical genre is in the "short chronicle" from Däbrä Bərhan of Gondär (CerDLib II, 154; FotiCr 115f., 120f.). There, the relocation of the Däbrä Libanos community from Šäwa to the region of Lake ↗Ṭana is attributed to Z.W. This relocation followed the shift of the political centre in the same direction and meant that the community avoided isolation as well as the threat of the ↗Oromo ↗migration. In this text, Z.W. asks *aṣe* ↗Susənyos to re-establish the alliance between the monastic community and the royal power that existed at the time of ↗Täklä Haymanot and ↗Yəkunno Amlak. The chronicle also mentions that Z.W. was buried in the church of ↗Atronsä Maryam and was succeeded by Abrəham. The reference to Susənyos seems, however, to be a mistake of the scribe (s. CerDLib II, 154). It is improbable that Z.W.'s tenure took place during the reign of Susənyos because, in the chronicles of Śärṣ̌ä Dəngəl and Susənyos, the tenure of his successor, Abrəham, is mentioned as taking place between 1591 and 1607 (CRHist 140f.; PerChron 13 [text]).

Src.: CRHist 140f; DerDom 342f.; FotiCr 115f., 120f.; PerChron 13 (text); SERGEW HABLE SELLASSIE, "Source for the History of Dabra Libanos", *Journal of the Archives of Ethiopia* 1 (2), 1993, 1–107; BORISSUS TURAIEV, **ዜና ፡ ደብረ ፡ ሊባኖስ**. *Povestvovanie o Dabra-Libanosskom monastyre* ('*Zena Däbrä Libanos*. The History of the Däbrä Libanos Monastery'), St. Petersburg 1906 (Pamyatniki ėfiopskoy pismennosti 4).
Lit.: CerDLib II, 154ff.; ELSA ROSSIGNOL, *L'aqqabé saʾat et l'eččagé, deux hauts-dignitaires éthiopiens entre l'Église et l'État* (*16ème–18ème siècles*), M.A. thesis, Université Paris I – La Sorbonne 2004, 31f.

Stéphane Ancel

Zäwäldä Maryam

Əčč̣äge Z.M. (**ዘወልደ ፡ ማርያም**; fl. ca. 1705–28) was a monk of the monastery of ↗Mägʷina, in northern Gondär, and ↗*əčč̣äge* of ↗Däbrä Libanos between July 1725 and October 1728 (DombrChr 306; CerDLLib III, 151).

In 1706, Z.M. succeeded Ədä Krəstos (d. 1694) as head of Mägʷina (DombrChr 307), becoming very powerful in the first three decades of the 18th cent. He led Mägʷina, which was an important stronghold of the "Unionist" movement (↗*Täwaḥədo*), at a time of great instability, caused by the doctrinal controversies between the ↗*Qəbat* party and the *Täwaḥədo* supporters. In this climate, several church councils were convened, among which the one by *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I in 1705 in Gondär, was abandoned due to "domestic hostility" (Conti Rossini 1893: 815, 817) among the monks of Däbrä Libanos. Because of this animosity, some of the monks went into exile at Mägʷina (Conti Rossini 1893: 815, 817; BegCron 80f.).

In 1706, *aṣe* ↗Täklä Haymanot sent his maternal uncles and a small army to his father and predecessor Iyasu I, in order to force him to retire to ↗Wähni Amba and prevent him from being restored to the throne. According to the "short chronicle" transmitted in ms. Ṭanasee no. 106 (HamTana II, 153ff.), Z.M. was part of this expedition (DombrChr 240f.).

From 1708 onwards, the theological dispute in the Ethiopian church was resolved in favour of the "Unctionist" faction (*Qəbat*), which enjoyed royal support during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Tewoflos. On 8 April 1721, *ras bitwäddäd* Giyorgis made a proclamation validating the "Unctionist" doctrine in the name of metropolitan ↗Krəstodolu III, causing an immediate reaction by several members of the opposition. The day after, Z.M., together with other monks, went to the metropolitan to protest and to ask for an explanation (BassÉt 341; DombrChr 268). Interpreting the words of the metropolitan in their favour, they praised the Lord and celebrated "their victory" with a triumphant procession in the streets (BassÉt 341; DombrChr 268). However, the echoes of these celebrations aroused the anger of the king ↗Dawit III who, infuriated, gave his Oromo ↗*Gawe* guards the command to kill the partisans of the *Täwaḥədo* party gathered in the house of the *əč̣č̣äge*. The soldiers plundered the residence, massacred some monks of "Mägʷina, Azäzo and all monasteries" and tore the clothes of others, such as Z.M. (BassÉt 342; DombrChr 268, n. 880).

On 3 July 1725 Z.M. was appointed as the 34th *əč̣č̣äge* of Däbrä Libanos (CerDLib III, 151f.; BegCron 114; BassÉt 356; DombrChr 281). During his tenure, he came to an agreement with Krəstodolu: in 1726 the name of the Metropolitan, which had been excluded from the liturgy of the "Unionist" monasteries after the theological dispute with them, was reinstated (CerDLib III, 151f.; DombrChr 281).

On 13 October 1728 Z.M. was deposed (BassÉt 362; BegCron 119; DombrChr 287). His later fate remains unknown.

Src.: BassÉt [II] 341–42, 356, 362 (tr.); BegCron 80f., 114, 119; CerDLib III, 151f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Due squarci inediti di cronaca etiopica", *RRALm* ser. 5a, 2, 1893, 804–18, here 815, 817; DombrChr 236, 240f., 268, 272, 281, 287, 306f. (tr.); HamTana II, 153ff.

Vitagrazia Pisani

Zäwde

Däğğazmač Z. (**ዘውዴ**, also Zäwde Səlṭan, in some documents Zäwde Tullu [s. RubActa I, no. 31], nicknamed Kästi Zäwde [Girma Getahun 1991: 87]; d. 1809, Č̣äqlä Wänz) was a late 18th–early 19th cent. ruler of ↗Goğğam.

Z. grew up in the house of *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Yosedeq of Goğğam along with Ḫaylu's son and Z.'s future rival, ↗Märəd Ḫaylu (Täklä Iyäsus n.d., fol. 49v). His parents are unknown, but he traced his descent to *däğğazmač* ↗Tulluu, the Oromo governor of ↗Damot during the reign of Iyasu I (BlunChr 189 [text] = 473 [tr.]). In the genealogy provided by the so-called "Chronicle of Goğğam" (ed. Girma Getahun 1991, ch. 22B), he is presented as the descendant of *aṣe* ↗Zädəngəl (via Halibä Dəngəl, Tewoflos, Sälamawit, Dämä Krəstos, Afä Dəngəl, Targañ and Sälamawit). For his assistance in defeating Ḫaylu's enemy, *däğğazmač* Aklog, Z. was appointed to rule Damot and given Ḫaylu's daughter, Dənqənäš Ḫaylu, in marriage.

Following Ḫaylu's death in July 1795, Z. was unable to challenge Märəd's succession. Märəd died four years later, and Z., drawing on his links to the Oromo, successfully challenged Märəd's son ↗Gʷalu for dominance south of the ↗Abbay (Täklä Iyäsus n.d., fol. 53 = Girma Getahun 1991, ch. 22A). In 1799, Z. was formally appointed by the nominal emperor, ↗Täklä Giyorgis, as ruler of Goğğam, an appointment which was opposed, unsuccessfully, by ↗Fasil, another son of *ras* Ḫaylu.

Z. carried out a number of campaigns in ↗Agäw Mədər. In 1803, following the death of *abunä* ↗Yosab [II], *ras* ↗Gugsa Märsa plundered his property. Z. emerged as a champion of the church, prevailing on Gugsa to restore some of this plunder in the interests of obtaining a successor to Yosab (BlunChr 192 [text] = 479 [tr.]; CRReal 15 [text] = 874 [tr.]). In 1805, in an act of defiance towards Gugsa, he crossed the Abbay to raid Bägemdər. However, his enemies were gaining on him. Gʷalu invaded Goğğam and besieged Z. at his fortified place near Dämbäč̣a (BlunChr 194 [text] = 480 [tr.]; CRReal 20 [text] = 879 [tr.]; Girma Getahun 1991, ch. 22A). Gʷalu forced Z. to give up his wife, Dənqənäš, who absconded to ↗Däbrä Tabor. In September 1808, Z. invaded Bägemdər as far as Gondär, where he attempted to appoint, yet again, Täklä Giyorgis to the throne (BlunChr 196 [text] = 483 [tr.]). He failed, and in 1809 he was defeated by the troops of *ras* Gugsa, captured and rusticated to the Lake Ṭana island of Č̣äqlä Wänz, where he died.

Z.'s widow Dənqənäš blamed her unfaithfulness (with Gʷalu's officer Kʷəlalit) for Z.'s death and retired to the monastery of ↗Maḫbärä Śəllase; she later died on a pilgrimage to ↗Jerusalem (Girma Getahun 1991, ch. 22B).

Z.'s son ↗Goššu Zäwde reclaimed Goğğam from Gugsa, even if temporarily, in the 1820s.

Src.: BlunChr 167, 185–96 (text) = 440, 466–84 (tr.); CRReal 4–7, 10, 15–26 (text) = 874–84 (tr.); RubActa I, no. 31; *aläqa* TÄKLÄ IYÄSUS [TÄKLÄ ZÄBƎḤERÄ GOĞĞAM], **የጎጃም ፡ ታሪክ** (*Yägoğğam tarik*, 'The Goğğam Chronicle'), ms. IES 254, fols. 49–55 (ed., tr.: GIRMA Y. GETAHUN, *The Goğğam Chronicle*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford 1991 [with partial *Edition* available from *www.britac.ac.uk/pubs/src/fha/goggam/index.cfm*], here ch. 21–22).

Donald Crummey

Zäwde Gäbrä Śəllase

Däğğazmač Z. (**ዘውዴ ፡ ገብረ ፡ ሥላሴ**; b. 12 October 1926, Ǧaldu-Mäçç̣a, d. 15 December 2008, Addis Abäba) was an Ethiopian politician, diplomat and scholar. Born into a noble family, he was the son of *däğğazmač* ↗Gäbrä Śəllase Barya Gabər, governor of central Təgray, and of Princess Wälättä Ǝsraʾel Śəyyum. He was the great-great grandson of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV on his mother's side. His mother was divorced while she was still very young and eventually married Crown Prince ↗Asfa Wäsän Ḫaylä Śəllase. Thus, Z. was also closely related to *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I.

Z. received his primary education in Addis Abäba under a tutor and went to school in Jerusalem and Cairo, where he joined his mother in exile during the Italian occupation of Ethiopia. After the liberation in 1941, his grandfather, *ras* ↗Śəyyum Mängäša, appointed the 14-year-old Z. ↗*däğğazmač*. Two years later he made him governor of ↗Šire; Z. also owned several ↗*gʷəlt* in different areas in Təgray, and as heir to his father, in Aksum and Addis Abäba. Uninterested in his post in Šire, Z. soon enrolled at the Ḫaylä Śəllase I Secondary School in Addis Abäba. In 1948 he joined the University of Exeter, England, where he studied English literature. He later undertook graduate studies in philosophy, political science and economics at Oxford University.

Z. held many senior positions in the government of Ḫaylä Śəllase: Minister of Public Works, Transport and Civil Aviation (1955–58), Mayor (↗*Käntiba*) of Addis Abäba (1958–60), Ambassador to ↗Somalia (1960), Minister of Justice (1961–63). Because of Z.'s liberal views during the trial of General ↗Mängəśtu Nəway (↗Coup d'état 1960 in EAE vol. 2, 1081f.), however, he fell out of favour with Ḫaylä Śəllase. In 1963 he begged for an imperial dispensation to be relieved of his political appointments and returned to Oxford. He remained as senior member of the St. Anthony's College until he obtained a Ph.D. on Ethiopian political history during the reigns of Yoḥannəs IV and Mənilək II (1971).

Later he reconciled with the regime. From 1971 to 1974, he was Ethiopian Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the ↗United Nations. In 1974 he became Minister of Interior and Minister of Foreign Affairs, and, during the Revolution (↗Revolution of 1974), Deputy Prime Minister of Ethiopia (regarded by some as the "Red Prince", due to his sympathies for social reform). He was also part in the commission drafting the new constitution (↗Constitutions) of Ethiopia in 1974 when this work was halted by the seizure of power by the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council). Z. was in New York at a United Nations conference when 61 ex-officials of the Imperial government were executed. He condemned the act, resigned from his post as Deputy Prime Minister, and remained in exile for the next 17 years, working as an advocate for Ethiopian refu-

Zäwde Gäbrä Śəllase talking to a hermit nun (former domestic of his family) on the compound of his father in Ǝnda Śəllase; photo 2005, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt gees and being active in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. He eventually became vice-president of the United Nations Economic and Social Council, and subsequently worked for several years as advisor to the secretariat of the United Nations.

Z. returned to Ethiopia after the fall of the *Därg* and continued to live in Addis Abäba, where he showed loyalty to the new government. He officially donated his archives and library (previously taken away by the *Därg*) to the National Archives of Ethiopia, while trying to get back some of his confiscated ground in Addis Abäba, albeit unsuccessfully. Together with some prominent Ethiopians, he tried to mediate between Ethiopia and Eritrea in 1998, as well as during the national crisis that followed the disputed parliamentary election of 2005.

Z. held several academic positions: visiting lecturer at the University of California in 1965; Fellow of the United Nations Training and Research (UNITAR) in 1975; and, between 1975–76, Fellow of the Woodrow Wilson Centre for Scholars, Smithsonian Institute. He published on a variety of historical and contemporary topics. His most prominent work remains a monograph on Yoḥannəs IV's rule (ZewYohan). In addition to his role as an internationally recognized scholar, attending many international conferences, he was also regarded as an original informant of highest value both among local traditional scholars and internationally active researchers, being acquainted with both international and local archives (including private family collections), with the extreme complexities of prosopography, and with the rich Təgrayan oral traditions, especially genealogies.

Z. was survived by his wife, *wäyzäro* ʿAläm Ṣ́äḥay Arʾaya and their two daughters, Rəbqa ("Rebecca") and Elsabet ("Elizabeth"). His only son, Ezana, died in an accident in New York.

Src.: Zewde Gebre-Sellassie [Zäwde Gäbrä Śəllase], *The Process of Re-unification of the Ethiopian Empire, 1868–1889*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford 1971; Id., *Eritrea and Ethiopia in the Context of the Red Sea and Africa*, [Washington] 1976; Id., *The Predicament of Africa in the Global Society*: *Towards the Measurement of Drought and Famine. Perspectives on Drought and Famine in Africa*, Lusaka 1986; Id., "Continuity and Discontinuity in Menelik's Foreign Policy", in: Paulos Milkias – Getachew Metaferia (eds.), *The Battle of Adwa. Reflections on Ethiopia's Historic Victory against European Colonialism*, New York 2005, 89–132; Id., *The Blue Nile and its Basins*: *an Issue of International Concern*, Addis Ababa 2006; Id., **በደርግ ፡ ለታሠዉ ፡ ሰማዕታት ፡ መታሰቢያ** (*Bädärg lätäśäwwu sämaʿətat mättasäbiya*, 'In Memory of the Martyrs of the *Därg*'), Addis Abäba 2001 A.M. [2008 A.D.]; ZewYohan.

Lit.: Bairu Tafla, "In memoriam: *Däǧǧazmač* Zewde Gebre-Sellassie (1926–2008)", *Aethiopica* 12, 2009, 221–23.

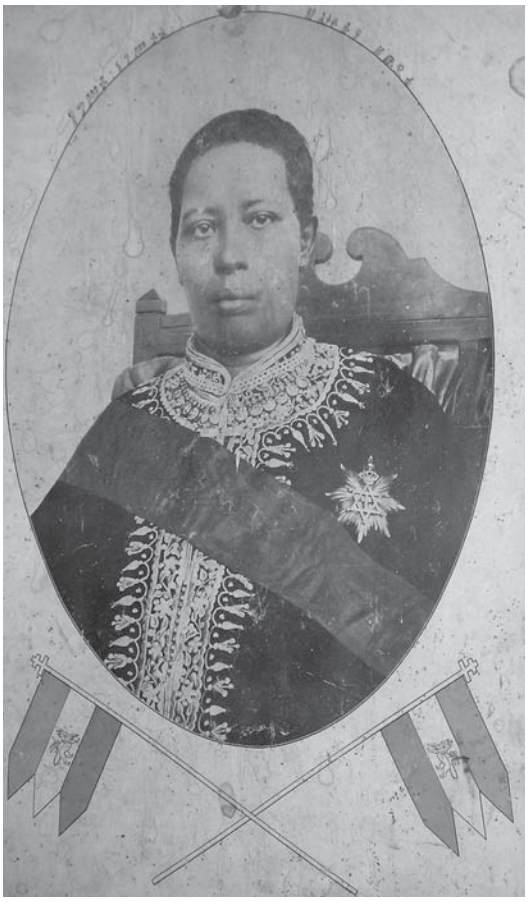
Red.

Zäwditu

Nəgəśtä nägäśtat Z. (**ዘውዲቱ፡**, baptismal name Askalä Maryam; b. 29 April 1876, Ǝnnäwari, d. 2 April 1930, Addis Abäba) was the Empress of Ethiopia from 1916 to 1930.

Z. was the third and youngest child of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II by one of his consorts, *wäyzäro* Abčäw (Abəčče) from Wällo. As a child, Z. stayed at her father's court under the care of ↗Bafäna, and then his next wife, ↗Ṭaytu.

In 1882, the 6-year-old Z. was married to the 13-year-old *ras* ↗Arʾaya Śəllase, son of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV. One may speculate that Mənilək, who had submitted to Yoḥannəs four years earlier, was thus hoping to ensure the Emperor's



Zäwditu on a photograph from the beginning of her reign; from the collection of Ǝnda Śəllase ʿAdwa, photo 2004, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

Empress Zäwditu with entourage in ca. 1920; from Palma 2005, pl. 76

friendship – or even get a grandson who would then inherit the imperial throne. On the other hand, it may have been the initiative of Yoḥannəs, who wanted control over Šäwa. Indeed, the governorship of ↗Wällo was subsequently transferred from Mənilək to Arᵓaya Śəllase. Arᵓaya Śəllase died in 1888, and in 1889 Z. returned to her father's court. In 1891, she was married to *wag šum* Gʷangul Zägäyye, but the marriage did not last. Z. had an affair, out of which a daughter was born (who died in 1895). In 1897 Z. married *däǧǧazmač* Wəbe Aṭnaf Sägäd from Mäčč̣a (in Goǧǧam), whom she divorced in 1899. Finally, in 1900, at the suggestion of Ṭaytu, Z. married the Empress's nephew, *ras* ↗Gugsa Wäle, and moved with him to ↗Däbrä Tabor. It is possible that by this marriage Ṭaytu hoped to consolidate the influence of northern landlords (↗Yäǧǧu) in the imperial court; she may have also seen Gugsa as a possible successor to Mənilək. When Mənilək's health declined by 1907/08, Z. returned to Addis Abäba and, together with Ṭaytu, nursed her father. She was strongly influenced by her stepmother.

On the death of Mənilək in 1913, *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu put Z. under house arrest in Fale, where her husband had been confined ever since Ṭaytu was forced from power in 1910. Following the overthrow of Iyasu in the course of the ↗Coup d'état 1916 (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081f.), Z. was asked to ascend the throne. The condition was, however, that she separated from her husband, and thus Z. and Gugsa divorced in 1916. Z. ascended to the imperial throne on 2 October 1916 and was crowned *nəgəśtä nägäśtat* in the Gännätä Ṣəge Giyorgis cathedral on 11 February 1917.

Z. had not claimed the power herself; she is reported to have maintained respect for *ləǧ* Iyasu, as well as a sense of guilt for having supported an action violating her father's will. She was chosen as Empress as a result of the complicated political situation in the country. Before ascending the throne, Z. had never participated in state politics, neither had she taken part in the struggle for power which preceded her coronation. Having deposed *ləǧ* Iyasu, the Šäwan party did not have a candidate for the throne who would, at the same time, be a legitimate ruler and who would represent interests of the ruling party. As a daughter of Mənilək, Z. could be recognized by the Šäwans. As a former daughter-in-law of Yoḥannəs IV, with lands she had received through her marriage (all the lands she had crossed when travelling to ↗Boru Meda), she had connections to the northern nobility. Deeply religious, she had the strong support of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church. The interests of the Šäwans had to be guarded by their leader, *fitawrari* ↗Habtä Giyorgis. The ruling triumvirate was completed by Täfäri Mäkʷännən (future ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) as heir to the throne with the title of ↗*ras* – who was not perceived as a threat to the new power.

Unlike the other members of the triumvirate, Z. had had no experience in politics or administration (Habtä Giyorgis was the most experienced politician, but the young Täfäri had already governed provinces, including ↗Harär, ↗Sälale and ↗Sidamo) and thus seemed easy to influence by both the other parties. Rather than being a merely nominal ruler, Z. had a say in state matters as a true sovereign, and her approval was necessary to proceed with any decisions concerning the ruling of the country. Whilst representing the conservative forces, and thus the camp of Habtä Giyorgis and the metropolitan *abunä* ↗Matewos, Z. consented to support many of *ras* Täfäri's modernization efforts. This included Ethiopia's application to join the ↗League of Nations and the ban on the ↗slave trade – even though she owned slaves herself. She gave Täfäri permission to travel to Europe in 1924; she also influenced the plans to build a Lake ↗Ṭana dam, which was never implemented. Z.'s rule can be perceived as a period of power transfer that made Täfäri's rise possible. She supported the heir to the throne during the events of 1918, dismissing some of his antagonists and thus increasing his power.

Z. was believed to be deeply religious, shy, but also stubborn. She was supposed to be more involved in the affairs of the Church than in the secular world. Following the tradition of Ethiopian rulers, she was involved in the construction of several churches, including the ↗Qəddəst Śəllase cathedral in Addis Abäba.

In the following years, the balance of power gradually shifted in favour of Täfäri, who consequently removed his opponents and Z.'s associates from power. Thus, in 1925 her close friend and relative, Ṣäḥayäwärq Darge (daughter of ↗Darge Śahlä Śəllase) was put in prison. In 1926, both Habtä Giyorgis and Matewos died, and Täfäri was left dominating the political scene, with only Z. between him and the throne. The situation was eventually decided in 1928, when Z. was defeated in an armed clash with Täfäri. The mutiny was headed by the commander of the palace guards ↗Abba Wəqaw Bərru. The "conservative" camp was defeated, Abba Wəqaw imprisoned, and the same year Z. crowned Täfäri as ↗*nəguś*. It has been rumoured that she may have also been behind two further insurrections led by *däǧǧazmač* ↗Amäde Libän "Abba Waṭäw" and by *däǧǧazmač* ↗Balča Śafo, both defeated by Täfäri.

For the last two years of her life, Z. was deprived of any political power, even if she still presided formally over the ↗Crown Council. She died of diabetes and, eventually, paratyphoid fever aggravated by a combination of bathing in water she believed to have healing powers (↗*Ṣäbäl*) and strict fasting. She died two days after her ex-husband, Gugsa Wäle, had been defeated by Täfäri at Ančəm in Wadla. On 8 April 1930, Z. was buried in Mənilək's mausoleum (in the church of Bäᵓata [lä-Maryam]), next to her father and her stepmother, Ṭaytu. On 2 November 1930, Täfäri was crowned *nəguśä nägäśt*.

The hospital established in Fəlwəha in 1934 bears Z.'s name.

Src.: Bairu Tafla, *Ethiopian Records of the Menelik Era: Selected Amharic Documents from the Nachlaß of Alfred Ilg 1884–1900*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 54), 434f.; BTafA 745, 749, 882, 910, 997f.; GebMolIyas passim; GueCopMen s. index; KTMast 31f.; Märsəᶜe Ḫazän Wäldä Qirqos, **የዘመን ፡ ታሪክ ፡ ትዝታዬ – በዳግማዊ ፡ ምኒልክ ፡ ዘመነ ፡ መንግሥት** (*Yäzämän tarik təzzətaye – bädagmawi Mənilək zämänä mängəśt*, 'My Memories of the History of the Time – during the Reign of Mənilək II'), Addis Abäba 1994 A.M. [2001/02 A.D.]; Id., **የዘመን ፡ ታሪክ ፡ ትዝታዬ ፡ በንግሥተ ፡ ነገሥታት ፡ ዘውዲቱ ፡ ዘመነ ፡ መንግሥት** (*Yäzämän tarik təzzətaye – bänəgəśtä nägäśtat Zäwditu zämänä mängəśt*, 'My Memories of the History of the Time – during the Reign of Empress Zäwditu'), ms. SOAS 1945; *aläqa* Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam, *History of the People of Ethiopia*, tr. by Grover Hudson – Tekeste Negash, Uppsala 1987 (Uppsala Multiethnic Papers 9), 115; TSTarik IV, 108f. **Lit.**: BZHist, s. index; Richard Caulk, *"Between the Jaws of Hyenas": a Diplomatic History of Ethiopia (1876–1896)*, ed. by Bahru Zewde, Wiesbaden 2002 (AeF 60), 104, 125, 172, 414; Sevir Chernetsov, "Kniga povestvovanija o vejzaro Bafane Mikael – pervoj žene Menelika II", *Hristianskij Vostok*, new ser. 1, 7, 1999, 234–86; Richard Greenfield, *Ethiopia. A New Political History*, London 1965, 134; Harold Golden Marcus, *The Life and Times of Menelik II: Ethiopia 1844–1913*, Oxford 1975, 71, 278-81; Leonard Mosley, *Haile Selassie: the Conquering Lion*, London 1964, 56, 63ff., 73, 96, 111 passim; Silvana Palma, *L'Africa nella collezione fotografica dell' IsIAO*, Roma 2005, pl. 76 (ill.); PankHist II, 163, 170, 235, 345, 351; Sylvia Pankhurst, *Ethiopia: a Cultural History*, Essex 1955, 260; Hanna Rubinkowska, *Ethiopia on the Verge of Modernity: the Transfer of Power during Zewditu's Reign 1916–1930*, Warsaw 2010; Carlo Zaghi, "L'Italia e l'Etiopia alla vigilia di Adua nei dispacci segreti di Luigi Capucci", *Gli annali dell'Africa Italiana* 4, 2, 1941, 517–45.

Hanna Rubinkowska

Zāwiya

The term Z. (Arab. lit. 'corner, nook in a wall', pl. *zawāyā*; most probably a loanword from Aramaic *zāwītā* [Fraenkel 1886: 11, 168], *ḫāneqāh* and *tekke* being its Oriental Arabic, Persian and Turkish synonyms) is used especially in North Africa to indicate a building or centre where adepts of an ↗Islamic brotherhood (*ṭarīqa*) meet to pray, perform the communal ceremonies of their group (↗*ḏikr*, *ḥaḍra*, ↗*mawlid*) and be educated by their master (↗*šayḫ*).

Almost invariably, a Z. hosts the tomb of a *ṣūfī* saint (↗*walī*) or is built next to his shrine. Most of the time, a descendant of the holy man (↗Holy men) is the guardian and the head of the Z. Especially in rural areas, a Z. can include several buildings to accommodate and feed the members of the *ṭarīqa* who come and stay to be instructed by the *šayḫ* as well as the pilgrims visiting the *walī*'s shrine. Z. may thus assume the dimensions of a large compound including libraries and schoolrooms, dormitories, kitchens, ↗mosques, repositories and granaries. A cemetery often grows around a Z. Religiously influential Z. may accumulate economic power, gathering ↗*waqf*, donations and offerings from the devotees to whom they offer asylum, spiritual instruction and moral guidance. Also politically, Z. may exert a strong influence as the *šayḫ* of the Z., considered a holy man endowed with *baraka* or blessing power, can act as a mediator in conflicts among the faithful and between the rulers and their subjects. The protection of the trade routes and the prevention of strife and robberies are also among the tasks accomplished by Z. heads.

In Ethiopia, the term Z. is commonly used to indicate a building and an institution with all the above mentioned characteristics. In ↗Harär, however, Z. also means the "boarding room in the mosque for the guardian" (Leslau 1963: 168).

Historically, it seems that Z. did not appear in Ethiopia before the 14th cent. Al-ᶜUmarī (UmMasGaud 3) affirms that Ethiopian Muslims at his time did not have any Z. Starting from the 15th cent., the establishment of the Islamic brotherhoods in the country (in particular of the *Qādirīya*) fostered the birth and spread of Z. especially in rural areas where they played a crucial role in the islamization process (HusIslam 71, 92).

Nowadays, Z. are well rooted in all Muslim regions of Ethiopia. Important Z. are, for example, ↗Annaa (s. EAE vol. 5) and ↗Šonke in Wällo as well as ↗Abret (s. EAE vol. 5) and ↗Qatbäre in Gurage. Such Z. as ↗Šayḫ Ḥusayn in Bale and ↗Yaʾa in Beni Šangul have become important destinations of ↗pilgrimage. In some cases (e.g., in Čali and ↗Ṭəru Sina in Wällo), Z. developed in a way that may resemble that of Christian retreats and monasteries (Abbink 2008). Generally speaking, however, Z. contribute decisively to the education of the Muslim intellectual elite and to the strengthening of Islamic practice among the common faithful (Hussein Ahmed 1988).

Src.: SIEGMUND FRAENKEL, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden 1886, 11; WOLF LESLAU, *Etymological Dictionary of Harari*, Los Angeles, CA 1963, 168; UmMasGaud 3.

Lit.: JON ABBINK, "Muslim Monasteries? Some Aspects of Religious Culture in Northern Ethiopia", *Aethiopica* 11, 2008, 117–33; SHEILA S. BLAIR – JONATHAN G. KATZ – CONSTANT HAMÈS, "Zāwiya", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 11, 2002, 466–70; HUSSEIN AHMED, "Traditional Islamic Education in Wällo", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 3, 94–106; HusIslam 71, 92.

Alessandro Gori

Zay

Z. (Z^{w}ay, Laqi) is a South ↗Ethio-Semitic language of the East ↗Gurage subgroup spoken on the islands of Lake ↗Z^{w}ay and its shores by less than 15,000 people. The entire Z. community is multilingual with ↗Oromiffa and/or ↗Amharic so that Z. must be considered an endangered language (cf. Gardner – Siebert 1994). Intense contact with Oromo has enhanced dialectal variation (Meyer 2006b) and strongly influenced Z. phonology and lexicon (Meyer in PICES 15).

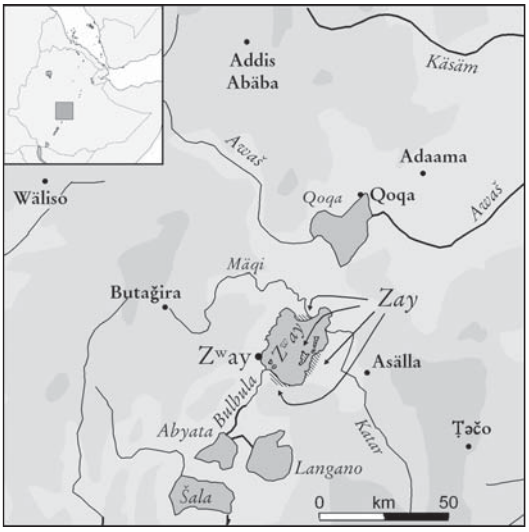
Z. has five cardinal vowels *i, e, ä~a, u, o* and an epenthetic *ə*; length is phonemic. In word final position, long vowels are shortened and short vowels are not pronounced, e.g., *näqäl-ä-ā* (take:PV-s3sm-o3sf) > [näqälä] 'he took her' vs. *näqäl-ä* (take:PV-s3sm) > [näqäl] 'he took' (cf. Meyer 2006a: 103f.). The Z. consonantal system is similar to other Ethio-Semitic languages except that the implosive alveolar *ɗ* was adopted as a marginal phoneme, as in *ɗēnä* 'lunch' (< Or.). Z. possesses the non-segmental features ^{w} ([+round]) indicating plural and ^{y} ([+front]) indicating feminine gender on verbs. These features assimilate to the central vowels *ā* or *ä~a* and affect the pronunciation of epenthetic vowels (ibid.: 49ff.): *qānn-*^{w} (stop:IMP-PL) > [qōnun] or *qānn-*^{y} (stop:IMP-F) > [qēniɲ] 'Stop (2p/2sf)!'.

Common nouns are neutral in number; pl. can be marked by the suffixes *-čä, -CāCu* (C = last consonant of the noun) or *-CāCčä*: *gār* > *gārčä* 'house(s)'; *ʾaftu* > *ʾaftātu* 'girl(s)'; *ʾuŋf* > *ʾuŋfāfčä* 'bird(s)' (Meyer 2005: 226ff.). Ethnonyms and the nouns *säb* 'man, person' and *sēt* 'woman' mark the singulative with *-itti* or *-iččä* for fem. or masc. entities, respectively: *zāy* 'Zay people' > *zāyiččä* 'a male Zay' or *zāyitti* 'a female Zay'. The natural gender distinction is restricted to human nouns whereby fem. is the marked form. It is expressed by verbal agreement and with the suffix *-tā* (usually followed by the definite marker *-y~-i*) attached to modifiers: (ibid.: 224): *ṭīt-tā-y ʾalmāz* (small-F-DEF Almaz) 'the small Almaz' vs. *ṭīt-i māmmō* (small-DEF Mammo) 'the small Mammo'. Proper nouns, most kinship terms and some pronouns (e.g. personal pronouns *ʾēyä* 'I', *ʾīɲɲä* 'we', *ʾatä* 'you (sm)', *ʾači/ʾaš* 'you (sf)', *ʾatum* 'you (pl; for 3rd pers. s. below)', demonstrative pronouns *ʾihīy~yihīy~yīy* 'this', *yāhāy~yāy* 'that'), use the suffixes *-n*(*ä*) and *-t*(*ä*) to mark accusative and assertive focus, respectively. All other nouns mark accusative by *-ä* and assertive focus by *-n*: *ʾut-nä-tä qäčī* (he-ACC-FOC kill:PV:3sm:DCM) 'he killed him' or *gār-ä-n-ni bärär-uhu* (house-ACC-FOC-his run:PV-1s:DCM) 'I ran to his house' (Meyer 2006a: 116).

Other functions of nouns are marked by the prefixes *bä-* (locative, instrumental, malefactive), *lä-* (ablative, addressee, beneficiary), *tä-* (comitative), *yä-* (genitive) and the suffix *-hum* (similative). Relational nouns, like *wusṭ* 'inside', *wɔsṭ* 'down', etc., can further specify these functions, as in *bä-gār där* (LOC-house top) 'on top of a house' (ibid.: 120f.).

Tri- and biconsonantal simplex verbs distinguish five conjugational types depending on the lexicalized vowel following the first consonant: type A (no vowel), type B (ī/e), type C (ā), type D (ū/ō) and type F (o/u~ʷ) (Meyer 2005: 103ff., 2006a: 112ff.). The vowel pairs refer to indicative vs. imperative/jussive bases, as in *ğīğ* 'he arrived' vs. *ğeğ* 'arrive (2sm)!' Quadriconsonantal verbs follow either type A or C with the lexicalized vowel following the second consonant: *bəräzäz* 'he dreamt' (type A) and *dəbaläq* 'he mixed' (type C). Several stems can be derived from a simplex by prefixes (medio-passive: *näqäl* 'take' > *tä-näqäl* 'be taken', indirect causative: *at-nīqäl* 'order to take' [with change to type B], direct causative: *färäs* 'be destroyed' > *ᵓa-färäs* 'destroy'), or by partial reduplication of consonants and insertion of the vowel *ā* (frequentative: *ᵓanṭäb* 'wash' > *ᵓənṭāṭäb* 'wash several items') or combinations of these (reciprocal *fāč̣* 'look for' > *tä-fāfāč̣* 'look for each other'; Meyer 2005: 194ff.). Z. has phrasal verbs which consist of an invariable meaning carrying element and an inflected auxiliary, such as *sir bāl* 'be straight' vs. *sir abäɲ* 'make straight'. Phrasal verbs with the auxiliaries *hān* 'become' and *sān* 'make' incorporate loanwords from Oromo (Meyer in PICES 15, 816f.): *ᵓār hān* 'be angry' (< Or. *aar*-) or *bädās sān* 'decorate' (< Or. *badhaas*-). There are three verbal bases: perfective, imperfective and jussive/imperative. An affirmative imperfective verb in main clauses is always followed by an auxiliary and the declarative marker (Meyer 2006a: 149ff.).

The basic word order is Subject-Object-Verb; relative clauses, genitives and adjectives precede their head. Declarative clauses in Z. consist of a focus marker attached to the most prominent constituent and the clause-final declarative marker: *ᵓut-tä wɔṭi säro* (he-FOC sauce prepare: PV:3sm:DCM) 'HE prepared sauce'. Non-verbal clauses in the present tense do not employ a copula but only focus and declarative markers (Meyer in PICES 14). The declarative marker has the allomorph -*u* after a consonant or the central vowels with which it assimilates yielding *-o*/*-ō*.



With all other vowels the declarative marker is represented by vowel lengthening. Yes/no-questions may optionally contain a focus marker but lack the declarative marker while questions with interrogative pronouns (such as *mən* 'what', *mā*(*n*) 'who', *mäči* 'when', *ᵓaɲi* 'where', *məst* 'how much', etc.) usually lack either of the two: *šäfäṭ näqälän*? (canoe take:PV-3sm-FOC) 'Did he take the canoe?' vs. *mən näqäl*? 'What did he take?' The declarative marker (but not the focus marker) occurs in negated clauses in the indicative and in the affirmative jussive (but not in the imperative; Meyer 2005: 305ff.; 2006a: 122ff., 137ff.).

The elementary wordlist is: *had* 'one', *hōyt* 'two', *šešt* 'three', *ğirä* 'fire', *mäy* 'water', *ᵓarīt* 'sun', *ṭərqä* 'moon', *däm* 'blood', *ᵓarämät* 'tongue', *sən* 'tooth'. The personal pronouns for the third persons are: *ᵓut* 'he', *ᵓit* 'she' and *ᵓinom*(*mu*) 'they'.

Leslau (in PICES 1) is the first linguistic study of Z. which was later elaborated in Leslau (in EtRicci) and Leslau (1999), which also includes some texts. Meyer (2005) is a comprehensive grammar of Z. with original texts. The Z. wordlist in Leslau (1979) was supplemented by additional data in Wedekind – Wedekind (1994). For a summary of studies on Z. grammar s. Meyer (2005: 22f., s. also ↗Gurage).

Lit.: Simon Gardner – Ralph Siebert, "Second S.L.L.E. Survey of the Zay Language", *S.L.L.E. Linguistic Report* 17, 1994, 1–7; Wolf Leslau, "Sketches in Ethiopic Classification. 3. – The Position of Zway", in: *PICES* 1, 98–102; Id., *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage*, Wiesbaden 1979, vol. 1, 1195–231; Id., "A Preliminary Description of Zway (East Gurage)", in: *EtRicci* 145–69; Id., *Zway* –

Ethiopic Documents – Grammar and Dictionary, Wiesbaden 1999 (AeF 51); RONNY MEYER, "Language Change in a Multilingual Society: The Influence of Oromo on the Lexicon of Zay", in: TESHOME DEMISSE – ZERIHUN ASFAW – WONDWOSEN ADANE (eds.), *Proceedings of the 13th Annual Conference of the Institute of Language Studies, August 2001, Addis Ababa,* Addis Ababa 2002, 35–47; ID., "To Be or Not to Be – Is There a Copula in Zay?", in: *PICES* 14, vol. 1, 1798–808; ID., *Das Zay: Deskriptive Grammatik einer Ostguragesprache (Äthiosemitisch)*, Köln 2005 (Grammatical Analyses of African Languages 25); ID., "The Zay Language", *Ethiopian Languages Research Centre Working Papers* 2, 1, 2006a, 85–165; ID., "Lokale Varietäten des Zay – Ein Survey", in: GERALD HEUSING (ed.), *Sprach- und literaturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zum 16. Afrikanistentag. Leipzig, 25./26.9.2003*, Berlin 2006b, 147–69; ID., "Cultural Contact and Language Change in Eastern Gurage", in: *PICES* 15, 813–21; KLAUS WEDEKIND – CHARLOTTE WEDEKIND, "Initial S.L.L.E. Survey of the Zway Area", *S.L.L.E. Linguistic Report* 14, 1994 (revised *ibid.* 63, 2002), 1–10.

Ronny Meyer

Zay ethnography

The ethnic group of Z. (**ዛይ**, xenonym *Laaqi*, 'paddler', from Orom. *laaquu*, 'to row'; Arsi: *Adare* [Braukämper 2002:65], or "Zway" [in Leslau's publications]) live on the five islands of Lake ↗Z^{w}ay and its shores, mainly in Boç̣essa to the south, Gona to the north, and Maqdälla and Herero Mendiyu to the east. Z. speakers also live in the nearby towns of ↗Adamii Tulluu, Z^{w}ay and Mäqi (↗Dämbäl Mäqi); a small diaspora of Z. resides in ↗Asälla (cf. Meyer 2005:16). The number of Zay speakers is not certain; estimates range from 4,880 (Wedekind – Wedekind 2002) to 14,000 (Meyer 2005:15). The Z. are mainly followers of the Ethiopian Orthodox faith, which they consider an important feature of their ethnic identity. The etymology of "Zway/Zay" remains unclear but folk-etymologies connect it to the Psalms of David 118/119 or to the first occupation of the islands by Christian migrants (Meyer 2001:318f.).

According to oral tradition, the Z. did not have a common mythical forefather but evolved due to several migrations to Lake Z^{w}ay (cf. Meyer 2001; Henze 1973:78ff.). The first migration to Lake Z^{w}ay purportedly took place during the reign of queen Gudit (↗Ǝsato) in the 10th cent. when priests from Aksum hid the ↗*tabot* of Ṣəyon Maryam (↗Aksum Ṣəyon) and other church properties from destruction on the island of ↗Tulluu Guddoo. In the 14th and 15th cent. *aṣe* ↗^{c}Amdä Ṣəyon and later *aṣe* ↗Zär^{ɔ}a Ya^{c}əqob subjugated ↗Wäǧ, i.e. the region around Lake Z^{w}ay, which was inhabited by the Aräñ, Obborubär and Zäfit. Some of them sought shelter on the three south-western islands of the lake (Tuma Nadamo 1982:1ff.; TadTChurch 189; Meyer 2001:322f.). Another migration took place at the beginning of the 16th cent. when Christians from ↗Mänz under the leadership of a certain Aṣqu (also Aṭqu or Ǝnqu) Śəllase sought refuge on the islands from the war against *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī. These refugees founded the village of Amharayge on the western summit of Tulluu Guddoo and took over the leadership of the islands (Tuma Nadamo 1982:5ff.; Meyer 2001:324). The ↗Oromo migrations after the defeat of Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm probably forced Muslim ↗Səlṭi, who lived around Lake Z^{w}ay, to flee. Some of them are said to have sought shelter at Tulluu Guddoo where they settled at Gumarge, which was also situated on the western summit of Tulluu Guddoo (Tuma Nadamo 1982:11). The children of these people are said to have converted to Christianity.

The wars of Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm and ↗Nūr b. Muǧāhid in the 16th cent. and the following Oromo migrations cut off the connection between the Z. and the Christian empire. Ordained priests and deacons reached the islands only sporadically. Nevertheless, the Z. took care of the churches and celebrated the church festivals (Henze 1989:34f.; Tesfaye 1988:14f.). Before the Oromo migrations, the Z. lived on the islands as well as on its shores. After several conflicts with the ↗Arsi Oromo, the Z. were forced to retreat to the islands (Tuma Nadamo 1982:26ff.; Meyer 2001:326).

The Z. had trade relation with the ↗Waaṭa Oromo (cf. Dabala Goshu – Meyer 2004), who settled near River Katar. According to Tuma Nadamo (1982:26ff.) the Z. also exchanged goods with the Kəstane (↗Soddo), Səlṭi and ↗Libido in the 19th cent. Friendly contacts between the Z. and the Christian Ǧille Oromo, who lived immediately to the north of Lake Z^{w}ay, led to intermarriage and alliances against the non-Christian Arsi living in the south-east of Lake Z^{w}ay.

Before ↗Mənilək's conquest in the 19th cent. the Z. were governed by a centralized political institution consisting of ten members. The leader had the title *abeto* (cp. ↗*Abetohun*) and lived in Tulluu Guddoo, which was the most inhabited island at the time. He was assisted by two ↗*daññа*, usually his relatives, who represented the *abeto* on the islands of ↗Gälila and ↗Däbrä Sina, and Ṣädeča and Fundurro. The seven remaining members were elected representatives from each of the five islands, i.e. three from

Group of Zay men on their boats; from VSAe II, pl. 83, 1

Tulluu Guddoo and one from each of the remaining islands (cf. VSAe II, 659f.; Tuma Nadamo 1982: 15ff.).

Mənilək conquered the Lake Z^{w}ay region in 1893. The leader of the Z. at that time, *abeto* Alibo Ləbse, complied with Mənilək without resistance. Therefore, he was appointed ↗*balambaras* of the Lake and its shores. As a consequence, the former administration of the Z. ceased to exist. Mənilək II and ↗Zäwditu donated land on the shores to the Z. where living conditions were more pleasant. Since then many Z. left the islands (VSAe II, 669; Henze 1989: 35). The last inhabitants left Gälila and Däbrä Sina for Boç̣essa in 1971. Only at the end of the 1990s did a few families resettle on Gälila (Meyer 2001). In 1971 all the inhabitants of the village of Gumarge resettled at Gona (Henze 1989: 35). However, the remaining settlers on Tulluu Guddoo, Ṣädeča and Fundurro still practice subsistence agriculture and fishing.

Before the 20th cent. ↗fish (s. also ill.) was limited to home consumption and fishing equipment was not sophisticated. Intensive agriculture, partly on terraces, and weaving were the main sources of livelihood (Tesfaye Edetto 1988: 18ff.; Henze 1973: 80f.; Kuls 1958: 129ff.). The cotton clothes of the Z. in mixed white, red and black colours were sold far beyond Lake Z^{w}ay. Fishing increased after the subjugation of the Z. because they had to pay their annual taxes in dried fish to the royal court until 1935 (Tesfaye Edetto 1988: 10, 23). Commerce in fish emerged in the 1940s and drastically increased in the 1970s due to the establishment of fishing co-operatives and improved fishing equipment and led to a dominant role for fishing (ibid.: 32ff.).

Src.: interviews in the Z^{w}ay area in 1998/99 (cf. [below] DABALA GOSHU – MEYER 2004: 60; MEYER 2001: 326f.).

Lit.: ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, *Islamic History and Culture in Southern Ethiopia. Collected Essays*, Münster – Hamburg – London 2002, 65; DABALA GOSHU – RONNY MEYER, "A People who was Blessed and Cursed by God: the Waata around Lake Zway", in: CATHERINE GRIEFENOW-MEWIS – TAMENE BITIMA (eds.), *Oromo Oral Poetry Seen from Within*, Köln 2004 (Verbal Art and Documentary Literature in African Languages 20), 59–70; PAUL B. HENZE, "Lake Zway and its Islands", *EthObs* 16, 2, 1973, 76–88; ID., "Lake Zway – Southern Christian Outpost and Repository of Medieval Ethiopian Art", in: *PICEA* 1, 30–40; LINDA JORDAN – JILLIAN NETZLEY – HUSSEIN MOHAMMED, *A Sociolinguistic Survey Report of the Zay People*, Dallas, TX 2011 (SIL Electronic Survey Report 2002 – 046); TÄSFAY EDÄTO, የዛይ ፡ ህዝብ ፡ ታሪክ (*Yäzay həzb tarik*, 'History of the Zay People'), Addis Abäba 2000 A.M. [2007 A.D.], passim; WERNER KULS, *Beiträge zur Kulturgeographie der südäthiopischen Seenregion*, Frankfurt am Main 1958 (Frankfurter Geographische Hefte 32), 129–31; RONNY MEYER, "Zay: Traditions of a Christian People in the Heart of Ethiopia", *Hristianskij Vostok*, new ser. 2, 2001, 317–28; ID., *Das Zay. Deskriptive Grammatik einer Ostguragesprache (Äthiosemitisch)*, Köln 2005 (Grammatical Analysis of African Languages 25); TadTChurch 189; TESFAYE EDETTO, *Socio-Economic Life of the Zay with Special Emphasis on the Fishing Industry*, B.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1988; TUMA NADAMO, *A History of the Zāy in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries*, B.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1982; VSAe II, 417f., 655–77, 669, pl. 83, 1 (ill.); KLAUS WEDEKIND – CHARLOTTE WEDEKIND, *Initial SLLE Survey of the Zway Area*, Dallas, TX 2002 (SLLE Electronic Survey Reports 2002 – 063).

Ronny Meyer

Zäyəʾəze

Z. (**ዘይእዜ**, 'of now') is a type of ↗*qəne* employed in the offices of ↗*Mäwäddəs*, ↗*Aryam*, ↗*Wazema* and ↗*Səbḥatä nägh*.

Z. proper, also *räğğəm* ('long') Z., has five rhyming lines (*bet*). It is always introduced by the singing of the *Nunc dimittis* (Lk 2: 29–32) and sung in the ↗*gəʿəz* mode. The short three-*bet* Z. (*aç̣ç̣ər* Z.), sung after Ps 50/51 in the ↗*araray* mode, is better known as ↗*śahləkä*.

The long Z. is used if the *Nunc dimittis* and the *yətbaräk* element of the ↗*Dəgg^{w}a* are sung in the *gəʿəz* mode. If the *Nunc dimittis* is sung in *araray*, it is followed by the long ↗*wazema qəne* in the same mode; if the *Nunc dimittis* is sung in ↗^{c}*əzəl*, it is followed by the ↗*śəllase qəne*. When Z. is composed during *Səbḥatä nägh*, it has a ↗*məlṭan.*

Tradition interprets Z. as a symbol of the end of the long time that Simon the Prophet longed to see with his eyes the coming of Messiah, the occasion for him to sing the *Nunc dimittis*.

Src.: ADMASU ĞÄMBÄRE, **መጽሐፈ ፡ ቅኔ ፡** (**ዝክረ ፡ ሊቃውንት**) (*Mäṣḥafä qəne* [*zəkrä liqawənt*], 'The Book of *Qəne* [The Memory of the Scholars]'), Addis Abäba 1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.]; ḪƎRUY WÄLDÄ ŚƎLLASE, **መጽሐፈ ፡ ቅኔ** (*Mäṣḥafä qəne*, 'The Book of Qəne'), Addis Ababa 1918 A.M. [1926/27 A.D.]; *mämhər* YƎḪEYYƎS WÄRQE, **ንባብ ፡ ወትርጓሜ ፡ ዘቅኔያት ፤ አዕማደ ፡ ምስጢራት** (*Nəbab wätərg^{w}ame zäqəneyat. A^{c}əmadä məsṭirat*, 'Text and Interpretation of the Qəne. The Pillars of Mysteries'), Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.].

Lit.: ALEMAYYEHU MOGES, "Language Teaching and Curricula in Traditional Education of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church", *The Ethiopian Journal of Education* 4, 1, 1973, 87–114; ENRICO CERULLI, "Di alcune varietà di inni della Chiesa Abissina", *Orientalia* nova ser. 3, 1934, 294–305; CRAbb no. 249 [BN d'Abbadie 216], here no. 7, p. 240 [226]; ERIC GODET, "La métrique du qenē guèze", *Abbay* 12, 1983–84, 117–203; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Di alcuni inni abissini", *RSO* 1, 1907, 217–20; HabTent 172–74, 177; HabUff 215f.

Habtemichael Kidane

Zayla^{c}

The port of Z. (Arab. الزيلع *al-Zayla^{c}*, Som. *Seyla^{c}*, ^{c}Afar *Dēla^{c}*, 11°21' N., 43°29' E) is situated on the northern Somali coast. It has been often identified (Tomaschek 1896, col. 2263; Huntingford 1980: 90) with the toponym *Aualítēs* of Classical geographical literature (↗Pliny the Elder IV, 174: *sinus Aualitu*; ↗Ptolemy IV, 7, 10: *en tō Aualitē kólpō*, *Aualítēs empórion*; IV, 7, 27 and 39: *o Aualítēs kólpos*; ↗*Periplus Maris Erythraei* 7: *Aualítēs*) which was also directly connected with the Somali name of the town Awdal (Har. Aftal; Or. Aftali; the form Awtal is mentioned in ad-Dimašqī: Cerulli 1935: 340f.). Casson (1989: 115ff.) has, however, convincingly demonstrated that this thesis is hardly tenable. The *Periplus* three times clearly locates *Aualítēs* on – and not beyond – ↗Bāb al-Mandab, precisely where the strait is at its narrowest. This makes it more likely that *Aualítēs* is the ancestor of ↗^{c}Asab (Stückelberger – Grasshof 2006: 459) or – as a further possibility – identical with the place name *Deíre* (mentioned by Strabo XVI, 769; Casson 1989: 117).

Arabic geographical literature provides a relatively conspicuous amount of information about Z. (PankHist I, 54–58) which is however often disappointingly brief or purely anecdotal (in the style of *adab* and *^{c}ağāʾib* literature).

Z. is first mentioned by the *Kitāb al-buldān* of al-↗Ya^{c}qūbī (d. 897) who laconically locates it in front of Bāb al-Mandab (Juynboll 1861: 105; de Goeje 1892: 319; Wiet 1937: 159).

Al-Hamdānī (d. 946) in his *Ṣifat ğazīrat al-^{c}arab* (1983: 93) briefly mentions Z. as an island with a huge market of Ethiopian goats: there the goat skins are sold and the sloughs are thrown into the sea. Al-Iṣṭaḫrī (d. 952) writes in his *Kitāb al-masālik wal-mamālik* that the port (*farḍa*) of Z. is controlled by the Christian Ḥabaša whose land is part of the *dār al-silm* and not of the *dār al-ḥarb* (de Goeje 1870: 36). Al-Mas^{c}ūdī (d. 956) in his *Murūğ aḏ-ḏahab* (Barbier de Meynard – Pavet de Courteille 1864: 34) says that Z. – like ↗Dahlak and Nāṣi^{c} [i.e. ↗Bādi^{c}] – hosts some Muslims who pay tribute to the Christian Ethiopians. The *Kitāb ṣūrat al-arḍ* of ↗Ibn Ḥawqal (d. 977) confirms that Z. is an Ethiopian port used to travel to the Ḥiğāz and the ↗Yemen (Kramers 1937–38: 56) while Abū Zayd as-Sīrāfī (d. 979) in his *Silsilat at-tawārīḫ* (Kubbel' – Matveev 1960: 93, 95) affirms that in Z. amber and tortoise shells are available. The export of amber from Z. is confirmed by al-Muqaddasī (d. ca. 1000) in the *Aḥsan at-taqāsīm* (de Goeje 1877: 101f.) while al-Bīrūnī (d. 1050–51) mentions Z. in his *Qānūn al-mas^{c}ūdī fī l-hayʾa wan-nuğūm* as a place where pearls are fished (Kubbel' – Matveev 1965: 122, 126).

In the 12th cent., the commercial importance of Z. as the main outlet for the precious goods coming from the Ethiopian hinterland apparently grew: al-↗Idrīsī (d. 1165) dealt at some length with Z. (called by him *Zāliġ*) which he describes as a small but densely populated town whose port was the landing place of most of the trading ships of the Red Sea (*Baḥr Qulzum*). Slaves, silver and – in smaller quantities – gold were the main exports of Z. (Idrīsī 1970: 44).

The first characterization of Z. as a fully independent Islamic town can be found in the *Tuḥfāt al-albāb* of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ġarnāṭī al-Andalusī (d. 1169): the author affirms that the inhabitants of Z. are pious Muslims who "fast, pray and perform the *ḥağğ* every year on foot" (Ferrand 1928: 44 [Arab.] = 249 [Fr.]). Ibn Sa^{c}īd al-Maġribī (d. 1286) confirms that the inhabitants of Z. are Muslims who often go on pilgrimage to ↗Mecca and travel to Aden and Zabīd (Matveev – Kubbel' – Tolmacheva 2002: 114 [Arab.] = 148 [Russian]). Aš-Šīrāzī (d. 1311) says in a passage of his *at-*

Tuḥfa aš-Šāhiya fī ^{c}ilm al-hay^{ɔ}a that Z. is one of the lands of the Muslims of al-Ḥabaša (ibid.: 184 [Arab.] = 189 [Rus.]).

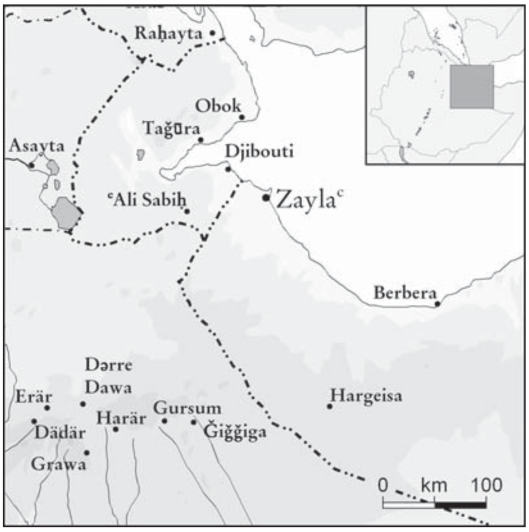
It may thus be surmised that, in the second half of the 12th cent., Z. was independent from Christian Ethiopia, completely islamized and economically prosperous and thus started playing a decisive role in the spread of Islam into the Ethiopian hinterland and along the northern Somali coast (Gori 2006: 26–30). On the administration of Z. in this period of its history, some information can be gained from a passage of the Annals of Mufaḍḍal b. Abī l-Faḍā^{ɔ}il (completed in 1359; it is not clear in which year the narrated facts took place). The Coptic chronicler says that Z. was inhabited by seven Muslim tribes whose leaders ruled the town. The *sulṭān* of Yemen tried to extend his influence to Z. and donated stones and other supplies and tools to build a *ǧāmi^{c}* mosque where his name could be called during the Friday sermon (as a token of recognition of his sovereignty). The people of Z. threw all the materials into the sea refusing the offer of the Yemeni ruler who in retaliation blocked Z.'s ships in Aden (Cerulli 1943: 279f.).

In 1329–30 Z. was visited by the Moroccan traveller ↗Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 1368–69) who contradictorily describes it as a town of the "Šāfi^{c}ī Barbara" but inhabited by a majority of Blacks of "*rāfiḍī*" faith (i.e. Shiites). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa could not spend the night in Z. – which he calls "a big city and a huge market" – because of the stench of the fish and the blood of the camels slaughtered in the narrow streets which made the town too smelly and dirty for him (Defremery – Sanguinetti 1853–58: 179f.).

Al-↗^{c}Umarī (d. 1349) underlines that Z. is the port of ↗Ifāt from where the Muslim kingdom of Ethiopia trades with the wider world (UmMasSezg 18; UmMasGaud 5).

In 1415 king ↗Yəsḥaq (or according to other sources in 1413 king ↗Dawit II) conquered Z., killed ↗Sa^{c}daddīn ruler of Ifat and forced his sons to flee to the Yemen (Cerulli 1931: 46f., nn. 1, 3, 8). After this heavy military blow, Z. seems to have recovered at least part of its previous splendour.

In 1517 Z. was attacked but not conquered by Lapo Soares. ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl tried to convince the Portuguese to continue to occupy Z. but to no avail. During the *ǧihād* of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī, Z. was probably the main gate through which men and arms arrived in Ethiopia from the Yemen to strengthen the Muslim troops (PankHist I, 60–63).



In the confused period which followed the end of the rule of *amīr* ↗Nūr and paved the way to the emergence of the imamate of Awsa, Z. and its governors (*aftal gärad*) were directly entangled in the struggles between different Muslim warlords who often used the port town as a military stronghold to support their political ambitions (Cerulli 1931: 70–87). Between 1572 and 1577, during the governorship of *gärad* Lādo, Z. was provided with a wall: the building site was directed by an Arab engineer (ibid. 89). The wall however, was apparently not sufficient to protect the town from being plundered by Somali nomads stirred up by the *Sim gärad* ^{c}Umardīn who was fighting against the *imām* of Awsa (ibid. 72f.).

Evliya Çelebi mentions Z. in his *Seyâhatnâme* (1673) but it is doubtful whether the Turkish traveller really visited the town and his description of the area is to be taken cautiously (Bombaci 1943: 260f., 271f.). However, in the 17th cent., Z. maintained its decisive role in maritime trade between the Ethiopian hinterland, the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean and did not lose it until the rise of the rival port of ↗Berbera in British Somaliland (PankHist I, 63f.).

The *nisba* Zayla^{c}ī (pl. Zayāli^{c}a) is sometimes used in Arabic sources as a general term referring to the Muslims of – or originating from – the African Coast of the Gulf of Aden (e.g., in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Defremery – Sanguinetti 1853–58, vol. 1, 204): some families of Zayla^{c}ī descent are very renowned in the Yemen where they form learned and sacred lineages (Gori 1998).

Src.: Charles Barbier de Meynard – Abel Pavet de Courteille (eds., tr.), *Les prairies d'or*, vol. 3, Paris 1864; Alessio Bombaci, "Il viaggio in Abissinia di Evliya Çelebi (1673)", *Annali IUO* n.s. 2, 1943, 259–75; Charles Defrémery – Beniamino Raffaello Sanguinetti (eds., tr.), *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, vols. 1–2, Paris 1853–58; Lionel Casson (tr.), *The Periplus Maris Erythraei*, Princeton, NJ 1989; Enrico Cerulli, "Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia", *MRALm* ser. 6ª, 4, 1931, 39–101 [repr. in: CerIslam 135–206]; Id., "L'Etiopia medievale in alumni brani di scritti arabi", *RSE* 3, 1943, 274–94 [repr. in: CerIslam 257–80]; Jehan Desanges (ed., tr.), *Pline l'Ancien. Histoire Naturelle*, Livre VI 4e partie, Paris 2008, 6, 88f.; Reinhard Dozy – Michael Jan de Goeje, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne par Edrîsî*, Leyde 1866; Gabriel Ferrand, "Le Tuḥfat al-albāb de Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Ġarnātī édité d'après les mss 2167, 2168, 2170 de la bibliothèque nationale et le manuscrit d'Alger", *JA* 207, 1925, 1–148 (text) = 193–304 (tr.); Michaël Jan de Goeje, *Specimen Literarium Inaugurale Exhibens Descriptionem al-Magribi Sumtam e Libro Regionum al-Jaqubii*, Lugduni Batavorum 1860; Id., *Viae regnorum. Descriptio ditionis moslemicae auctore Abû Ishâk al-Istakhrî*, Lugduni Batavorum 1870 (Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum 1); Id., *Descriptio Imperii Moslemici auctore Schamsaddîn Abû Abdallâh Mohammed al-Mokaddasî*, Lugduni Batavorum 1877 (Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum 4); Gerd Grasshoff – Alfred Stückelberger (eds.), *Klaudios Ptolemaios, Handbuch der Geographie*: griechisch – deutsch, Part 1: *Einleitung und Buch 1–4*, Basel 2006, 459; al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat ǧazīrat al-ᶜarab*, ed. Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī al-Akwaᶜ, Ṣanᶜāᵓ – Beirut 1983; George Wynn Brereton Huntingford (ed., tr.), *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, by an Unknown Author*, London 1980 (Hakluyt Society, 2nd Series 151), 90; Abū ᶜAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Idrīsī, *Opus Geographicum, fasciculus primus*, Lugduni Batavorum 1970; Abrahamus W. Th. Juynboll, *Specimen e Literis Orientalibus exhibens Kitābo'l-boldān sive Librum Regionum auctore Aḥmed Ibn Abī Jaᶜqūb, noto nomine al-Jaᶜqūbī*, Lugduni Batavorum 1861; Johannes Hendrik Kramers, *Opus geographicum auctore Ibn Hawkal*, Lugduni Batavorum 1937–38; Lev E. Kubbel' – Viktor V. Matveev, *Arabskie istočniki VII–X vekov po ėtnografii i istorii narodov Afriki yužnee Sahari* ("Arabic Sources of the 7th–10th Centuries on the Ethnography and History of the Peoples of Sub-Saharan Africa"), Moskva – Leningrad 1960, 93, 95; Iid., *Arabskie istočniki XI–XII vekov po ėtnografii i istorii Afriki južnee Sahary* ('Arabic Sources of the 11th–12th Cent. for the Ethography and History of the Peoples of Sub-Saharan Africa'), Moskva 1965, 122, 126; Iid. – Marina A. Tolmacheva, *Arabskie istočniki XIII–XIV vekov po ėtnografii i istorii Afriki južnee Sahary* ('Arabic Sources of the 13th–14th Cent. for the Ethography and History of the Peoples of Sub-Saharan Africa'), Moskva 2002, 114 [Arab.] = 148 [Russian]; UmMasGaud 5; UmMasSezg 18; Gaston Wiet (tr.), *al-Yaᶜḳūbī. Les pays*, Cairo 1937 (Textes et traductions d'auteurs orientaux 1).

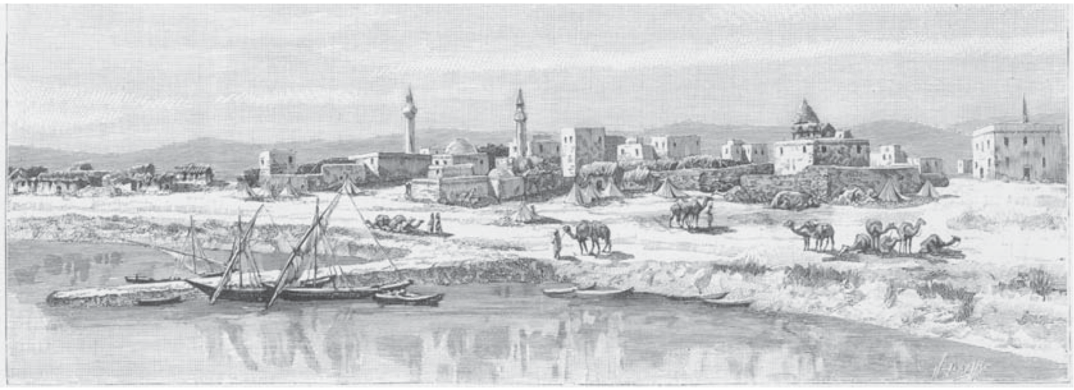
Lit.: Enrico Cerulli, "Noterelle somale a al-Dimašqī e Ibn ᶜArabī", *Orientalia* n.s. 4, 1935, 335–43 [repr. in CerSom I, 41–49], Alessandro Gori, "Una famiglia santa tra Africa orientale e Yemen: gli Zaylaᶜī nelle Ṭabaqāt di Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. ᶜAbd al-Laṭīf al-Šarǧī", *RSO* 72, 1998, 41–59; Id., *Contatti culturali nell'Oceano Indiano e nel Mar Rosso e processi di islamizzazione in Etiopia e Somalia*, Venezia 2006; PankHist I; Alain Rouaud, "Zaylaᶜ", *EI*², vol. 11, 481; Wilhelm Tomaschek, "Aualites", in: Georg Wissowa (ed.), *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vierter Halbband, Stuttgart 1896, col. 2263.

Alessandro Gori

Zaylaᶜ in the 19th and 20th centuries

In the middle of the 19th cent., Z. was the extreme limit of the grazing area shared by ↗ᶜIssa and ↗Gadabuursi; the latter being established along a line joining Z., Silil, and ᶜAbdulqādir. The main permanent well is at Toqošši, to the north of the town in the dry-bed river *tog* (Arab. *wādī*) Beya ᶜAday. To its east, the barren coastal plain of Griyad (*Griyad ooman* '*Griyad* of the Thirst') is situated. Z. is a multicultural town including ᶜAfar (Russel 1883:193; Burton 1856, ch. 3). The language in Z. (*zaylaᶜī*) was an Arabic dialect with a partly Somali and ᶜAfar lexicon. This original urban culture (Som. *seylaawiya*, Lewis 1961:20), before being destroyed by the development of Djibouti, included specific features such as dances or nuptial songs (ᶜAfar *kallayl*). The now common Somali dress (*diriᶜ*) is said to be originally Z.-style.

An historical link (s. the common devotion to the Harär saint [Ibrāhīm] Maḥammad "Darbēn" [also Zarbay], Ibrāhīm Abū Zaḥarbuy, buried in Z.) explains that Z. and ↗Taǧūra were nicknamed in ᶜAfar *saqal kee maqanxa* 'elder and younger', being considered as closely related as elder and younger brothers as far as population and trade were concerned. On various occasions (in 1864 during the conflict between Z. and Mūḫa [Mokha]; after the sacking of Taǧūra by ↗Awsa in 1866), the population of each town took refuge in the town of the other. Z. and its immediate hinterland are called *Awdal* in Somali (first mentioned in Burton 1856, ch. 3) and *Aftál*(*i*) in ᶜAfar and Harari. *Dēlaᶜta* designates the southern ᶜAfar ↗Debné tribe (MorDicAfar 137). For the Taǧūra inhabitants, *Dēláᶜtu* is the south-east wind blowing "from Z.". On his way to Aden, when Rochet d'Héricourt reached Z. coming from Taǧūra (21 April 1840), the town was more populated than Taǧūra (Rochet d'Héricourt 1841; Aubert-Roche 1843). It consisted of a garrison of about 50 "Turks" equipped with four cannons. From the interior, in particular from ↗Harär, caravans bring various goods as coffee, skins and slaves which are exported to the Arabian Peninsula. The description provided by Richard Burton (1854, ch. 1 n. 28) shows a town "about the size of Suez, built for 3,000 or 4,000 inhabitants, and contain-



Zaylaᶜ in 1885; etching by Drée, from *Le monde illustré*, 1885: 104

ing a dozen large whitewashed stone houses, and more than 200 *ᶜarīš*” (Arab. ‘thatched houses’). There were about 1,500 permanent residents and a large floating population. The town had no harbour so that a vessel of 250 tons could not approach within a mile of the landing-place. For this reason, ↗Berbera, as Combes (Rochet d’Héricourt 1841) forecasted, acquired a growing importance. Combes states also that the slave trade was more important in Taǧūra than in Z. (for a comparative analysis, cf. Austen 1979).

There are six ↗mosques in Z. showing its religious importance and its role in the diffusion of Islam in the past. In 1880, Alfred Bardey only noted two white houses and some huts (Bardey 1981: 67). These variations in size may have been the result of the frequent burnings which damaged Z. as well as Taǧūra.

Administrative status, political leadership and decline

Before the transfer of sovereignty of the ↗Red Sea ports to the *ḫidīw* by the Turks (1866), Z. was a ‘port of call’ (*bandar*). Its local *dawla* (Arab., Somali *dawlad*, ᶜAfar *dōlat,* ‘local administration and its chief’) paid tribute to Muḫa. In 1867 the governor of the ↗Sudan, after visiting Red Sea ports up to the ↗Bāb al-Mandab affirmed the rights of the Egyptian *ḫidīw* over Z. and Taǧūra, a claim that the British India Office constantly denied. Z. was directly under the authority of the *šarīf* of Mūḫa, who was responsible to the *paša* of al-Ḫudaydah, who again depended on the *kaymakamat* [*qāᶜim maqām*] of the Ḥiǧāz (↗Arabia).

For centuries, and until the middle of the 19th cent., Z. was farmed out to *sāda* (sg. *sayyid*) Arab families of the town claiming a ↗Qurayš origin. The farm was made for auction every year. It reached 3,000 Maria Theresa thalers in 1861. In 1840 the benefits of the farm were in the hands of an Arab, *sayyid* Muḥammad al-Barr. Lewis (1965: 33) indicates that Šarmaᵓarke b. ᶜAlī b. Ṣāliḥ, a rich Somali merchant of Habar Yūnis descent, obtained this office “about 1840” (in 1848, according to Burton 1854, ch. 3). It may also have happened in 1841, after another Somali, Hakāb b. Ġālib b. Ismāᶜīl had tried to take power in Z. (Cruttenden to Haynes, *India Office Records*, 7 April 1852).

The growing rivalry between the ↗United Kingdom, already in Aden since 1839, and ↗France in search of new supports for its colonial expansion increased the on-going local rivalries. France favoured an ᶜAfar merchant established in Z., ↗Abū Bakr b. Arbāhim b. Šeḥem, which led to a change in the ruling of Z. The precise date when Abū Bakr replaced Šarmaᵓarke is still unclear. Burton who sojourned in Z. from 31 October to 27 November 1854 does not mention Šarmaᵓarke, nor does Brigadier Coghlan who arrived in Z. some weeks later. It may be assumed that it was only in June 1855 that Abū Bakr gained power over Šarmaᵓarke, after the latter had been removed being accused of looting and having organized the blockade of Z. In 1857, when Great Britain occupied the Island of Perim, Abū Bakr was put into custody in Aden and Šarmaᵓarke reinstalled at Z. After being set free in February 1858, thanks to the French consul in Aden, Henri Lambert, Abū Bakr succeeded Šarmaᵓarke in 1861. After the coming of Admiral Fleuriot de Langle he investigated the circumstances of the death of Henri Lambert on the Island of Musḥa (4 June 1859), a crime in which Šarmaᵓarke was involved. Fleuriot de Langle confirmed Abū Bakr “Paša” as “émir de Zeyla”. Monge, a French translator at the French embassy in Cairo was appointed as "agent consulaire" in Z. where he arrived on the 27 October 1864. He had to leave quickly for Aden after mentioning new a dispute with Mūḫa which resulted in the flight to Tağūra of a part of the frightened population of Z. (Monge to the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 24 February 1865).

In August 1875, in the name of the *ḫidīw* ↗Ismāᶜīl, Raᶜūf (Rawf) *bāšа* took control of the northern Somali coast and from Z. launched his military expedition against Harär which he took on 8 October 1875. For this, he gained support both of Abū Bakr and of Rōble b. Fāraḥ "Guntiweyne", the ↗*ugaas* of the ᶜIssa. The Egyptian occupation of the coast lasted ten years until the coming of Major Hunter who landed in Z. in February 1884, inaugurating the British presence until 1960. The following years (1884–88) were a period of intense rivalry between France and Great Britain in Z.

On 25 March 1885, the French consul Joseph Henry came to Z. to sign a treaty of friendship with the *ugaas* of the Gadabuursi. The very next day, 19 ᶜIssa chiefs, coming from Z., signed a similar treaty in ↗Obock with the French Governor Léonce ↗Lagarde. On 28 August 1885, a "Traité de Protectorat de la France sur la ville de Zeylah et son territoire" was also signed between Joseph Henry "consul de France à Harrar, Zeylah et dépendances" and Abū Bakr "émir de Zeylah". These treaties prepared the peaceful creation of the market of Djibouti (inaugurated on 6 March 1888 with Burḥan *bey*, Abū Bakr's son, as its head), and four years later the official transfer of the capital of the French colony from Obock.

Before attracting population from the far hinterland, the first African population of Djibouti consisted of inhabitants of Z. (Somali *reer Seylaᶜ*) and of other Somali from the near hinterland (ᶜIssa, Gadabuursi, ↗Isaaq). As an example, one may mention Geelle b. Aḥmed b. ᶜUmar, nicknamed Geelle "Battal" (ᶜIise, Mammaasan, *reer* ᶜAwl), originating from Z., who signed the 1917 agreement with the French, and whose relative Hassan Gouled Aptidon (Ḥasan b. Guuleed b. Abtidoon, b. in Gaarisa, Somaliland 1916; d. in Djibouti 2006) became the first President of the Republic of Djibouti (1977).

The frontiers between the new British Protectorate and what was to become the Côte française des Somalis (1896) were established in 1888 and Z., henceforth was part of ↗British Somaliland. This did not inaugurate a new period of prosperity for Z., which on the contrary began to decline. The caravan route to Harär was ruined by the creation of the ↗railway line from Djibouti to Addis Abäba (1897–1917). The first (and only) elementary school was established in 1903 (Lewis 1965: 103). Threatened by the Dervish uprising (1899–1920), the Catholic "Mission Somalie" established in Z. had to leave in 1910 for French Somaliland. In the new Somali Republic (1960), Z. remained a remote and half ruined town. Under Siyad Barre's regime Z. was part of the 'Northern Province' (*Gobolka Woqooyi*) before being renamed *Awdal* at the end of the 1980s, a denomination which lasts as the name of a province in the new, self-declared but not yet recognized state of Somaliland.

Src.: LOUIS-RÉMY AUBERT-ROCHE, "'Mer Rouge, Mer des Indes, des intérêts français et européens dans la mer Rouge et dans le golfe de Bab el Mandeb'. Extrait d'un mémoire envoyé en 1842 au conseil des Ministres", *Revue de l'Orient* 2, 1843, 324–47; ALFRED BARDEY, *Barr-Adjam: Souvenirs d'Afrique orientale, 1880–1887*, Paris 1981, 67; RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON, *First Footsteps in East Africa; or: an Exploration of Harar*, London 1856, ch. 1 n. 28, ch. 3; ENRICO CERULLI, "L'Etiopia medievale in alcuni brani di scrittori arabi", *RSE* 3, 1943, 272–94 (repr. in: CerIslam 257–80); EDMOND COMBES, "Correspondance au ministre des Affaires étrangères", *Mémoires et Documents Afrique* 13, 26 April 1841, 225; London, British Library, India Office Records, Lieutenant C.J. Cruttenden to Captain Stafford Bettesworth Haynes, 7 April 1852; M. MONGE, "Note au ministre", *Mémoires et Documents Afrique* 63, 24 February 1865, 293; FRANÇOIS-XAVIER ROCHET, dit D'HÉRICOURT, "Affaires étrangères", *Mémoires et Documents Afrique* 63, 17 April 1841, 33; STANISLAS RUSSEL, *Une mission en Abyssinie et dans la mer Rouge 23 octobre 1859–7 mai 1860*, Paris 1883, 193.

Lit.: RALPH A. AUSTEN, "The Islamic Red Sea Slave Trade: an Effort at Quantification", in: *PICES* 5, session B, 443–67; *Le monde illustré*, 1884, 104 (ill.); IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, *A Pastoral Democracy: a Study of Pastoralism and Politics among the Northern Somali of the Horn of Africa*, London 1961, 20; ID., *The Modern History of Somaliland*, London 1965, 33, 103; MorDicAfar 27ff., 41, 136f.

Didier Morin

Zäyoḥannəs

Z. (**ዘዮሐንስ**) was a 14th-cent. saintly monk who is credited with the foundation of the monastery of ↗Kəbran. He was a contemporary of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon and/or *aṣe* ↗Säyfä Arᶜad.

The main source on Z.'s life is his hagiographic dossier, which includes the Vita (↗*gädl*), five miracles (↗*täʾammər*) and a ↗*mälkəʾ*-hymn (ed., tr. Schneider 1972). This seems to have been written at the end of the 15th or in the first half of the 16th cent. (Cerulli in Schneider 1972: IX [tr.]).

According to his Vita, Z. was born on 13 *Ḫədar* in ↗Märḥabete, Šäwa, where he completed his traditional church ↗education; he also acquired the skills needed in monastic daily life from a priest (ibid. 7f. [text, tr.]). In a vision, he received the monastic habit (*qobᶜ* and ↗*askema*) from St. John and the prophet Elijah. When he was 25 years old, Z.'s parents tried to marry him off but he refused. After their death, Z. was wandering from place to place when the Virgin Mary appeared to him and sent him to Däbrä Libanos. After seven years as a servant, Z. received the monastic habit from *əč̣č̣äge* Həzqəyas, the third abbot of the monastery. After 25 years in Däbrä Libanos, Z. followed the order of Jesus who in a vision sent him to Təgray and ↗Jerusalem where he worked many miracles (Schneider 1972: 11 [text, tr.]). On his return, Z. went to ↗Dära in Bägemdər. He subsequently went to the Lake ↗Ṭana area and founded the first monastic community on the island of Kəbran. Z.'s Vita mentions his miraculous killing of a snake in Kəbran which provoked the anger of the ↗Agäw chief Ǧan Čuḥay (possibly the same as Žan Ḳəmər, with whom also ↗Yafqərännä Ǝgziʾ struggled?) who captured and tortured him until ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon released him from captivity. Z. remained abbot of Kəbran for 25 years; he spent the last ten years of his life as a hermit. He received the ↗*kidan* on 10 *Ḫamle* and died on 24 *Ḫamle* – the day on which his *täzkar* is still yearly celebrated – at the age of 105.

A land grant by ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon to Z., mentioned in the Vita, is included in the "Golden Gospel" (↗*Wängelä wärq*) of Kəbran (ms. Ṭānāsee 1, fol. 3vb; s. HamTana I, 88; cp. Schneider 17 [text] = 17 [tr.]).

Z. is also mentioned in the "short chronicles" among those who followed *əč̣č̣äge* ↗Filəppos (s. EAE vol. 5) of ↗Däbrä Libanos into exile and were encouraged by him to choose the monastic life (BassÉt 324 [text] = 94 [tr.]; BegCron 8). As Filəppos is not mentioned in the Vita it is possible that the affiliation of Kəbran to Däbrä Libanos happened after the compilation of the saint's hagiographic dossier.

The events described in the Vita and the "short chronicles" should be seen as common themes of Ethiopian ↗hagiography, rather than historical facts. The references to *aṣe* ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon, Filəppos and Həzqəyas show a "serious inconsistency" (cp. Taddesse Tamrat 1972: 144). Dating Z.'s life to the reign of *aṣe* Säyfä Arᶜad seems more reliable (ibid.).

According to tradition, the church dedicated to the Archangel Gabriel (Kəbran Gäbrəʾel), where Z. is believed to have been buried, was built in the time of ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon. Z.'s tomb is located in the eastern part of the church (s. HamTana I, 51; but cp. ChTana 153, where the tomb is described on the southern side). *Aṣe* ↗Täklä Haymanot I is buried in the same church (HamTana I, 51; cp. BassÉt 377 [text] = 328 [tr.]).

Src.: BassÉt I, 324, 377 (text) = II, 94, 328 (tr.); BegCron 8; HamTana I, 50, 88, 98, 101ff., 127 (mss. Ṭānāsee 1 = Kebrān 1, Ṭānāsee 4 = Kebrān 4, Ṭānāsee 6 = Kebrān 6, Ṭānāsee 19 = Kebrān 19); MADELEINE SCHNEIDER (ed., tr.), *Actes de Za-Yoḥannes de Kebrān*, Louvain 1972 (CSCO 332, 333 [SAe 64, 65]).

Lit.: ChTana 152ff.; RODOLPHE CORNUAU, *Moines et monastères du Godjam et du lac Tana en Ethiopie au XIVᵉ et XVᵉ siècles: Évangélisation et intégration dans l'empire salomonide*, M.A. thesis, Université de Paris 1 – Sorbonne 1994; KinBibl 101f., no. 199; TadTChurch 195f.; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "A Short Note on the Traditions of Pagan Resistance to the Ethiopian Church (14th and 15th Centuries)", *JES* 10, 1, 1972, 137–50.

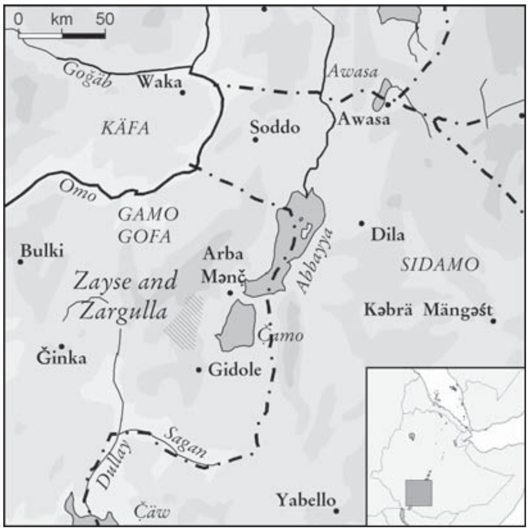
François LeCadre

Zayse and Zargulla

Zayse and Zargulla language

Zs. and Zg. are regarded as two dialects of the same language (hereafter: Zargulla-Zayse, Zg.-Zs.). They are classified under the East ↗Ometo branch of ↗Omotic. The dialectal variation between them includes lexical differences such as Zg. *zumá* vs. Zs. *bocé* 'mountain', Zg. *haáʾe* vs. Zs. *baadé* 'mouth', Zg. *kiine* vs. Zs. *ʾatté* 'back', Zg. *ʾóoʦo* vs. Zs. *káɓɓe* 'work [noun]'. In grammar, the differences include: plural-marking by *-ir* in Zs. as in *tolkó* 'hyena' vs. *tolkír* 'hyenas' and by *-edé/-ede* in Zg., e.g., *ṣéga* 'goat' vs. *ṣegedé*. In Zg. definiteness is marked by suffixes (s. below) whereas in Zs. it is marked by pro-clitic pronouns *ʾe* (masc. sg.), *ʾi* (fem. sg.) and *ʾu* (pl.), e.g., *gárma* 'a lion' vs. *ʾe-gárma* 'the lion'. In the present entry, most examples are from Zg. Data on Zs. are from Hayward (1990; 1999).

The consonant segments of Zg.-Zs. are: stops (*p*), *b, t, d, k, g*; affricates *ʦ, č, ǧ*; implosives *ɓ, ɗ*; ejectives *č̣, ṣ, tṣ, q*; fricatives (*ɸ*), *s, z, š, ž, h*; nasals *m, n*; liquids *l, r* and glides *w, y*. *ž* is widely used word-initially whereas the affricates *č, ǧ* and *ʦ* are restricted in this position. *p* and *ɸ* are alternatively used in word-initial and medial positions. Zg.-Zs. have five vowels (*i, e, a, o, u*). Vowel-length (e.g. *kóora* 'saddle' vs. *kóra* 'glue') and consonant-gemination (*móɗe* 'thought' vs. *móɗɗo* 'stout')



are contrastive. Syllable types include: CVV, CV, CVC and CVVC, e.g.: *kée.la* 'terrace', *kes* 'go out', *bíic* 'urine' respectively. Evidence for CVCC and CVVCC come only from numerals which have lost final vowels, e.g. *námˀ* 'two', *ˀoídd* 'four'. Otherwise consonant clusters and geminates are split into two syllables, e.g.: *tal.ˀé* 'loan'. Contrast in tone is attested in some words (e.g., *keeʦé* 'a house' vs. *kéeʦe* 'to bid prices'); however, Zg.-Zs. are analysed as tone-accent languages because of the predictable distribution and restrictions on high tone in multisyllabic words.

Basic form of nouns and adjectives may end in *e*, *o* or *a*, as in *gozé* 'calabash', *bázo* 'God' and *káʦa* 'food'. There are also consonant-final nominals e.g., *çíw* (place name), *míis* 'cow', *ˀagéʦ* 'wind', *dúṭṣ* 'sound of footsteps', *géešš* 'clean', *dóç̌* 'dumbness' and *ç̌úč* 'saliva' as well as some numerals (s. below). Distinctions are made for gender (masc./fem.), number (sg./pl.), definiteness and several cases. Two or three of these nominal categories may be expressed by a single, non-segmentable morpheme. E.g., definiteness, sg. and fem. are indicated by -(*a*)*tt*-, e.g. *doró* 'a sheep', *dor-att-ó* 'the sheep [fem.]' and *doró-z-a* 'the sheep [masc.]'. Plural is marked by *-ede* or *-edé*, e.g., *miis* 'a cow' vs. *miis-edé* 'cows'. Definite plural is marked by *-unṣ*, e.g. *miis-ed-únṣ-ó* 'the cows'. Case distinctions include: 1) Nom[inative] *-í* for def. masc./fem. sg. and indefinite pl., e.g. *ṣéga* 'a goat' vs. *ṣégaz-í* 'the goat [masc. Nom.]', *ṣéggó-y* 'the goat [fem., Nom.]' and *ṣeedé-y* 'goats [pl., Nom.]'; 2) Acc[usative] *-á* for def. masc. sg., e.g. *ṣégaz-á* 'the goat [masc., Acc.]; *-ó* for def. fem. sg. and def. pl., e.g. *ṣégg-ó* 'the goat [fem., Acc.], *ṣeedúnṣ-ó* 'the goats [def., pl., Acc.]; 3) fem. Gen[itive] is marked by *-i*, e.g. *ṣegg-í ˀité* 'the goat's [fem.] hide'. Other case markers include dative -(*í*)*s* as in *ṣegg-ís* 'for the goat [fem.]', ablative -(*í*)*kopé*, e.g. *ṣeggíkopé* 'from the goat'.

Most verbs in Zg. have just one verb-root form (e.g. 1d below). For a few verbs however, there are up to four slightly different verb roots (1a–c). The distribution of the root variants is associated with tense-aspect and mood.

	Root-1: imperative/ optatitve	Root-2: infinitive	Root-3: present, past. future	Root-4: perfect/ converb	
(1a)	*qápp*-	*qáp*-	*qáf*-	*qákk*-	'scatter'
	dápp-	*dáp*-	*dáf*-	*dákk*-	'release'
(1b)	*ˀepp*-	*ˀep*-	*ˀekk*-		'take'
	demm-	*dem*-	*deng*-		'find'
(1c)	*yew*-	*yeétt*-	*yeéd*-		'come'
	míy-	*muútt*-	*muúd*-		'eat'
(1d)	*ˀúš*(*š*)-				'drink'
	ˀing-				'give'

There are productive verb extensions including causative and passive, marked by -(*u*)*ss*-/-(*u*)*ʦ*- and -(*u*)*tt*-, respectively, e.g., *bónčo* 'to respect'; caus. *bonč-us-á* 'make somebody respected!' and pass. *bonč-útt-a* 'be respected!'. A four-way tense distinction is made: present/habitual marked by *-íne*, past (*-ínne*), future (*-éne*) and the progressive characterized by *-aá* after the verb root/stem plus the same suffix (*-éne*) as the future tense.

yewe 'to come':	present/ habitual	past	future	progressive
1 sg.	*yeétt-á-tte-**t**-íne*	*yeétt-á-tte-**t**-ínne*	*yeétt-á-tte-**t**-éne*	*yew-aá-tte-**t**-éne*
2 sg.	*yeétt-á-tte-**n**-íne*	*yeétt-á-tte-**n**-ínne*	*yeétt-á-tte-**n**-éne*	*yew-aá-tte-**n**-éne*
3 masc. sg.	*yeétt-á-tte-**s**-íne*	*yeétt-á-tte-**s**-ínne*	*yeétt-á-tte-**s**-éne*	*yew-aá-tte-**s**-éne*
3 fem. sg.	*yeétt-á-tt-**iš**-íne*	*yeétt-á-tt-**iš**-ínne*	*yeétt-á-tt-**iš**-éne*	*yew-aá-tt-**iš**-éne*
1 pl.	*yeétt-á-tt-**un**-íne*	*yeétt-á-tt-**un**-ínne*	*yeétt-á-tt-**un**-éne*	*yew-aá-tt-**un**-éne*
2 pl.	*yeétt-á-tt-**it**-íne*	*yeétt-á-tt-**it**-ínne*	*yeétt-á-tt-**it**-éne*	*yew-aá-tt-**it**-éne*
3 pl.	*yeétt-á-tt-**us**-íne*	*yeétt-á-tt-**us**-ínne*	*yeétt-á-tt-**us**-éne*	*yew-aá-tt-**us**-éne*

Subject agreement (cf. highlighted morphemes) is marked on affirmative indicative verbs only when these are in focus. The *-á-* preceding the focus marker *-tte* is a lexically determined stem formative; in some verbs *-ó-* is used instead.

Negation is marked differently in different tenses and moods. In the indicative past, it is marked by the independent negative verb *baáˀa* whereas in the non-past, *-aáˀa* is directly affixed to the verb root: *tá ˀooʦí baáˀa* 'I did not work' vs. *tá ʾooʦ-aáʾa* ‘I do not work’. Subject-agreement is not marked in the indicative negative verb. In the interrogative, negation is marked by suffixes *b-* (past) and *-íkk* (non-past):

hame ‘to go’

Negative Interrogative, Past		Negative Interrogative, Non-past:	
hang-í b-ánna	‘Didn’t I go?’	*ham-íkk-ánna*	‘Won’t/Don’t I go?’
hang-í b-ay(e)	‘Didn’t you go?’	*ham-íkk-ay*(*e*)	‘Won’t/Don’t you go?’
hang-í b-íya	‘Didn’t she go?’	*ham-íkk-íya*	‘Won’t/Doesn’t she go?’
hang-í b-áye	‘Didn’t he go?’	*ham-íkk-áye*	‘Won’t/Doesn’t he go?’
hang-í b-únno	‘Didn’t we go?’	*ham-íkk-únno*	‘Won’t/Don’t we go?’
hang-í b-ínno	‘Didn’t we go?’	*ham-íkk-ínno*	‘Won’t/Don’t we go?’
hang-í b-íte	‘Didn’t you (pl.) go?’	*ham-íkk-íte*	‘Won’t/Don’t you go?’
hang-í b-áwo	‘Didn’t they go?’	*ham-íkk-áwo*	‘Won’t/Don’t they go?’

Negation is marked by the inflecting verb *dokk-/díkk-* in the imperative/optative:

Affirmative Imperative/Optative:		Negative Imperative/Optative:	
ʾepp-aná	‘Let me take’	*ham-í díkk-ánna*	‘Let me not go’
ʾepp-á	‘take! (2sg.)’	*ham-í dókk-o*	‘Don’t go!’
ʾepp-iíšša/ʾepp-íya/ʾepp-ó	‘Let her take’	*ham-í díkk-iya*	‘Let her not go’
ʾepp-eésse/ʾepp-áye/ʾepp-ó	‘Let him take’	*ham-í díkk-aye*	‘Let him not go’
ʾepp-uúnno	‘Let’s take (incl.)’	*ham-í díkk-únno*	‘Let us not go’
ʾepp-iínno	‘Let’s take (excl.)’	*ham-í díkk-ínno*	‘Let us not go’
ʾepp-á-ite	‘take! (2pl.)’	*ham-í díkk-íte*	‘Don’t go!’
ʾepp-uússo /ʾeppá-wo/ʾepp-ó	‘Let them take’	*ham-í díkk-uússo*	‘Let them not go’

The basic pronouns are typical of a *Ta-/Ne-*language:

	Nominative/subject	Accusative/object	Possessive
1sg.	*táni/tái*	*táná/taa*	*tá*
2sg.	*néní/néí*	*néná/nee*	*né*
3masc.sg.	*ʾésí*	*ʾésá*	*ʾé*
3fem.sg.	*ʾísí*	*ʾísó*	*ʾí*
1pl.excl.	*níní*	*níná/nii*	*ní*
1pl.incl.	*núní/núí*	*núná/nuu*	*nú*
2pl.	*wútúni*	*wútúna/hútúna*	*wú/hú*
3pl.	*ʾúsúni*	*ʾúsúna*	*ʾú*

Dative, instrumental and ablative can be derived by adding the respective morphemes to the (short) object pronouns. Zg.-Zs. make inclusive/exclusive distinction in the 1st pers. pl.

Basic numerals are: *bizzó* ‘1’, *námʾ* ‘2’, *háidʦ* ‘3’, *ʾoidd* ‘4’, *ʾišícc* ‘5’, *ʾizíp ‘6’, laáp ‘7’, lakkúče* ‘8’, *tansíne ‘9’, támm* ‘10’. *ṣeét* ‘100’ and *šíya* ‘1000’ are the only simple higher numerals. Others are compounds with or without the linking *u* or coordinator *-nne* ‘and’; the quantified noun may occur in sg. or pl., e.g., *laáp támm maššedé* ‘70 knives’, *namʾú támma*(*-nne*) *námʾ golodó* ‘22 sickles’

Demonstratives include *ha* (proximal), *se*, *hi* (distal), *yeékk* ‘that down there’, *woókk* ‘that up there’. These could be used pronominally, e.g., *ha-í ʾadátta* ‘this (masc./fem.) is tall’. Interrogative pronominals comprise: *ʾaálumma* ‘what’, *ʾána* ‘where (directional)’, *ʾánna* ‘where (locative)’, *ʾánden* ‘when’, *ʾáns’ún* ‘how many’, *ʾánapes* ‘from where’, *ʾaálass* or *ʾaála ʾute* ‘why’, *ʾoóde* ‘who’ and *waánisi* ‘how’. In sentences subject-agreement markers are added to these words instead of the verb: e.g. *ʾánna-s ʾaíkínne* ‘where did he catch (it)?’*; ʾánna-iš ʾaíkínne* ‘where did she catch (it)?’.

The remaining words of the Herman Bell list are: *budó* ‘fire’, *waaʦé* ‘water’, *ʾawá* ‘sun’, *ʾagúnna* ‘moon/month’, *suuʦ* ‘blood’, *ʾinṣíre* ‘tongue’, *ʾaccé* ‘tooth’.

The basic word order in clauses is Subject-Object-Verb. Modifiers precede the head. Example of modified clauses:

šaató-z-í	*yeekk-eés*	*maák’k’o-kko*	*ʾeerésmaaʦ*	*ʾíng-á-tte-n-éne*
child-M:DEF-NOM	cry-REL	happen-CND	little milk	give-SFV-FOC-2SG-FUT

‘If the child cries, you will give him some milk’

Lit.: Azeb Amha, “Questioning forms in Zargulla”, in: Rainer Voigt (ed.), ‘*From Beyond the Mediterranean*’: *Akten des 7. internationalen Semitohamitistenkongresses, Berlin 13–15 September 2004*, Aachen 2007 (Semitica et Semitohamitica Berolinensia 5), 197–210; Ead., “The Morpho-Syntax of Negation in Zargulla”, in: Leo Wetzels (ed.), *The Linguistics of Endangered Languages*: *Contributions to Morphology and Morpho-Syntax*, Utrecht 2009, 199–220; Baye Yimam, “Some Aspects of Zargulla Morphology”, in: *PICES* 11, vol. 1, 419–28; Richard J. Hayward, “Notes on the Zayse Language”, in: Id. (ed.), *Omotic Language Studies*, London 1990, 210–355; Id., “East Ometo Verb Paradigms: The Grammaticalization of a Syntactic Pattern”, *SOAS Working Papers in Linguistics* 9, 1999, 301–16.

Azeb Amha

Zayse and Zargulla ethnography

The Zs. and Zg. seem to be two territorial sections of the same stock of people; at least they speak the same language (↗Zayse) in two dialectical varieties. While the Zs. people call themselves by this name, the Zg. call themselves “Gamo” (but linguistically differ from the ↗Gamo groups of Borodda, Quča, Dita, and ↗Dorze). The Zs. and Zg. belong to the East ↗Ometo-speaking groups in Southern Ethiopia. In the 2007 census the Zs. counted 17,884 people (CSA 2008: 85), while the Zg. were no longer listed as a separate section. In the previous 1994 census they were said to count 390 (CSA 1998: 67), an incorrect figure due to language confusion (s. language article) and differences in self-identification, and perhaps politics, listing the Zs. as ↗Gamo.

The Zs. and Zg. settlement area lies to the west of Lake ↗Č̣amo (1,108 m A.S.L.) up to the north-western foothills of the ↗Gardula mountain range and areas north of it. It consists of highland and lowland zones. Their neighbours are the ↗Mosiye, ↗Maale and various Gamo groups. They themselves claim an identity different from the surrounding peoples in this predominantly Gamo area. They see their origins in the Gamo highlands. In their origin myths the Zs. and Zg. are said to have descended from a union of the sun and a local woman (impregnated by the sun’s rays), who gave birth to seven sons at Kolé, a still venerated historical place currently in Bonké *wäräda* in Gamo (Abaynäh Unašo 2007: 11; cf. Freeman 2006: 88; Azeb Amha, field data, 2005). The two brothers were the ancestors of seven peoples: the Zs., Zg., ↗Koorete, Ganta, Balta (Abaynäh Unašo, ibid. instead mentions the Mälé), and the people who stayed in Kolé. Both Zs. and Zg. now call the other (northern) Gamo groups “Đač̣e” (↗Dač̣e) and refer to themselves as “Gamo” (Freeman 2006: 85).

The Zg. main villages are Đímalle (a local market) and Kettelé. The Zg. lowlands border those of Maale. In Zs. there are about 25 villages, the main ones being Elgo, Balabat, Wäzäqa and Dämbila. The main markets for Zs. are at Gumayde and Banno villages. They also visit and trade in the regional market town and Zone capital of Arba Mənč̣. The town of Geresse (Bonké *wäräda* capital) is the administrative centre of Zg., Ganta, Mäle and Gamo groups.

The traditional Zs. and Zg. socio-political order was marked by three layers of authority: the *kati* (‘king’), the appointed *maga* chiefs, and the *sorof* (‘sub-chiefs’), the latter elected by the local people (cf. Freeman 2006: 89). The *kati* had the function of a rain maker (↗Rainmaking) and expected to guarantee the social order and the fertility of crops, plants, livestock and people. He was assisted by an independent advisor, the *haylé maga* (Abayneh Unašo 2007: 65). The Zg. *kati* still exists, although undermined ideologically and materially (land issues) by encroaching Pentecostal beliefs which deny traditional ruler ideologies any legitimacy and denounce them often as the “devil’s work”, to be discarded. The *kati* is also recognized by the Zs. The Zs. and Zg. also have their own calendar, based on the moon cycle (ibid. 58f.).

Prior to 1897, when they submitted to the imperial Ethiopian forces, the Zs. and Zg. were an independent political unit, and warriors had a high status. While the Zg., living in a more remote area than the Zs., managed to retain their kingship until today, the Zs. could only keep theirs up to the early years of the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council), when their *kati* was persecuted and humiliated. Currently the Zg. are administratively part of Bonké *wäräda*, since March 2011 in the new Sägän Areas Peoples Zone, and the Zs. are part of ↗Đíraašša *wäräda* in the Gamo Gofa Zone of the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples Regional State.

The *kati* Arche Apa and his family; photo 2005, courtesy of Azeb Amha

The Zs. and Zg. are predominantly cultivators, producing *ṭef*, maize and sorghum, and raising livestock, especially cattle (mostly in the lowlands) for milk and cheese production. In the home gardens, *ənsät* and other crops such as cabbage, beans, and spice plants are cultivated. Honey production, notably by Zg., is still limited but known for its good quality. In the dry season some fishing is done by Zs. on the nearby Lake Č̣amo. Three craft worker groups live among them: weavers, potters and tanners, but no blacksmiths. Zs. and Zg. largely live on subsistence economy, but important cash crops are cotton, *ṭef*, and coffee. A problem specific to the Zs. area is water scarcity. Some Zg. have farms in the lowlands, although the area is mostly used for cattle herding. Traditional technology is the hoe; in the lower areas the plough is used by those who can afford it (oxen).

The Zs. and Zg. have a patrilineal clan system. The Zs. have about 17 clans (cf. Abayneh Unašo 2007: 10). There is a complex personal naming system called *daasa* (ibid. 68), apparently meant to express lineage solidarity and ritual duties with the family. Traces of this kind of system are also found among other Gamo groups. Traditionally there is an intricate status-based burial system, with different rituals for various social categories (ibid. 74). One other unique Zs. custom was that of the "age celebration" (*detse kets*) – a rite of passage of male adolescents held every three years by young men approaching adult (marriageable) age during which they passed through Zs. villages while singing songs called *kéma*, i.e. songs sung only on that occasion. The young men were then recognized by the *kati* as having reached this stage and received a collective name (similar to that of an age or generation group; ↗age group systems). Subsequently the young men would perform some labour services for the *kati* (ibid. 79).

The Zs. and Zg. are a strongly cohesive group, as expressed in a relatively high intra-group marriage rate (most Zs. men marry Zs. wives, although there is some inter-marriage with Mosiye/Busa, and other Gamo groups), and there is little permanent out-migration, although more and more young people leave the area for educational reasons. Among Zs. and Zg. group solidarity is expressed through the concept of *tokuma*, i.e. mutual identification and reciprocity, as expressed in collective labour and cooperation, e.g., in ventures outside the Zs. and Zg. area.

Religious allegiance of the Zs. and Zg. is mixed, with a significant section still practising traditional ↗religion, next to Christianity (Orthodox and Evangelical) and with some Muslims among the Zs. There are some old Orthodox churches in Zg., e.g., the Gäbrəʾel church in Đimalle and the Maryam church in Geresse. As in many areas of southern Ethiopia, the growth of Evangelical-Pentecostal beliefs has meant an assault on traditional Zs. and Zg. values and on their historical conceptions and has divided society.

No separate historical or social studies exist on the Zs. and Zg. as an "ethnic group" (except the interesting survey of Abayneh Unašo 2007, a member of the Zs. community), although their language, notably Zg., has been described in various publications.

Src.: interview with Zayse informant, Addis Abäba, 7 November 2009; Azeb Amha, interview with the Zargulla *kati*, 6 June 2005; CSA 1998; CSA 2008.

Lit.: ABAYNÄH UNAŠO, **የዛይሴ ፡ ብሔረሰብ ፡ ባህል** (*Yäzayse bəḥeräsäb bahəl*, 'The Culture of the Zayse Nationality'), Dilla 1999 A.M. [2007 A.D.]; DEENA FREEMAN, "Who are the Gamo? And who are the D'ache?", in: *PICES* 15, 85–91.

Jon Abbink

Zəkr

Z. (Gəʿəz **ዝክር**, 'commemoration, remembrance, memory', also **ዝክረ ፡ ቅዱሳን**, *zəkrä qəddusan* 'commemoration of the saints'; related to Arab. ↗*ḏikr*) is a commemorative feast for a ↗saint or archangel (↗Angels). On a day dedicated to the saint or archangel, Ethiopian Orthodox Christians individually or collectively organize a 'feast' (**ድግስ**, *dəggəs*) honouring his life and deeds. In a monastic context the term ↗*täzkar* is used sometimes to refer to a Z.

The ritual of Z. aims at establishing or strengthening relations of patronage between the faithful and the saint. This "contract" is signed after a devotee has made a vow (↗*Səlät*) binding him or her to the saint. The organization of the banquet is understood to be the fulfilment of the vow. Each initiator of a Z. may have his own personal reasons for organizing it; be it an expression of gratitude for an alleged action of the saint, or to encourage the saint to protect the believer during his life. Performed also as an eschatological act, the Z. is believed to encourage the saint to protect the soul of the believer after his death and to intercede in his favour on Judgment Day.

A Z. can be set up monthly or yearly. After celebrating the liturgy (↗*qəddase*) in the church dedicated to the saint, the initiator of the Z. feast may invite to his house members of his family, friends and neighbours, and his 'spiritual father' (*yänəssəha abbat*), usually a priest from his parish. The confessor will perform the ceremony as *zəkr* *qes* ('priest of the Z.'). At home, after the recitation of the Lord's Prayer and the Hail Mary, the priest blesses the drinks, usually ↗*ṭälla* or ↗*ṭäǧǧ*, and the ↗food, which will be eaten during the feast and placed in a basket (*mäsob*), which, on this occasion, is called *ṣəwwa* ('chalice'). Then, the priest divides *ənǧära* (s. ↗Bread) into pieces (*mäkfält* or *qiṭṭa*), to be distributed among all participants. At the end of the feast, the priest, standing in front of all participants similarly standing, reminds them of the great events in the saint's life by quoting the ↗*mälkə*ʾ, the ↗*dərsan* or the ↗*täʾammər* dedicated to him and thanks the initiator of the feast in the name of the saint and the Church. The ceremony ends with the recitation of the Lord's Prayer and the Prayer of Absolution. The remains of the feast are distributed among the participants and are also given to the parish church for the poor and the other priests, or directly distributed to the poor in front of the house.

The form of the ceremony is the same if the Z. is organized collectively. Usually, a collective Z. is organized by an association (↗*maḫbär*, or *yäṣəwwa maḫbär*) which gathers its members monthly for the celebration.

Src.: Admasu Ǧänbäre, ኰኵሐ ፡ ሃይማኖት (*Kʷäkʷəḥa haymanot*, 'The Rock of the Faith'), Addis Abäba 1949 A.M. [1956/57 A.D.], 222–34; BaetDic 845; DTWDic 489; GuiVoc 625; Habtä Maryam Wärqənäh, ማኅበራዊ ፡ ኑሮ ፡ በኢትዮጵያ (*Maḫbärawi nuro bäʾityoṗya*, 'Social Life in Ethiopia'), Addis Abäba 1967 A.M. [1974/75 A.D.], 33–36. **Lit.**: Stéphane Ancel, "Maḫbär et sänbäté: associations religieuses en Ethiopie", *Aethiopica* 8, 2005, 95–111; Yaqob Beyene, "L'associazione del calice in Etiopia (māḫbara ṣewwāᶜ)", in: Simonetta Graziani (ed.), *Studi nel Vicino Oriente Antico dedicati alla memoria di Luigi Cagni*, Napoli 2000 (Series Minore 61), 1275–87.

Stéphane Ancel

Zəkrä Maryam (Zəkri) ↗Ṗawli

Zəkrland ↗Rim; ↗Amšo rim

Zema

Z. (Gəᶜəz ዜማ) is a generic term used to designate the extensive heritage of the liturgical ↗music of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church. Traditionally, it is contrasted with *zäfän*, secular music (cp. ↗Songs).

According to tradition, Z. was discovered and established by the 6th-cent. saint ↗Yared, who was inspired by the Holy Spirit.

The entire liturgy is sung, in unison, with the exception of the Scriptures, which are read. The songs are organized in one of the three musical modes: ↗*gəᶜəz*, ↗*ᶜəzəl* and ↗*araray*.

In monasteries, the liturgical chant is practiced daily. Elsewhere, Z. is used during mass (↗*Qəddase*), evening services (↗*Wazema*), Sunday office (↗*Mäwäddəs*), monthly (*wär bäᶜal*) and annual (*kəbra bäᶜal*) celebrations, ↗*Kəśtät* and ↗*Aryam* offices (celebrations for the Virgin and Saints), matins (↗*Səbḥatä nägh*), celebrations for Lent time (*Ṣom*), rogations (↗*Məhəlla*), funerals and all Wednesdays and Fridays of the year.

Liturgical texts can be chanted without instruments (↗*Qum zema*) or be accompanied by instruments and gestures (↗*Aqqʷaqʷam*). *Mäzämmməran* (singers) – all male – are professional, paid by the Church and trained during many years by masters (*märigeta*) in liturgical chant schools (↗*Zema bet*). They serve in a space reserved for them within the church, the *qəne maḫlet* (↗Church buildings). The songs are performed by one or two choirs, sometimes with soloists. They use certain melodic and rhythmic formulae (*səräyu*). The instruments used in certain celebrations are sistra (↗*Ṣänaṣəl*), membranophones with two membranes (↗*Käbäro*) and prayer sticks (↗*Mäqqʷamiya*). The *mäzämmməran* can perform two types of movements: they shift their prayer sticks in codified motions or they dance.

There are numerous types of Z. songs (e.g., ↗*sälam*, *abun*; cp. ↗Hymns). While all of them can be executed in *qum zema*, only ca. 60 can be executed in the *aqqʷaqʷam* performance mode. Most of the songs are contained in five main books of chant, which provide, above the lines of text, a musical notation (↗*Mələkkət*): the ↗*Dəggʷa*, the ↗*Ṣomä dəggʷa*, the ↗*Zəmmare*, the ↗*Mäwaśəᶜət* and the ↗*Məᶜəraf*.

Chanting is also a feature of the ↗*qəne*, which are improvised on fixed melodic and rhythmic patterns.

There are several Z. schools, but the *betäləḥem zema* is the most widely used.

Src.: አምስቱ ፡ ጸዋትወ ፡ ዜማዎች (*Amməstu ṣäwatəwä zemawočč*, 'The Five Categories of Chants'), Addis Abäba 1965 A.M. [1972/73 A.D.]. **Lit.**: Anne Damon-Guillot, *La Liturgie en mouvements*: *ʾaqʷaqʷam, réalisation chantée, gestuelle et instrumentale du texte liturgique dans l'Église chrétienne orthodoxe unifiée d'Éthiopie*, Ph.D. thesis, University-Jean-Monnet-Saint-Étienne 2007; Kay Kaufman Shelemay – Peter Jeffery, *Ethiopian Christian Liturgical Chant: An Anthology*, 3 vols., Madison, WI 1993; Ṭəᶜumä Ləsan Kasa, ያሬድና ፡ ዜማው (*Yaredənna zemaw*, 'Yared and his Melodies'), Addis Abäba 1981 A.M. [1988/89 A.D.]; VelMaw; VelMe.

Anne Damon-Guillot

Zema bet

Z.b. (**ዜማ ፡ ቤት**, lit. 'house of ↗*zema* [chant]') is a part of the system of traditional church ↗education. It is accessible to students who have completed the ↗*nəbab bet* and, as a rule, the ↗*qəddase bet*. Its graduates become cantors of ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church.

In the Z.b., the following major discipline blocks are taught: (1) the ↗*Dəgg*^{w}*a*, (2) the ↗*Zəmmare*/↗*Mäwaśə*^{c}*ət*, (3) ↗*Mäzgäbä qəddase*/↗*Sä*^{c}*atat* (not required for those who want to be ordained deacon and priest) and (4) ↗*Aqq*^{w}*aq*^{w}*am*.

Prominent Z.b. are at ↗Däbrä Abbay (Təgray), Sälälkula (Wällo) and ↗Gonǧ Tewodros (Goǧǧam).

Lit.: JEAN DORESSE, *La vie quotidienne des Éthiopiens Chrétiens aux XVII*^{e} *et XVIII*^{e} *siècles*, Hachette 1972; HabTent; HabUff; HAILE GABRIEL DAGNE, "The Ethiopian Orthodox Church School System", in: *The Church of Ethiopia*: *a Panorama of History and Spiritual Life*, Addis Ababa ^{2}1997, 81–97, here 91f.; KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY, "The Musician and Transmission of Religious Tradition: the Multiple Roles of the Ethiopian Däbtära", *Journal of Religion in Africa* 22, 1992, 242–60.

Habtemichael Kidane

Zəmmame

Z. (Amh. **ዝማሜ**, lit. 'swinging') is one of the modes of performance of ↗*aqq*^{w}*aq*^{w}*am* liturgical chant and dance. The other performance modes, all differing in musical, structural, gestural and functional traits, are *qum ṣänaṣəl*, *märägd*, *ṣəf*^{c}*at*, *əngurgurro*, *ammälaläs*, *wäräb*, and *šäbšäbo*. The main difference is the use of instruments. In Z., ↗*mäqq*^{w}*amiya* is the only instrument used, while in *märägd* and *wäräb* the cantors also employ ↗*ṣänaṣəl* and ↗*käbäro*, and in *šäbšäbo* and *ṣəf*^{c}*at* the hands are also clapped.

Like all *aqq*^{w}*aq*^{w}*am* performances, Z. is used during Sunday, monthly and annual celebrations. For each type of song, cantors offer different performances of the same text, Z. being the first mode. Pieces are always sung in unison by one or two male choir(s).

Performing Z., each cantor holds the *mäqq*^{w}*amiya* vertically in his right hand, lifts it up off the ground (*anśa*, 'lift!') and moves it from right to left, up and down and backwards and forwards, in a fixed gesture. Moreover, cantors can draw semicircles to the top with their sticks (*wäzwuz*, 'shake!'), move the prayer stick's bottom end backwards or forwards (*nəza*, 'spread!'), move the stick's top end forwards or make it draw a circle (*məzäz,* 'unroll!'). When the stick's end is on the ground, cantors can lean the *mäqq*^{w}*amiya* to right or left. It is only in Z. that the cantors can hit the ground *(məta*, 'hit!') with their sticks simultaneously at specific moments during the chant. However, there is no regular beat, and the chanting is slow. Recurrent musical formulae confer a melodic and rhythmic identity on Z. (e.g. *tərkəza*, 'a stand').

Z. performances may differ from school to school and from region to region. For example, in the Täkle *zema bet* in the south of ↗Gondär Z. is characterized by more and longer melisms, and by more frequent and wider movements than in other schools. In the *tačč bet* and *lay bet* schools, cantors may hit the ground at different moments in the chant.

Lit.: ANNE DAMON-GUILLOT, *La Liturgie en mouvements*: *ʾaq*^{w}*aq*^{w}*am, réalisation chantée, gestuelle et instrumentale du texte liturgique dans l'Église chrétienne orthodoxe unifiée d'Éthiopie*, Ph.D. thesis, University-Jean-Monnet-Saint-Étienne 2007; HabUff 258.

Anne Damon-Guillot

Zəmmare

Z. (**ዝማሬ**, from **ዘመረ**, *zämmärä*, 'sing, praise', s. GuiVoc 609; LesDic 639 – a meaning very close to *qäddäsä*, s. KWKDic 424b; Ləssänä Wärq 1997: 52) is one of the five books of liturgical chant (↗*Zema*) used in the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (*Amməstu ṣäwatəwä zemawočč*). The other four books are the ↗*Dəgg*^{w}*a*, the ↗*Ṣomä dəgg*^{w}*a*, the ↗*Mäwasə*^{c}*ət* and the ↗*Mə*^{c}*əraf*. The Z. ↗hymns are sung in one of the three modes, ↗*gə*^{c}*əz*, ↗^{c}*əzəl* and ↗*araray*, depending on the mode in which the ↗*Qəddase* is sung.

The Z. hymns are dedicated to the Holy ↗Eucharist. As with other chants, tradition ascribes the composition of the Z. to St. ↗Yared, who in this case is believed to have created these hymns of thanksgiving thinking of what happened during the Last Supper (Mt 26:26-31). There are two main parts, Z. proper and **አኰቴት** (*akk*^{w}*ätet,* 'thanksgiving').

The first part (Z.) contains three groups of hymns, corresponding to the three days Jesus spent in the tomb: (1) **ኅብስት** (*ḫəbəst*, 'bread'), (2) **ጽዋዕ** (*ṣəwa*^{c}, 'chalice'), sometimes also called **ደም** (*däm*, 'blood'), and (3) **መንፈስ** (*mänfäs,* 'spirit'). The first group deals with the Eucharist (the blood of Christ), with the consecration of bread in the liturgy and with the fruit of the communion. It has 219 *gə*^{c}*əz*, 132 ^{c}*əzəl* and 23 *araray* elements and always begins with **እስመ ፡ ለዓለም ፡ ምሕረቱ** (*əsmä* *läᶜaläm məḥrätu*, ‘for His mercy is everlasting’, Ps 99/100:5). The second group has 225 *gəᶜəz*, 48 *ᶜəzəl* and 10 *araray* elements; it is opened by **እስመ ፡ አልቦ ፡ ነገር ፡ ዘይሰአኖ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር** (*əsmä albo nägär zäyəssäᵓano läᵓəgziᵓabəḥer*, ‘because nothing is impossible to the Lord’; the words of the Angel to Mary, Lk 1:37). The third group always starts with Halleluja and contains 45 *ᶜəzəl* and 10 *araray* elements. This part of Z. is sung by the ↗*däbtära* in the *Qəne maḫlet* (↗Church building).

The portions of the second part (*Akkʷätet*, with a separate section for *Məśṭir*, ‘sacrament’), which deals with thanking God for what he has done for the people, are chosen in accordance with the liturgical feast of the day. There are 74 *gəᶜəz* and 53 *ᶜəzəl* elements in the *Akkʷätet* and 204 *gəᶜəz* and 53 *ᶜəzəl* in the *Məśṭir*. They used to be performed by the main celebrant at the *qəddəst*; in contemporary practice the hymns are sung by the main celebrant from the *mäqdäs* (↗Church building), and the same hymns are performed by the cantors (*mäzämməran*) in the *Qəne maḫlet*, accompanied by musical instruments and dance (↗*Aqqʷaqʷam*). *Akkʷätet* is sung after the **ድርገት** (*dərgät*, conjunction or union, KWKDic 424b; Ləssanä Wärq 1997:54), at the moment of consuming the **ተረፈ ፡ መሥዋዕት** (*täräfä mäśwaᶜət*, the leftover of the body and blood of Christ distributed to the celebrants), while the cantors sing the ↗ᶜ*Əṭanä mogär qəne*. The reminder in the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Qəddase* (**ካህን ፡ ይበል ፡ ዝማሬ**, *kahən yəbäl Z.*, ‘let the priest [celebrant] say the Z.’) certainly refers to the main celebrant’s portion of Z.

In present use, Z. must be performed only if the *qəne* ↗*Kəbr yəᵓəti* and *Əṭanä mogär* are composed during the *Qəddase*, otherwise there is no obligation to sing any Z. On Good Friday, the *Qəddase* is not celebrated, but the performance of the *Kəbr yəᵓəti*, *Əṭanä mogär* and of Z. is prescribed (Ləssanä Wärq 1997:59).

In the traditional ↗education system, Z. is studied for at least two years (HabTent 278f.). The monastery of ↗Zuramba in Gayənt, where, according to tradition, Yared composed the hymns, is an important place of learning Z.

Src.: **አምስቱ ፡ ጸዋትወ ፡ ዜማዎች** (*Amməstu ṣäwatəwä zemawočč*, ‘The Five Categories of Chants’), Addis Abäba 1965 A.M. [1972/73 A.D.]; DillmLex 1039; GrébGriaule 186–90; GuiVoc 609; KWKDic 424b; LesDic 639; TÄSFA GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE (ed.), **ዝማሬ ፡ ዘደረሰ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ያሬድ ፡ ኢትዮጵያዊ** (*Zəmmare zädäräsä qəddus Yared ityop̣yawi*, ‘The *Zəmmare* Composed by Saint Yared the Ethiopian’), Addis Abäba 1985 A.M. [1992/93 A.D.]; ṬƎᶜUMÄ LƎSSAN KASA, **ያሬድና ፡ ዜማው** (*Yaredənna zemaw* ‘Yared and his Chants’), Addis Abäba 1981 A.M. [1988/89 A.D.], 53–58.

Lit.: ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX TÄWAḤƎDO CHURCH, *The Church of Ethiopia Past and Present*, Addis Ababa 1997, 53; PETER JEFFERY, “The Liturgical Year in the Ethiopian Deggwa (Chantbook)”, in: EPHREM CARR et al. (eds.) *Eulogema*: *Studies in Honor of Robert Taft, S.J.*, Roma 1993 (Studia Anselmiana 110, Analecta Liturgica 17), 199–234; HabTent 102ff.; HabUff 110–16; KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY – PETER JEFFERY, *Ethiopian Christian Liturgical Chant*: *An Anthology*, 3 vols., Madison, WI 1993; *märigeta* LƎSSANÄ WÄRQ GÄBRÄ GIYORGIS, **ጥንታዊ ፡ ሥርዓተ ፡ ማኅሌት ፡ ዘአቡነ ፡ ያሬድ ፡ ሊቅ** (*Ṭəntawi śərᶜatä maḫlet zäᵓabunä Yared liq,* ‘The Ancient Order of Singing of our Father Yared, the Master’), Addis Abäba – Mäqälä 1997, 51–54; TADDESSE TAMRAT, “A Short Note on the Ethiopian Church Music”, *AE* 13, 1985, 135–43; BERNARD VELAT, “Hymnes eucharistiques éthiopiennes”, *Rythmes du Monde* 1, 1953, 26–36; VelMaw 159–70 [26–36]; VelMe I, 33ff., 305–13.

Habtemichael Kidane

Zena Ayhud

Z.A. (**ዜና ፡ አይሁድ**, ‘The History of the Jews’) is the title of the Ethiopic translation, via Arabic, of a Hebrew work known as *Sēfer Yosippon* (‘Book of Yosippon’), or *Sēfer* [*Yosef*] *Ben Goryon* (GrafLit vol. 1, 221ff.).

Yosippon (hereafter Y.; frequently referred to as *Pseudo-Josephus*) was composed in Southern Italy in 953, which date, confirmed by historical analysis of the contents, is provided by only one Hebrew manuscript (Flusser 1987:390). It is basically an adaptation of the *Jewish Antiquities* by the 1st-cent. historian Flavius Josephus (Yoseph Ben Mattithyahu), supplemented by some other sources. Because of a mistake in one of Y.’s sources, it was attributed to Joseph Ben Gorion (Eth. **ዮሴፍ ፡ ወልደ ፡ ኮርዮን**, Yosef Wäldä Koryon), another Jewish commander in the first Jewish–Roman war.

Y. interweaves the history of the Jews with that of Rome. The *Diamerismos* (i.e., an account of the Division of the earth between the sons of Noah), truncated to the descendants of Japheth, is followed by the legendary story of Ṣepho (Eth. Safwa), son of Eliphaz (Gen 36:11), who became the king of the Kittim (Eth. Käytäm), i.e., Romans, whereupon the author passes to the history of the Jews, from the return from the Babylonian exile, through the restoration of the Jewish Temple, the deeds of ↗Alexander the Great, the ↗Maccabean kingdom, until the Roman–Jewish war and the destruction of the Temple, ending with the fall of Masada, just as Josephus’ *Jewish War* does.

Since Y. provided an account of Jewish history during the Second Temple period, not covered by the Hebrew Bible, it became very popular among the Jews, as both the early printed editions (in the 1470s in Mantua, one of the first Hebrew books ever to be printed) and translations into various languages testify. The latter were provided for both Jewish (1546 Yiddish, Ladino) and non-Jewish readers (1541 Latin, 1558 English, later other vernaculars).

In the 11th cent., Y. was translated into Arabic by Zakarīyā b. Saᶜīd, a Yemeni Jew (according to the testimony of Ibn Ḥazm, an Arab scholar of Andalusia, d. 1063). Several Arabic recensions exist; the known manuscripts are not earlier than the 12th cent. There are two uncritical editions (s. ed. Kamil 1937: xii, and a resumé in Wellhausen 1898).

The Arabic Y. circulated among the Jewish communities all over the Near East, but soon crossed religious borders and was read by both Muslims and Christians. ↗Ibn Ḫaldūn (d. 1406) excerpted much of it into the second volume of his *Kitāb al-ᶜIbar*, that was devoted to non-Muslim peoples, including biblical history (Fischel 1954).

Y. attained particular popularity among the Copts. Accoding to the *Nomocanon* by aṣ-Ṣafī Abū l-Faḍāᵓil (ca. 1238) and *The Lamp in the Darkness*, a comprehensive Coptic Church encyclopaedia by Šams ar-Riᵓāsa Abū l-Barakāt (d. 1324), the *Yūsuf b. Kuryūn* belonged to the Biblical canon of the ↗Coptic Church. It is indeed transmitted in many manuscripts which contain biblical books. However, it is never quoted in the official lists of the canonical books of the Coptic Church.

Y.'s prominent status was most probably the reason why it was translated into Ethiopic, ca. 1300, as Z.A. The oldest witnesses belong to the 16th cent. (Kamil 1937: xiif.). The works by Coptic historiographers, such as Ǧirǧis b. al-ᶜAmīd and Abū Šākir b. Abī l-Karam Buṭrus b. ar-Rāhib, drawing extensively on Y., were also translated into Ethiopic (s. ↗Giyorgis Wäldä Amid, ↗*Abušakər*).

According to Kamil (1937: xviii), Z.A. presents a literal translation of the Arabic *Vorlage*. It has some changes compared with the Hebrew text: many toponyms and ethnonyms that occur in the initial part (the Διαμεϱισμὸς τῆς γῆς), e.g., Danes, Croatians, Lechites (i.e. Poles), are not to be found in the Ethiopic text. They must have been omitted as incomprehensible, probably already in the Arabic *Vorlage*.

Z.A. possibly served as one of the sources for the Ethiopic book of ↗Maccabees, whose place it takes, in fact, in the list of canonical books in the ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt*, where it appears as **መጽሐፈ ፡ ዮሴፍ ፡ ወልደ ፡ ኮርዮን** *(Mäṣḥafä Yosef Wäldä Koryon*, 'Book of Joseph ben Gorion') and is supplied with an explanation "which is (another) Book of Maccabees", and in some biblical canons of the ↗*Senodos*. Whilst the original inclusion may reflect the fact that both legal codes are translations from the Copto-Arabic tradition, it definitely reflects the place the Z.A. had in the perception of the canon (↗Bible: biblical canon; Cowley 1974). This place is confirmed by the canon listings of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC), where *Mäṣḥafä Yosef Wäldä Koryon* appears as the final book of the ↗Old Testament (s. Patriarchate of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church 1996: 43; Habtä Maryam 1970/71: 44). Z.A. is, however, never included in larger Ethiopic Biblical manuscripts and no EOTC printed edition is available.

According to the information provided to Antoine d'↗Abbadie, the ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel do not accept Z.A. as biblical (Simon 1940: 386).

Src.: *Sēfer Yosippon*, ed. DAVID FLUSSER, 2 vols., Yerušalayim 1978–80; *Das arabische Josippus*, tr. JULIUS WELLHAUSEN, Berlin 1897 (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse, N.F. 1, No. 4), repr. Nendeln 1970; *Des Josef Ben Gorion (Josippon) Geschichte der Juden*: **ዜና ፡ አይሁድ**, *nach den Handschriften in Berlin, London, Oxford, Paris und Strassburg*, ed. by MURAD KAMIL, New York 1937 (review by CHARLES C. TORREY, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 59, 1939, 260–62).

Lit.: STEVEN BOWMAN, "A Tenth-century Byzantine–Jewish Historian?: a Review of David Flusser's Studies on the Josippon and its Authors", *Byzantine Studies/Études Byzantines* 10, 1, 1983, 133–36; ID., "Sepher Yosippon: History and Midrash", in: MICHAEL FISHBANE (ed.), *The Midrashic Imagination, Jewish Exegesis, Thought and History*, Albany, NY 1993, 280–94; ROGER W. COWLEY, "The Biblical Canon of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church Today", *Ostkirchliche Studien* 23, 1974, 318–23; WALTER FISCHEL, "Ibn Khaldūn and Josippon", in: *Homenaje a Millás-Vallicrosa*, vol. 1, Barcelona 1954, 587–98; DAVID FLUSSER, "Josippon, a Medieval Hebrew Version of Josephus", in: LOUIS H. FELDMAN – GOHEI HATA (eds.), *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity*, Detroit, MI 1987, 386–97; GrafLit vol. 1, 221ff.; *liqä səlṭanat* HABTÄ MARYAM WÄRQƎNÄH, **የኢትዮጵያ ፡ ኦርቶዶክስ ፡ ተዋሕዶ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ እምነትና ፡ ትምህርት** (*Yäᵓiṭyopya ortodoks täwaḥədo betä krəstiyan əmnätənna təmhərt*, 'The Faith and the Teaching of the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church'), Addis Abäba 1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.], 44; MANFRED KROPP, "Arabisch-äthiopische Übersetzungstechnik am Beispiel der *Zena Ayhud* (*Yosippon*) und des *Tarikä Wäldä-ʿAmid*", *ZDMG* 136, 1986, 314–46; PATRIARCHATE OF THE ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX TEWAHEDO CHURCH (ed.), *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church: Faith, Order of Worship and Ecumenical Relations*, Addis Abäba 1988 A.M. [1996 A.D.], 43; SHULAMIT SELA, "Josephus (Medieval Version)", in:

Norman Roth (ed.), *Medieval Jewish Civilization: an Encyclopedia*, New York 2003 (Routledge Encyclopedias of the Middle Ages 7), 377–80; Jean Simon, "L'édition du Zēnā Ayhud", *Orientalia* nova ser. 9, 1940, 378–87; Witold Witakowski, "Ethiopic Universal Chronography", in: Martin Wallraff (ed.), *Julius Africanus und die christliche Welchronistik*, Berlin 2006 (Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 157), 285–301.

Witold Witakowski

Zena Ǝskənder ↗Alexander the Great

Zena Marqos

Z.M. (**ዜና ፡ ማርቆስ**) was a 14th-cent. Ethiopian saintly monk from Šäwa (↗Morät). He is locally commemorated on 3 *Taḫśaś*, the day of his death; however, there is no commemoration note for him in any published *Sənkəssar*.

The main source for Z.M.'s life is his Vita (↗*Gädl*). At least two recensions are known, the long recension (s., e.g., ms. EMML no. 3987 and the manuscript used for his summary by Cerulli [1962], both from mid-19th cent.) and the short version with less biographical detail (e.g., ms. EMML no. 3901, 19th cent.). In manuscripts, the Acts are often followed by one or more sets of miracles (↗*Täʾammər*; s., e.g., ms. EMML no. 3987, with three collections, the first, according to the colophon, written down three years after the saint's death; 19th-cent. EMML no. 4740). Several *mälkəʾ*- and *sälam*-hymns in honour of Z.M. are also known; they can be transmitted with the hagiographic dossier (as in mss. NL 207, 18th cent.; mss. EMML nos. 2139, 3548, 3901, 3987, 4740), be included with other hymns (e.g., early 19th-cent. ms. EMML no. 2139) or be copied separately (e.g., late 18th-cent. ms. Rylands Eth. 37). The hagiographic dossiers are often completed by the monastic genealogy of Z.M. (e.g., ms. EMML no. 3987). Cerulli dated the Vita to the second half of the 16th cent. at the earliest (Cerulli 1962: 201–05), however, no pre-18th cent. copy seems to survive.

More details on Z.M. are contained in the Acts of ↗Qäwəsṭos. However, the earliest reference to Z.M. apparently originates from the hagiographic tradition of St. ↗Täklä Haymanot (Nosnitsin 2007: 162).

According to his *gädl*, Z.M. was born to Zärʾa Yoḥannəs, a brother of Ṣägga Zäʾab who was the father of Täklä Haymanot, and Maryam Zämäda, a sister of *abba* ↗Qäwəsṭos (the family connection between Z.M. and Täklä Haymanot is also mentioned in the Acts of the latter saint, s. Budge 1906:81). Among the miracles surrounding his birth and childhood are the announcement of the former to the parents by St. Mark and the journey of the new-born to the Evangelist's tomb in Egypt in the company of the archangels Raphael and Uriel. During the ceremony of ↗baptism (40 days after birth), the baby Z.M. fell on the ground but miraculously remained standing, while the baptismal waters boiled over and developed ↗healing powers. At the age of one, Z.M., who was alone in church at that moment, was raptured by an angel to heaven, where he received the blessing of the 24 Heavenly Priests and the Virgin ↗Mary.

At the age of eight, Z.M. was ordained deacon by the metropolitan *abunä* ↗Qerəllos. When on their way back from the ordination Z.M. and his father were attacked by robbers, the walking staffs of Z.M. and Zärʾa Yoḥannəs transformed themselves into a snake and a dragon, which immediately devoured the aggressors.

Z.M. married Maryam Kəbra, but soon dissolved the union; Maryam Kəbra spent the rest of her life in the monastery of Däbrä Mammas.

Archangel Gabriel took Z.M. to the land of Hagärä Məḫur (↗Muḫər), whose inhabitants venerated a tree inhabited by a spirit called Makos. Z.M.'s sign of the cross felled the tree, and the "pagans" were ready for ↗conversion. Thus, after he was ordained priest by the Alexandrine patriarch Benjamin II (1312–39), Z.M. returned to Muḫər and baptized its inhabitants. (He is still remembered locally as the founder of the monastery of ↗Muḫər Iyäsus.) Z.M. went on to convert the ↗Gurage to Christianity, where he destroyed the local idol called Gärdan.

Upon the death of his parents, Z.M. went to Wägäda (probably ↗Wägda), where he met his cousin Täklä Haymanot; together the two saints proselytized in Morät, where Z.M. founded the monastery of ↗Däbrä Bəśrat (Däbrä Zena Marqos, also Nazret), supposedly on the spot where his birth had been announced to his parents.

Z.M. is said to have subsequently evangelized ↗ʿAdal, ↗Goǧǧam, and other "pagan" areas. He visited the churches of ↗Aksum Ṣəyon and ↗Lalibäla and met such saints as ↗Samuʾel of Wäldəbba, ↗Ewosṭatewos, ↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus and ↗Iyäsus Moʾa. The Acts of Z.M. also mention his meeting with the late 14th-cent. *aṣe* ↗Nəwayä Maryam.

According to the *Gädlä Qäwəsṭos*, the late 13th-cent. *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak appointed the son of Qäwəsṭos's sister, i.e. Z.M., head over the kingdom's governors for as long as Yəkunno Amlak reigned. At the age of 35, Z.M. received the monastic habit (*qob*ᶜ) from his cousin Täklä Haymanot in ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa. Qäwəsṭos then sent him to evangelize in ↗Ǝndägäbṭän and Muḫər. Soon after Yəkunno Amlak's death, Qäwəsṭos's mother fell ill and died. Z.M. was beside Qäwəsṭos in administering her the final ↗unction and in translating her body to Däbrä Libanos, where they had her buried, by *əčč̣äge* ↗Filəppos, next to Täklä Haymanot.

Z.M. had several disciples who continued his cause. Gäbrä Märᶜawi, whom Z.M. met when visiting Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus at ↗Zəqʷala, was sent to evangelize Ṣəbaya. Another disciple, Yosef, evangelized ↗Wäläqa during the reigns of Nəwayä Maryam and Dawit II. Śämrä Ab assisted Z.M. in particular in his missionary activities in ᶜAdal.

Src.: mss. EMML nos. 2139, 3548, 3901, 3987, 4740; Addis Abäba, NL 207; Manchester, Rylands Eth. 37 [STEFAN STRELCYN, *Catalogue of Ethiopic Manuscripts in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester,* Manchester 1974, 86f.]; ERNEST ALFRED WALLIS BUDGE (ed., tr.), *The Life and Miracles of Takla Haymanot* …, London 1906, 81, 88f., 104 (text) = 198, 218, 258 (tr.); ENRICO CERULLI, "Gli atti di Zēnā Mārqos, monaco etiope del sec. XIV", in: *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda*, vol. 1, Città del Vaticano 1962 (Studi e testi 219), 191–212 (Lit.); OSVALDO RAINERI (ed., tr.), *Gli atti di Qawesṭos martire etiopico* (*Sec. XIV*), Città del Vaticano 2004 (Studi e testi 418), 260–67 (text).

Lit.: BELAYNESH MICHAEL, "Zena Marqos", in: *DicEthBio* 216; KinBibl 74 no. 63, 88 no. 131, 99 no. 186, 102 no. 200; DENIS NOSNITSIN, "The Ethiopic Synaxarion: Text-Critical Observations on Täklä Haymanot's Commemoration (24 *Näḥase*)", *OrChrP* 73, 2007, 141–83; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Gäbrä Märᶜawi", in: *EncSan* vol. 1, 944; ID., "Yosef zä-Wäläqa", *ibid.* vol. 2, 47; ID., "Śämrä Ab", *ibid.* vol. 2, 924; ID., "Zena Marqos", *ibid.* vol. 2, 1389–90.

Osvaldo Raineri

Zena Maryam

Z.M. (**ዜና ፡ ማርያም**) was a 14th-cent. Ethiopian nun venerated as the patron saint of the ↗Ǝnfraz region.

The main source of Z.M.'s life is her Vita (↗*Gädl*); the best known version was translated by Cerulli (1946); a different version was used by Kefyalew Merahi (2001: 85–91), yet there is no critical edition.

According to her Vita, Z.M. was born in Libo to Gäbrä Krəstos and Amätä Maryam. She had four brothers (three in Kefyalew Merahi 2001: 85). According to the version translated by Cerulli, Z.M. was about to be married but, after her mother's death, Z.M. decided to become nun; the endowment had to be paid back to her fiancé. According to the version used by Kefyalew Merahi (2001), she was already married and ran away, together with a younger brother, after her mother's demise. The death of her brother at the teeth of wild animals was the reason for her becoming a nun.

She subsequently was taken by *abba* Gäbrä Mikaᵓel to a cave known as Waśśa Ǝndrəyas (or Mäqabər Ǝndrəyas, i.e. 'cave/grave of Ǝndrəyas') where she remained as a hermit for 25 years. She is said to have spent the whole time standing (similar to ↗Täklä Haymanot, who is famous for standing on one leg).

From Waša Ǝndrəyas, Z.M. went to the monastery of Gʷəgʷəben at Lake ↗Ṭana (ChTana 171: Gugube). There she had a vision in which she travelled on a cloud to the monastery of ↗Ṭana Qirqos, otherwise forbidden to women (Cerulli 1946: 121, 126). In Gʷəgʷəben she also met her future disciple Ṣäbälä Maryam, who initially was considered too young to take the monastic vows. However, due to Z.M.'s intervention, the abbot of the monastery gave Ṣäbälä Maryam the monastic habit (*qämis*, *qob*ᶜ and ↗*askema*).

Until her death Z.M. followed strict ascetic principles and lived in a cave, later called Waśśa Zena Maryam (20 km from the town Addis Zämän; s. Kefyalew Merahi 2001: 90). She is said to have eaten only herbs, uncooked grain and, every Friday, ↗*koso*. She refused salt, honey, butter or milk products in general. Her Vita comprehensively mentions her ↗menstruation. Z.M. blamed God for not stopping the monthly bleeding in spite of her prayers but received the answer that this was a law already imposed on Eve. After Z.M. asked for forgiveness, God stopped the blood flow (as happened to other female saints, e.g., ↗Wälättä Peṭros).

Z.M. died on 23 *Näḥase* and was buried in her cave. It is said that miracles happened at her tomb, such as curing of sterility and eye diseases as well as head and stomach illnesses.

In her ↗*kidan* the salvation of the souls is promised to those who pray in her name, make intercessions, commemorate her and give three litres of ↗*ṭef* as ↗alms in her name.

Z.M. belongs to the category of "cave saints". She should be seen as an archetype for the ideal of a harsh asceticism for nuns, similar to ↗Krəstos

Śämra. She is considered a saint due to her radical life style dedicated to God and for her miracles. Her Vita is an important source for the early life of female hermits, albeit her life is not mentioned in any printed ↗*Sənkəssar*. She is locally commemorated on 23 *Näḥase.*

Src.: ms. *Gädlä Zena Maryam*, Qʷäraṣ́a Wälättä Ṗeṭros, Lake Ṭana; ms. d'Abbadie 14 (ChAbb 14f.); ENRICO CERULLI (tr.), "Gli atti di Zēnā Māryām: monaca etiopica del secolo XIV", *RSO* 21, 1946, 122–56; ColSyn VII, 139, no. 197; HIOB LUDOLF, *Ad suam Historiam Aethiopicam antehac editam Commentarius* ..., Francofurti ad Moenum 1691, 395.

Lit.: VERENA BÖLL, "Holy Women in Ethiopia", in: *HirKrSaints* 31–45, here 38; CHRISTINE CHAILLOT, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Tradition. A Brief Introduction to its Life and Spirituality*, Paris 2002, 148, 169; ChTana; GÉRARD COLIN, "Le synaxaire éthiopien: état actuel de la question", *ABoll* 106, 1988, 273–317, here 312; GETATCHEW HAILE, "The Monastic Genealogy of the Line of Täklä Haymanot of Shoa", *RSE* 29, 1982–83, 7–38; FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Die Heiligen der Äthiopischen Erde*, Erlangen 1998 (Oikonomia 37), 125–29; ID., *Die Kirche Äthiopiens. Eine Bestandsaufnahme,* Berlin 1971, 161, 176, 193f., 225; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, "Saints of Medieval Ethiopia", *Abba Salama* 10, 1979, 257–341; STEVEN KAPLAN, "Iyasus Moᵓa and Takla Haymanot: a Note on a Hagiographic Controversy", *JSS* 31, 1986, 47–56, here 50; KEFYALEW MERAHI, *Saints and Monasteries in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 2001, 85–91; KinBibl 102, no. 201; *liqä bərhanat* MÄRQOREWOS ARÄGA, **የኢትዮጵያውያን ፡ ተወላጆች ፡ ቅዱሳን ፡ ታሪክ ፡ እናስተዋውቃችሁ** (*Yäᵓityop̣yawəyan täwälağočč qəddusan tarik ənnastäwawəqaččəhu*, 'Let us Introduce you to the Story of Holy Men Born in Ethiopia'), Addis Abäba 1992 A.M. [1999/2000 A.D.], 75f.; KIRSTEN STOFFREGEN PEDERSEN, "Les moniales éthiopiennes à Jérusalem Mahbär et Qurit", in: *PICES* 10, 383–90, here 385; ANTON STECKER, "Die Stecker'sche Expedition, Berichte der Reisenden. (Mit einer Karte, Tafel I.)", *Mittheilungen der Afrika-Gesellschaft in Deutschland* 3, 1881–83, 21–33, here 24.

Verena Böll

Zenahu lägalla

Z.l. (**ዜናሁ ፡ ለጋላ**, "The History of the Galla") is a succinct, highly informative historiographic text on the ↗Oromo. The authorship of this study is ascribed to the monk *abba* ↗Baḥrəy on the basis of internal evidence. The study ends with **ይቤ ፡ ባሕርይ** (*Yəbe Baḥrəy*, '[Thus] says Baḥrəy'; cp. Guidi 1907:232; Getaččäw Ḫayle 2002). The writer must also have been the author of the ↗*Mäzmurä Krəstos*, who describes himself as "the youngest of the clergy of the monastery of Däbrä Maryam" who composed the latter text during the time of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl (cp. ms. BritLib Or. 534, fol. 137r [WrBriMus 84]). Even though the author mentions the king in the Z.l. only by his title, *ḥaṣege* (↗*aṣe*), the monarch was undoubtedly Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl. There are speculations that Baḥrəy also authored the chronicle of Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl (s. Chernetsov in PICES 8).

The Z.l. is known only from two complete manuscripts (BritLib Or. 534 and Wien, Kaiserlich-Königliche Hofbibliothek XXI, Aeth. 4), and two fragments (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz orient. fol. 4096 and orient. quart. 996). In the text Baḥrəy states that "when this book was written it was the seventh year of the government of Mulᵓata, son of Bifole", which led Beckingham and Huntingford to date the Z.l. to 1593 (cp. BeckHuntAlm 125). The whole period covered in the Z.l. is roughly the years 1523-93 (s. Chernetsov in PICES 8, 133). An *editio princeps* and translation was performed by A.W. ↗Schleicher (s. EAE, vol. 5) on the basis of the London manuscript. However, Schleicher's understanding of the matter was poor which can be seen in the low quality of his translation. Later works followed by Guidi (1907; in GuiIohan), a translation into English by Beckingham and Huntingford (BeckHuntAlm), as well as a translation into Amharic and English, combined with a general study on the subject by Getatchew Haile (Getaččäw Ḫayle 2002).

Baḥrəy described the ↗*gadaa* system as follows: "They have neither king nor master like other peoples; rather, they obey a *luba* for eight years. And after eight years another *luba* is appointed, and the first is relieved [...] The meaning of *luba* is 'those who are circumcised at the same time'" (Getaččäw Ḫayle 2002:200, section 4; GuiIohan 198 [tr.]). Baḥrəy describes each of the five *luba*s – sometimes of both branches of the Oromo, the Bärtuma (↗Baarentuu) and the ↗Boorana – that constituted the full cycle of 40 years and its exploits.

Baḥrəy was inspired to study the Oromo by his curiosity and his regret and anger at the idea that relatively few "heathens" could conquer a relatively vast number of Christians: "The erudite make an extensive inquiry, asking, 'How is it that the Galla defeat us, although we are many and many are our arms?'" (Getaččäw Ḫayle 2002:209 section 19; GuiIohan 204 [tr.]). His analytical answer to his question is a scathing criticism of Ethiopian Christian society. He divides that society into ten parties to show that only one part, the army, fights, while every Oromo "is trained in warfare, from the small to the big. For this reason they destroy us and kill us" (Getaččäw Ḫayle 2002:210 section 19; GuiIohan 206 [tr.]). Baḥrəy concludes that because of the small size of the armed forces, “our country is destroyed” (ibid.).

Abba Baḥrəy’s Z.l. has no equal in its scope and the quality of its scholarly research and analysis. It has, therefore, become the foundation of studies on the Oromo for subsequent researchers, such as ↗Almeida (BeckHuntAlm 133–39), ↗Täklä Śəllase Ṭinno (PerChron), Antonio ↗Cecchi (CecZeila), ↗Aṣmä Giyorgis (BTafA 137–45) and Haberland (VSAe II). However, with the emerging of Oromo nationalism the Z.l. has also been viewed as a base of misconceptions of the Oromo.

Src.: ms. BritLib Or. 534 (WrBriMus 84); ms. Wien, Kaiserlich-Königliche Hofbibliothek, Aeth. 4 (Nikolaus Rhodokanakis, *Die äthiopischen Handschriften der k.k. Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, Wien 1906 [Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse 151, 4], 69, no. XXI); mss. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, orient. quart. 996, orient. fol. 4096 (HamSixBerl 220ff., 305–08); BTafA; BudHist 603-13; BeckHuntAlm 111–29, 133–39; CecZeila; Getaččäw Ḫayle, **የአባ ፡ ባሕርይ ፡ ድርሰቶች ፡ ኦሮሞችን ፡ ከሚመለከቱ ፡ ሌሎች ፡ ሰነዶች ፡ ጋራ** (*Yäʾabba Baḥrəy dərsätočč Oromoččən kämmimmäläkkätu leločč sänädočč gara*, ‘The Works of *abba* Baḥrəy with Other Documents Concerning the Oromo’), Collegeville, MN 1995 A.M. [2002 A.D.], 63–94, 195–213; Ignazio Guidi, *Historia Gentis Galla*, in: GuiIohan 221–32 (text) = 193–208 (tr.); PerChron; Adolf Walter Schleicher, *Geschichte der Galla* **ዜናሁ ፡ ለጋላ ።** *Bericht eines abessinischen Mönches über die Invasion der Galla im sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1893.

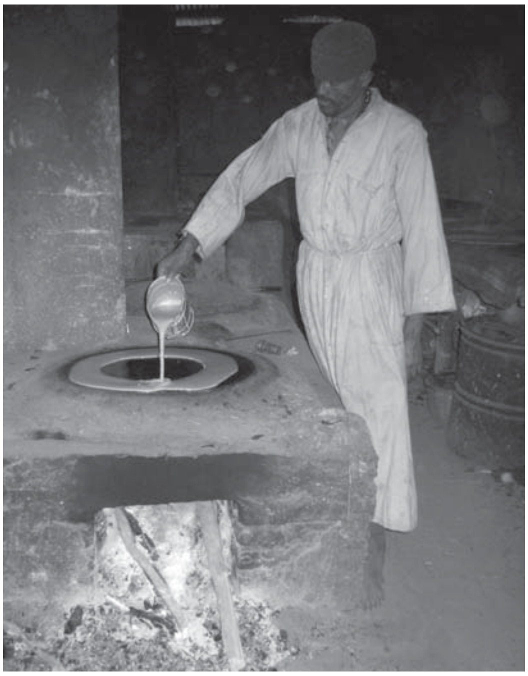
Lit.: Sevir Chernetsov, “Who Wrote ‘The History of King Sarsa Dengel’ – was it the Monk Bahrey?”, in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 131–36; VSAe II; Enno Littmann [review of Schleicher 1893], *ZA* 11, 1896, 389–400; MHasOr, passim; PankBord 279ff.

Getatchew Haile

Zəqʷala

Mount Z. (**ዝቋላ**, Orom.: Tulluu Ç̣uqqaalaa, 8.32' N, 38.52' E; 2,989 m A.S.L.) is an extinct volcano and religious site located ca. 40 km southwest of Bišoftuu (↗Däbrä Zäyt) in the former ↗Yärär-Kärräyyu *wäräda* of Šäwa province. Today, the area belongs to the Libän-Zəqʷala *wäräda* (Orom.: Liiban Ç̣uqqaalaa), Məsraq Šäwa zone, Oromiyaa Regional State. Z. is not to be confused with a *wärädä* by the same name in the northern Amhara region.

The base of the Z. mountain is 12 km wide. It rises to ca. 1,100 m above the surrounding area, the bottom of the ↗Rift Valley. Its slopes are formed by thick trachyte lava without pyroclastic rocks. The caldera is 2 km wide and 300 m deep; at its bottom there is an elliptical lake (ca. 1 km in diameter). The caldera and the caldera rim are densely forested. Ca. 290 different species of plants (of which ten are cultivated) grow on the mountain. It is also home to many wild animal species, including klipspringers, gureza monkeys, leopards, antelopes etc.

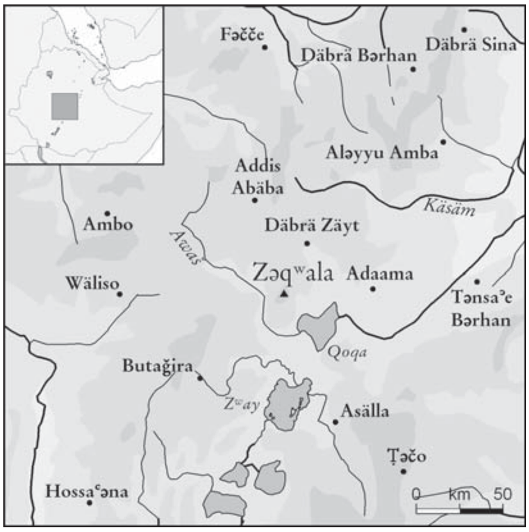

The monk Kəflä Maryam at Zəqʷala preparing *ənǧära*; photo 2010, courtesy of Yaroslav Aliev-Gutgarts

Today, the slopes of the mountain and the surrounding area are mainly inhabited by the Ǧillee sub-branch of the ↗Tuulama Oromo (Abu clan, VSAe II, 524).

Mount Z. is one of the most important religious sites in southern-central Ethiopia. The lake and the caldera area are considered sacred by Ethiopian Orthodox Christians as well as by adherents of the traditional ↗Oromo religion (s. also ↗Waaqa).

Churches, monasteries and sacred sites

Early reference to Z., its lake and monastery can be found in ↗Fra Mauro’s map of 1460 (“Mons Xiquala”), where the mountain is depicted in its typical cone-shaped form (CrawItin fig. 4). In itineraries of early European travellers (CrawItin 80f., 86), Z. appears to be close to ↗Bärara and ↗Yärär, two centres of royal power in the old ↗Šäwa. Further historical information about Z., however, is very meagre (but it does appear as “Žəqala” in the *Śərʿatä mängəśt*, s. Varenbergh 1915–16: 15; Guidi 1922: 76).



The significance of Z. is linked with its being the main site of one of the major Ethiopian saints, *abunä* ↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus, popularly called Abbo (the second sanctuary of the Saint is ↗Mədrä Käbd [s. EAE vol. 5], the area adjacent to Z.).

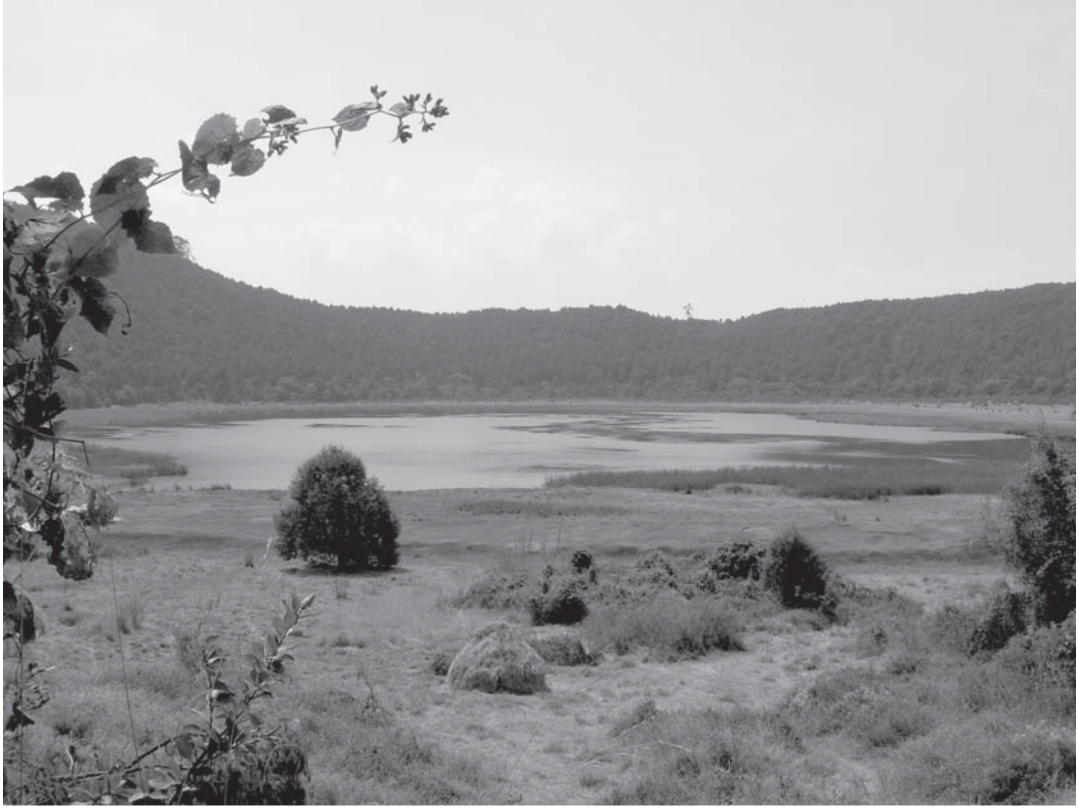
According to the tradition recounted in the Acts of Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus, the Saint arrived there from Mədrä Käbd, and spent many years at Z. working miracles. The story may be a remote echo of the early evangelization of the formerly predominantly Muslim area of Šäwa, in the late 13th-early 14th cent. (cp. Cerulli 1946: 41 and n. 3; Marrassini 2003: XXXI [tr.]). However, the account of the foundation of the monastery at Z. (today known as Z. Abbo or [Däbrä] Käʷakəbt, said to have been originally called Däbrä Tabor, cp. Marrassini 2003: 114f. [tr.]) seems to be independent from the written sources. According to oral tradition, the monastery was founded by Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus; at the same time it claims that the churches of Z. were built by King Gäbrä Mäsqäl and St. ↗Yared and, later, by King ↗Ǝndrəyas, who indeed ruled briefly in the first half of the 15th cent. (AmhChurchD vol. 4, 232). Another tradition dates the foundation of the monastery by Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus to 1175, to the reign of *aṣe* ↗Lalibäla (Persoon 2003: 197). According to the Acts, the Saint's body was transported to ↗Jerusalem; the oral tradition says that one of his ribs "fell down" and was buried under the present church building.

The ancient churches of Z. were supposedly destroyed during the *ǧihād* of *imām* Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al Ġāzī in 1531. The ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* mentions Z. as an area of the ↗Maya ethnic group and the base of *wazīr* ᶜAddole (ᶜAdlī). It claims that the inhabitants of the Z. area under their leader Täsfu were converted to Islam by *imām* Aḥmad's commander *farašaham* Dīn (BassHist II, 113, 213f., 359, 363). Remains of foundations on the lake shore may indicate pre-*ǧihād* church buildings (Meinardus 1964: 41; Kriss – Kriss-Heinrich 1975: 20). Later, oral tradition relates that Z. served as a refuge for Christians, namely ↗Amhara and ↗Gurage, during the following period of ↗Oromo migrations into the area (VSAe II, 528); subsequently, Z. was completely cut off from the Christian regions (also during the time when the veneration of *abunä* Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus was flourishing in the ↗Gondärine Kingdom) and Christianity probably vanished from Mount Z.

Like other ancient centres of Christianity in the region (cp., e.g., ↗Bərbər Maryam), in the 19th cent. Z. gained importance for the Šäwan polity of re-establishing Christian supremacy over southern Ethiopia. According to oral tradition, the first new church on Mount Z. was built by the order of *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase of Šäwa, the monastery being re-established by *abba* Gäbrä Ḥəywät. Śahlä Śəllase endowed the monastery with land estates again. In 1912 *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II built the present church (architect was the Italian Castagna, Guida 426; Pankhurst 1991a) at the same place and endowed it with further lands (Meinardus 1964: 41f.; Kriss – Kriss-Heinrich 1975: 20; Hiruy Simie online); a group of peasants was settled near the mountain, to serve the monastery. In the case of *ras* Zäwde, Mənilək also used Z. as a place of banishment (GueCopMen, 313 n. 5).

In 1937 the Italian airforce, by the orders of viceroy ↗Graziani, bombed Mount Z., destroying buildings, and killing part of the monastic and lay community (cp. also ↗Graziani massacre). Later the Italians rebuilt the monastery but interfered with its inner affairs; the new viceroy Amedeo di ↗Savoia appointed *mämhər* Ṣəge its new head in 1938, and the Šäwan bishop *abunä* Matewos as "Prior of Z." in 1940 (Shenk 1972: 125, 130f.). A recent tradition claims that *abunä* Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus had miraculously appeared during the bombardment and diverted the bombs (Hiruy Simie online).

Shortly after World War II, David Buxton was unable to observe any monastic life at Z. (Buxton 1967: 54ff.). However, the monastic community



Crater lake of Zəqʷala during the harvest season; photo 2010, courtesy of Yaroslav Aliev-Gutgarts

was quickly revived and continued to hold a prominent position among Ethiopian monasteries, as is indicated, e.g., by the fact that its head, *mämhər* Zaffärä Bərhan, was a member of the Holy Synod in 1948, during the negotiations with the ↗Coptic Church regarding the granting of autocephaly to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (Meinardus 1964: 42, n. 1).

During the reign of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, the monastery flourished. A second church dedicated to Kidanä Məḥrät was built on top of the mountain (Lindahl, ms.). In 1964, when the Emperor visited Z. during an annual feast of Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus, the monastic community counted ca. 100 nuns and 180 monks; ↗hermits-*baḥtawi* and ↗*səwwuran* also lived on the slopes of Z., which, with the area around the crater lake, was considered "virgin land" exempt from cultivation (Meinardus 1964: 41f., 47; AmhChurchD vol. 4, 232).

A new church building with a cupola was erected in 1971 (Kriss – Kriss-Heinrich 1975: 23). After the ↗Revolution of 1974 the monastery lost its land estates and suffered from impoverishment and tense relations with the local farmers association; however, it was able to become self-subsistent and reasserted itself towards the end of the *Därg* period (Persoon 2003: 198–201).

Today, the population of the monastery is roughly 300 monks and 100 nuns (both numbers including novices). There are also some hermits-*baḥtawi* living in caves or huts at some distance from the monastery. Peasants, shepherds and servants of the monastery living on the mountain are estimated today at ca. 500–800. The monastics practice agriculture, keep bees and breed cattle on the mountain top. Ca. 30 of them practise agriculture in Mofär Bet (or Gäbäre Bet) at the foot of the mountain. Both monks and nuns have their own bakery. Churches at the foot of the mountain linked to the Z. churches are, e.g., Gidda Giyorgis and Wämbärä Maryam (oral informants; cp. Meinardus 1964: 42).

Apart from the churches, the major sacred site on Mount Z. is the crater-lake which is sometimes called after St. Mary and is also linked to *abunä* Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus. In accordance with his Vita, the Saint himself is said to have caused the emergence of the lake by his prayers. He then spent many years in contemplation in the lake in an upside down position, and drowned evil spirits in its waters (BudSaint 767; Meinardus 1964:36; Kriss – Kriss-Heinrich 1975:23). Moreover, both the Orthodox Christians as well as adherents of the Oromo religion believe that the water of the lake has the power to heal any kind of sickness, especially ↗leprosy (↗*Ṣäbäl*). On 5 *Mäggabit* (s. below) and ↗*Ṭəmqät* a procession with the Z. ↗*tabot*s circumambulates the lake, its waters are blessed and people make ablution in it (Meinardus 1964:40; Kriss – Kriss-Heinrich 1975:21, 23f.).

Several peculiar rocks located at different spots around the lake are considered "sacred places" of which only some can be mentioned here (s. also Meinardus 1964:42–46): (1) *ᶜArb Rob* (Amh. 'Friday–Wednesday' [the fasting days]) is a rock of ca. 4 m. It is said that a person managing to get on top of it is considered sinless, and only those observing the proper fasting are able to do this. (2) *Aṭṭabqiññ* (lit. 'squeeze me', 'narrow passage') is the name of two huge rocks naturally connected to each other, creating a very low and narrow kind of arch. The legend states that only a sinless person can pass through this hole, otherwise the stones will move towards each other, thus killing the sinner or holding him until he receives remission (oral informants 2010; Kriss – Kriss-Heinrich 1975:25). (3) *Abbo wämbär* (Amh. 'throne of Abbo') is a chair-shaped rock where Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus used to sit (oral informants). (4) In former days, on *Ṭəmqät*, a *tabot* used to be brought to the church of Gidda Giyorgis at the foot of the mountain and then was returned again. Half-way between the two churches it was placed on a special stone (*Abbo maräfiya*, Amh. 'resting-place of Abbo'). (5) Another rock, *Đagaa* ↗*Muudaa* (Orom. 'rock of blessing') or *səᶜəlät dəngay* (Amh. 'stone of vow'), is mainly visited by women who seek help against infertility.

Festivals

The particular feasts held at Z. monastery are:
(1) 29 *Taḫśaś*, the birthday of Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus, coinciding with Christ's birthday (↗*Lədät*, cp. Meinardus 1964:34). On this feast, with ca. 1,000-2,000 participants, the *tabot* is taken out of the church and presented; the people gather around the church from 6 to 9 a.m. during the liturgy, then a sermon, Bible reading and praising are carried out.

(2) On 5 *Mäggabit*, the death day of Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus (↗*Täzkar*), the *tabot* and an icon of the Saint are taken out of the church at 9 a.m. and proceeds in an anti-clockwise direction around the lake till 12 p.m. when it returns to the church. From 12 p.m. to 1 p.m. there is a sermon, from 1 to 3 p.m. the liturgy (↗*Qəddase*).

(3) On 5 *Ṭəqəmt* the Christians celebrate God's ↗*kidan* given to the Saint (s. above; cp. Kriss – Kriss-Heinrich 1975:12 [after Bezold 1916:72]; Marrassini 2003:xxv, 81ff. [tr.]). On this day, large numbers of pilgrims climb the mountain for the church celebration, which is similar to that of 5 *Mäggabit*. The *tabot* and the icon of Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus are taken out of the church at 9 a.m. and proceed in a complete anti-clockwise circle around the lake (Böll 1991:16). The pilgrims carry offerings like candles, incense, coffee and butter (Pankhurst 1991:7). Monks sell the ferns, grass, and pieces of the scrub referred to as "the beard of Abbo" to the pilgrims. It is said that these herbs are a potent medicine against headache and intestinal parasites (Mirgissa Kaba 1991:4).

On the occasion of the feast, women may also perform *dalagaa*, a particular Oromo song and dance. Pilgrims may place grass at the foot of a rock, called *sida*, smear butter on it and pour coffee over it. *Zar* ceremonies (↗Possession cults) may take place as well. Some pilgrims may sing also songs referring to *šayḫ* ↗Ḥusayn (Pankhurst 1991a:7f.; Getie Gelaye 1991:11f.).

(4) A week after ↗*Mäsqäl* adherents of the Oromo traditional ↗religion celebrate their annual *Irreečaa* festival which marks the end of the rainy season and the beginning of spring (also *birra*, Orom. 'spring'). This festival is dedicated to prayers for peace, well-being and fertility, as well as to the fulfilment of vows, and to expressing thankfulness towards Waaqa and the *ayyaana* spirits. Until the ↗*gadaa* system was abolished, rites of passage were performed during *Irreečaa*.

The *Irreečaa* of Z. is opened under a ↗sycamore tree on the shore of Lake ↗Hoora Arsadi in Bišoftuu (↗Däbrä Zäyt). The celebrants form a huge procession to climb up Mount Z. During *Irreečaa* celebrants offer strings of small beads to the *ayyaana* dwelling in certain ↗trees (Meinardus 1964:46). They bring bundles of fresh grass mixed with yellow flowers to the lake to dip them into the water and sprinkle on to their bodies. *Irreečaa* is closed under a big old fig tree on the shore of the crater-lake. Fresh grass is also brought to the foot of the tree, incense is burnt, butter is smeared on to its trunk, perfume is sprinkled and libations of local hard liquor are made. People sing and dance, pray, say blessings, share festive meals, and ↗*ṭälla* and hold coffee ceremonies.

Today, under the influence of Oromo nationalism, the *Irreečaa* festival at Bišoftuu-Z. is enjoying a revival as the most important national festival. In a simplified interpretation it is understood as an Oromo "Thanksgiving".

Src.: interviews by Yaroslav Aliev-Gutgarts at Zəqʷala monastery in December 2010: Kəflä Maryam, 47 years; *abba* Kiros, 50 years; *abba* Gäbrä Iyäsus, 50 years; *abba* Amməḫa Śəllase, 58 years; AmhChurchD vol. 4, 229–32; BassHist II, 113 [n. 1], 213f., 242, 247, 278f., 287, 289, 359, 363; BTafA, s. index; BudSaint 765ff.; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "L'homélie en l'honneur de l'archange Ouriel (Dersāna Urā'ēl)", *AE* 1, 1955, 61–88, here 64, 76 (text) = 87 (tr.); ID., "L'homélie en l'honneur de l'archange Raguel (Dersana Rāguᵓēl)", *AE* 2, 1957, 91–122, here 99 (text) = 113 (tr.); ENRICO CERULLI, "Il Sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XIII secondo un nuovo documento storico", *RSE* 1, 1941, 5-42, here 41 and n. 3; CrawItin fig. 4, 80f., 86, 204; GueCopMen I, 281, n. 11, 313 n. 5, 337, 481; *Guida* 426; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Contributi alla storia letteraria di Abissinia", I: "Il «Serᶜata Mangest»", *RRALm* ser. 4ª, 31, 3–4, 1922, 65–89, here 76; HIRUY SIMIE, "A Heaven in this World. Mt. Zeqwala Monastery", http://www.eotcmk.org/site-en/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=53&Itemid=34 (last access: 14 February 2011); BERHARD LINDAHL, *Local History of Ethiopia*, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, ms. (updated 14 August 2006); M. ASEGED, "Erecha", paper at the *First Interdisciplinary Seminar of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies*, Nazareth 6–7 June 1998, ms.; PAOLO MARRASSINI (ed., tr.), "*Vita*", "*Omelia*", "*Miracoli*" *del santo Gabra Manfas Qeddus*, Lovanii 2003 (CSCO 597, 598 [SAe 107, 108]), xxxi (tr.), s. index; OREGON STATE UNIVERSITY, *Volcanoes in the African Region, Ethiopia*: *Zukwala*, http://volcano.oregonstate.edu/vwdocs/volc_images/img_zukwala.html (last access: 2 February 2011); JOSEPH VARENBERGH, "Studien zur abessinischen Reichsordnung (Šerᶜata Mangešt)", *ZA* 30, 1915–16, 1–45, here 15 (no. 20).

Lit.: ASSEFFA BERU (et al.), "Life on the Top of Z'quala", in: PANKHURST 2002, 8–9; BANTALEM TADESSE, *A Guide to the Intangible Treasures of Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church*: *Historic Perspectives and Symbolic Interpretations of the Festivals*, Addis Ababa 2010; CARL BEZOLD, "Abba Gabra Manfas Qeddus", *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft in Göttingen, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* 1916, Heft 1, 58–80; VERENA BÖLL, "Feldforschung am Zikwala. Ein Besuch auf Zikwala im Oktober 1990", *Abba Salama* 9, 1990, 5–7; EAD., "Thoughts on Zeqwala and the Syrian Goddess Atargatis", *Sociology-Ethnology Bulletin* [Addis Ababa] new ser. 1, 1, 1991, 16; DAVID BUXTON, *Travels in Ethiopia*, New York 1967, 54ff., pl. 47 (ill.); LINCOLN DE CASTRO, "Un'escursione al monte Suquala, al lago Zwai e nei Soddo", *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* ser. 4ª, 9, 1906, 122–36; DEMISSIE ADEFRISOW, "Field Trip to Z'quala", in: PANKHURST 2002, 2–4; ROBERTO GENTILLI, "La storiografia aerinautica e il problema del gas", in: ANGELO DEL BOCA (ed.), *I gas di Mussolini. Il fascismo e la guerra d'Etiopia*, Roma 1996, 142; GETIE GELAYE, "My Impressions of Däläga: a Ceremony on Mount Zeqwala", *Sociology-Ethnology Bulletin* [Addis Ababa] new ser. 1, 1, 1991, 11–12; GEZAHEGN PETROS, "Symbolic Representation of Objects at Zeqwala Ritual: Religious Syncretism?", *ibid.* 37–41; RUDOLF KRISS – HUBERT KRISS-HEINRICH, *Volkskundliche Anteile in Kult und Legende äthiopischer Heiliger*, Wiesbaden 1975, 9–29, s. also appendix 35–58; OTTO MEINARDUS, "The Zequala, the Holy Mountain of Ethiopia", *Orientalia Suecana* 8, 1964, 34–47; ID., "Peter Heyling, History and Legend", *Ostkirchliche Studien* 14, 4, 1965, 305–26; MIRGISSA KABA, "Pilgrimage to Zeqwala Abbo", *Sociology-Ethnology Bulletin* [Addis Ababa] new ser. 1, 1, 1991, 3–4; MOHAMMED ABDURAHMAN – TESHOME GABRE-MARIAM, "The Geographical Aspects of Z'quala", in: PANKHURST 2002, 5–6; ALULA PANKHURST, "Fieldtrip to Mount Zeqwala, 14–15 October 1990", *Sociology-Ethnology Bulletin* [Addis Ababa] new ser. 1, 1, 1991a, 5–10; ID., "A Young Girl's Prophecy on Mount Zeqwala in 1911", *ibid.*, 1991b, 19–21; ID. (ed.), *Ethnological Society Bulletin, vol. I, no. 1–10 and vol. II, no. 1, Reprint, 1953–1963*, Addis Ababa 2002; JOACHIM PERSOON, *Central Ethiopian Monasticism 1974–1991*: *the Survival of an Ancient Institution in a Changing World*, Ph.D. thesis, SOAS, London 2003, 194–206; CALVIN E. SHENK, "The Italian Attempt to Reconcile the Ethiopian Orthodox Church: the Use of Religious Celebrations and Assistance to Churches and Monasteries", *JES* 10, 1, 1972, 125–35; VSAe II, 524, 528.

Dirk Bustorf – Denis Nosnitsin –
Yaroslav Aliev-Gutgarts

Zervos, Iakovos

Z. (b. 2 July 1883, Kephalonia, Greece, d. 10 June 1956, Addis Abäba) was a long-time friend, doctor and adviser to *ras* Täfäri Makʷännən (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I). He received medical training at the University of Athens and upon graduation migrated to Egypt where he was employed at the Greek Hospital in Alexandria. In 1909 he travelled to ↗Dərre Dawa where he established a medical practice. Three years later, however, ↗Greece became involved in the Balkan Wars (1912–13), and Z. enlisted in his homeland's medical services. Returning to Ethiopia in 1914, he made the acquaintance of *ras* Täfäri whom he treated after a serious boating accident on Lake Alämayya. As a result of this incident, Z. became the future Emperor's life-long friend, physician and counsellor (*L'Ethiopie Contemporaine*, November 1956, 12; HSLife I, 43).

Z. was an enigmatic figure about whom very little has been written and only superficial information offered. His political activities and involvement in high state affairs seem to be only rumours. He instigated *ras* Täfäri's participation in the 1916-Coup against *ləğ* ↗Iyasu; he organized, arranged and accompanied *ras* Täfäri on his 1924 trip to Europe (Procopiou 1924: 27). He went on a clandestine mission to Italy immediately before the outbreak of war in an effort to forestall the invasion; he attempted to sell the Royal stocks in the Franco-Ethiopian Chemin de Fer (↗Railways) before it was seized by the Italians. However most of the preceding has not been substantiated. Z.'s prestige and influence was evidenced by Ḫaylä Śəllase bestowing upon him the title ↗*bitwäddäd* and awarding him the Gold Cross of the Order of Mənilək II (*L'Ethiopie Contemporaine*, Dec., 1952, 29), one of the few, if not the only European to receive such an honour. Z. was also instrumental in the establishment of the Greek communal organization, school, and church and also for a period was Consul General of Greece (ibid.). He was active in other private and public pursuits. For example, he was awarded a gold concession in 1928 in ↗Wälläga and in the 1930s was a member of Addis Abäba's first Sanitation Commission (Natsoulas 1977: 160–64).

Z. had accompanied Ḫaylä Śəllase into exile and returned with him after the Liberation in 1941. Until his death, he remained a close friend and confidant of the Emperor. Z. is buried in the Greek cemetery outside Addis Abäba in a large mausoleum that dominates the entire site.

Src.: HSLife I, 43, 86; II, 16; HENRI DE MONFREID, *Vers les terres hostiles de l'Éthiopie*, Paris 1933; ANDREAS E. KAVVADIAS, Ἡ Αἰθιοπία καὶ Ἡμεῖς (*Hē Aithiopía kaì hemeîs*, 'Ethiopia and Us'), Addis Ababa 1958; SOCRATES A. PROCOPIOU, Εἰς τὰ Βασίλεια τοῦ Βασιλέως τῶν Βασιλέων Μενελὶκ (*Eis ta Basileia toû Basiléōs tôn Basiléōn Menilik*, 'In the Kingdoms of Menelik'), Athinai 1924, ID., Νέο Ελληνες τὴς Ασία και Αφϱικὴ (*Neo-Ellines stin Asia kai Afriki*, 'Neo-Hellenes in Asia and Africa'), Athinai 1930.

Lit.: *L'Ethiopie Contemporaine*, July 1952, and November 1956; JOHN N. MORAITIS, "Friends of Ethiopia", *Ethiopia Mirror* 8, 4, July 1970, 36; THEODORE NATSOULAS, *The Hellenic Presence in Ethiopia: a Study of a European Minority in Africa, 1700–1935*, Athens 1977.

Theodore Natsoulas

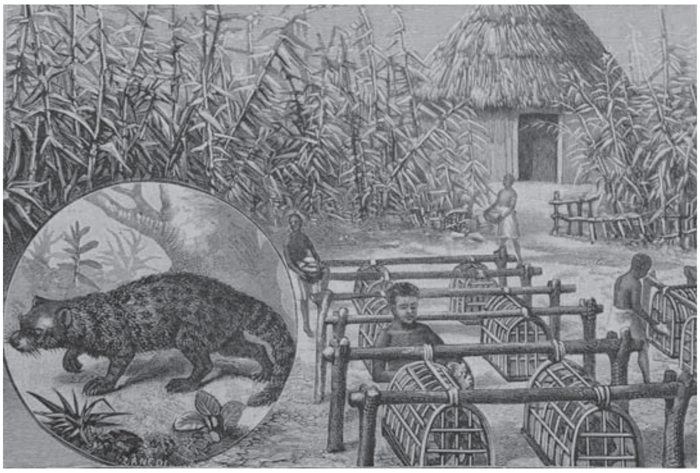
Zibeth

Z. (Amh. **ዝባድ**, *zəbad* [from Arab. *zabād*], Orom. *xirinyii*, Käfa *yéroo*) is the secretion ("musk") of male civet cats (*Civettictis civetta*), carnivorous animals found extensively in sub-Saharan Africa. Despite its wide distribution, the habit of domesticating civet cats ("civiculture") is conducted only in Ethiopia. Civiculture is practiced mainly in the southern and south-western part of the country, where broadleaf forests are distributed in temperate humid and cool climate areas. Today, about 95 % of the total amount of Z. is produced in the ↗Ǧimma and ↗Limmu areas while 5 % is produced in ↗Käfa (Fasil Täklä 1995).

Oral Islamic tradition from Agaro, Ǧimma, relates the origin of civiculture to the legend of Sulayman (or King ↗Solomon of ancient Israel), known for his ability to communicate with animals. Accordingly, in ancient times, wild civet cats used to come to Sulayman to have their glands wiped of Z. every nine days. Annoyed at seeing people argue over the Z., however, Sulayman set the civet cats free and told them not to present their precious Z. but to let people fetch it for themselves (Ishihara 2003).

In the 12th cent., al-Idrīsī refers to civiculture conducted in Ethiopia (ed. Sezgin 1995: 144). In the same period, Ethiopian Z. traded by Arabs may have reached China via Qalḥāt, as indicated by Zhao Rugua (ed. Hirth – Rockwell 1911: 234). In the 16th cent. Bermudez reports that the ↗Gurage paid tribute to their king in "amber", i.e. Z. (1875: 102). Almeida, in the early 17th cent., mentions wild civet cats and Z. musk used by the Ethiopians to scent their clothes (BeckHuntAlm 52).

Civiculturist in the Ǧimma zone showing his cages; photo 2001, courtesy of the author



Civet farm, engraving 19th-cent.; from MasMis V, 95

Poncet reports on civiculture conducted among the Muslims in ↗Ǝnfraz, north-west Ethiopia at the beginning of the 18th cent. (Poncet 1709: 81). In the 18th to the 19th cent., Muslim traders migrated to south-western Ethiopia and introduced civiculture. The descendants of Muslim traders settled in the region, collectively called *näggade* (or *naggado* in Käfa language) exclusively possessed the technical knowledge of civiculture. This is explained in a legend regarding *sayyid* Naṣrallāh (supposedly identical with *gärad* ↗ᶜAbdannāṣir), a Muslim holy man venerated among the ↗Limmu Oromo, ↗Qabeena and Səlṭe (↗Səlṭi). According to the legend, when *sayyid* Naṣrallāh had his eye cured of infection by anointing Z., he blessed not only his descendants but the entire *näggade* to conduct civiculture (Ishihara 2003).

Wild civet cats are captured alive with traps using nets, cages or ropes set in the forest at midnight. Civet cat farmers often depend on the ↗Waata or ↗Manǧo for setting the traps. Trappers only capture mature male civet cats and release female and immature ones (Ishihara 2003; cp. also Bieber 1920: 336, 349).

After being caught, the wild civet cats are kept under quarantine, and are fed raw eggs, raw butter and milk. This food serves as purgative for cleansing the bowels. If the civet cats defecate, they are judged fit for domestication.

Domesticated civet cats are kept singly in cages which are laid on wooden trestles, about one meter in height. This is necessary for keeping the cages clean of excrement and to protect them from insects. The daily food for civet cats is loose maize porridge which is believed to give the Z. a highly valued pale colour. After the removal of the Z., pieces of boiled meat and its broth are often added to the porridge. It is believed that the more meat is fed, the more Z. is yielded. Civet cats are regarded as nervous animals and the amount of Z. fluctuates according to such factors as room temperature, food and noise. It is also considered important to keep the farm physically clean (Ishihara 2003; cp. also Bieber 1920: 350).

The secretion of the Z. is accumulated in the pouch until it is removed artificially. The removal of the extracted Z. is usually done with an interval of between seven and twelve days. The removal is usually conducted by three persons. The first person holds on to a stick vertically inserted through the bars of the cage and encourages the civet cat to grab on to it with its teeth. The second stands at the rear end of the cage and seizes hold of the hind legs and pulls them back so that the gland is in reach. Then the third person presses underneath the gland and turns the pouch inside out. The pouch is gently scraped of Z. with a spoon made of cattle horn, and after that, a special ointment made from beeswax and butter is applied to the pouch to add moisture to it. The Z. removed from the civet cat is accumulated in containers made from cattle horn (which were traded as far as to India, s. BruNile vol. 4, 568; Bieber 1920: 452). The weight unit used for the Z. is *wäqet*, similar to that used to weigh gold (↗Measurement, s. EAE vol. 5). One cat may need a year to fill a horn (Bieber 1920: 351).

Farmers either sell the Z. to brokers, in many cases Muslim *näggade*, who sell it to exporters. After the exporters have accumulated a certain amount of Z., they blend the various lots collected from different areas to achieve a uniform grade. After this homogenization, they take 20 g from the whole amount for quality testing, conducted at the Quality Standardization Authority of Ethiopia. The Z. is evaluated according to the amount of civetone contained. Z. above grade 2, i.e. Z. containing over 40 % of civetone is regarded to have sufficient quality for export. After the quality testing, the Z. is put into a standardized plastic container, each containing 5 kg, which is again placed inside a metallic container, sealed in order to preserve quality. Nearly 100 % of the Z. yielded in Ethiopia is exported to European and Asian countries (Ishihara 2003).

Src.: BeckHuntAlm 52; João Bermudez, *Breve relação da embaixada que o patriarcha d. João Bermudez trouxe do imperador da Ethiopia …*, Lisboa 1875 [Lisboa ^{1}1565], 102; Friedrich J. Bieber, *Kaffa. Ein altkuschitisches Volkstum in Inner-Afrika*, Münster in Westfalen 1920, 326f., 332f., 336, 349ff., 427, 448, 452; BruNile vol. 4, 568; Friedrich Hirth – William Woodville Rockhill (ed., tr.), *Chau Ju-Kua. His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, Entitled Chu-fan-chi*, St. Petersburg 1911, 234; Charles Jacques Poncet (1709), "A Voyage to Aethiopia", in: William Foster (ed.), *The Red Sea and Adjacent Countries at the Close of the Seventeenth Century, as Described by Joseph Pitts, William Daniel and Charles Jacques Poncet*, Liechtenstein 1967, 91–165; Abū ^{c}Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Idrīsī, *Kitāb al-Ǧāmi^{c} li-ṣifāt aštāt an-nabāt wa-ḍurub anwā^{c} al-mufradāt* ('Compendium of the Properties of Diverse Plants and Various Kinds of Simple Drugs'), ed. by Fuat Sezgin, Frankfurt am Main 1995 (Series C-58), 144; Takele Taye, "The African Civet Cat (*Viverra civetta*) and its Life Supporting Role in the Livelihood of Smallholder Farmers in Ethiopia", paper held at the Conference on International Research on Food Security, Natural Resource Management and Rural Development, University of Hamburg, 6–8 October 2009; ZerÉth 162f.

Lit.: Fasil Täklä, **የጥርኝ ፡ ሁለንተናዊ ፡ ሥነሕይወትና ፡ የኢኮኖሚ ፡ አስተዋጽኦ** (*Yäṭərəññ hulläntänawi śənäḥəywätənna yä^{ɔ}ikonomi astäwaṣ^{ɔ}o*, 'An Overview of the Biological and Economic Significance of Civet Cat'), in: *Proceeding for the Workshop on Civet Cat Farming and Civet Production and Trade, Ethiopian Wildlife Conservation Organization*, Addis Abäba 1987 A.M. [1995 A.D.]; MasMis V, 95 (ill.); Minako Ishihara, "The Cultural Logic of Civiculture in Ethiopia", *Nilo-Ethiopian Studies* 8–9, 2003, 35–60; PankEcon s. index; PankIntro s. index; Yilma D. Abebe, "Sustainable Utilization of the African Civet (*Civettis civetta*) in Ethiopia", in: Bihini Won Musiti (ed.), *2nd Pan-African Symposium on the Sustainable Use of Natural Resources in Africa*, Gland 2003, 197–207.

Minako Ishihara

Zintgraff, Alfred Otto

Z. (b. 3 May 1878, Düsseldorf, d. 1944, Heidelberg) was a publicist, German diplomat in Ethiopia and advisor to *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II.

Z. was the son of the colonial officer and explorer in Cameroon Eugen Zintgraff (according to some: his brother). From his childhood onwards he was well acquainted with the colonial project. After studying law in Bonn and Leipzig, and obtaining a Ph.D., Z. became first a "Referendar" at the German Consulate in Zanzibar (1902/03), then a diplomatic representative of ↗Germany in British East Africa, with seat in Mombasa, then again in Zanzibar (in 1906 making a field trip to Entebbe in the service of the German colonial administration). In 1907 Vice-consul Z. was transferred to the newly founded German Legation in Addis Abäba, and actively built up cordial relations between the Legation and *aṣe* Mənilək II. After the first German envoy, Coates, had left in late 1907, Z. became the chargé d'affaires and thus the highest representative of Germany.

In Z.'s time, the German community in Addis Abäba was growing quickly, consisting among others of workers and specialists for whom there was a high demand in the expanding capital. After Alfred ↗Ilg had to leave his post in 1906, Mənilək, who still needed a foreign advisor from a country with no colonial interests in the region, asked Z. in February 1908 to communicate this wish to the German government. When the German authorities hesitated to link themselves too closely with the ruler by sending an advisor, Mənilək asked Z. to take over the position. Z. quit his post and became Ethiopian State Councillor in late 1908, with a focus on juridical and administrative issues. Z., however, quickly faced opposition by influential courtiers, who feared the planned reforms, and Z. faced a situation in which there was little information and weak practical support while meetings with Mənilək became rare due to the latter's deteriorating health. Responding to a request by Mənilək, Z. helped in the appointment of further German personnel for the palace, such as a private teacher for *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu, the philologist Pinnow, and a personal medical doctor for Mənilək, Dr. Max Steinkühler.

Steinkühler's presence at the court, however, quickly developed into an affair of state. Mənilək suffered a stroke after which his wife, ↗Ṭaytu, took over his care and his health deteriorated further. When the chemical analysis of his urine by Steinkühler revealed the presence of potassium cyanide (perhaps as part of a traditional medical treatment), Steinkühler demanded exclusive control over all meals, indirectly blaming Ṭaytu for poisoning her husband (reported in detail in Zintgraff 1926). In the following internal struggle Steinkühler was dismissed, and Z. had to face a critical assembly of high dignitaries, with the effect that he lost access to Mənilək and was finally sacked following an intervention by Ṭaytu. Z. returned to Germany in 1909. In 1926 he published a novel, in which he described the last years of Mənilək.

Z. moved to German East-Africa (i.e. Tanganyika) in 1911 becoming the editor of the weekly *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* in Dar es Salaam and founding a publishing house (dismantled during World War I, in 1916, after the British occupation). Afterwards he became the Press Officer of the Imperial Colonial Authority, Berlin. In 1921 he moved to Heidelberg. After the loss of the colonies, Z. actively promoted the renewal of the colonial presence of Germany in Africa, also maintaining his interest in a German alliance with independent Ethiopia. He published numerous texts mainly on African topics (e.g., foreword to Sander 1929).

Like many other activists from colonial circles, Z. joined the Nazi Party, and after the proclamation of the "Third Reich" became Director of the Department for Foreign Studies and Exchange Services at Heidelberg University, with the title of Honorary Professor of Mandate and Colonial Politics as of 10 October 1933 (Vézina 1982: 81). Later he also became University Senator, and Deputy Director of the Institute for Interpreting (Degener 1935: 1788). As a curator of the influential J. u. E. von Portheim Foundation (hired in 1924 by its founder Victor Mordechai Goldschmidt) he organized exhibitions of African cultural objects (based on the Goldschmidt collection and enriched by his own family collections) and promoted the idea of Germany as a "friend" of Africans, neglecting the atrocities of colonialism (including those of his own father). The collection of the Ethnographic Museum Heidelberg is based on his concepts (Schlichtenberger 1998).

Alfred Otto Zintgraff as *chargé d'affaires* in Addis Abäba, from the Härtel collection, courtesy of Johannes Bohnenberger

Src.: Berlin, Auswärtiges Amt, Politisches Archiv (Akte R 14898, Abteilung A, Allgemeine Angelegenheiten Abessiniens. Abessinien No. 1. vom 1. Oktober 1907 bis 9. Juni 1908, vol. 15); Erich Sander, *Das Hochland von Abessinien, Habesch. Eine länderkundliche Monographie, Geleitwort von Alfred Zintgraff*, Heidelberg 1929; Alfred Zintgraff, *Der Tod des Löwen von Juda, Dichtung und Wahrheit aus Kaiser Meneliks von Abessinien letzten Tagen*, Berlin 1926; Id., *Über die Bedeutung unserer Kolonien*, Berlin 1918 [brochure]; Id., "Die Besiedlungsfähigkeit Afrikas", *Paneuropa* 5, 10, 1929, 24–36; Id., "Die koloniale Schuldlüge", in: Hans Draeger – Heinrich Schnee (eds.), *Zehn Jahre Versailles*, Bd. 1: *Der Rechtsanspruch auf Revision / Der Kampf um die Revision / Die wirtschaftlichen Folgen des Versailler Vertrages*, Berlin 1929, 103–32.

Lit.: August Ludwig Degener, *Degeners Wer ist's?*, vol. 10, Berlin 1935, 1788; *Handbuch des Kösener Senioren-Convents-Verband,* ed. by Vorstand des Verbandes Alter Corpsstudenten, Würzburg 1985; Chris Prouty, *Empress Taytu and Menelik II*: *Ethiopia 1883–1910*, London 1986, 313, 315; Clara Schlichtenberger, "Harmony and Complication, The Collection of Victor Goldschmidt, Founder of the Ethnographic Museum of the J. u. E. von Portheim-Stiftung in Heidelberg", *Journal of the History of Collections* 10, 2, 1998, 199–206; Heinrich Scholler, *100 Jahre deutsch-äthiopische Beziehungen. Von der traditionellen Monarchie zum modernen Staat*, Münster 2007, 22; Wolbert Smidt, *Photos as Historical Witnesses. The First Ethiopians in Germany and the First Germans in Ethiopia – the History of a Complex Relationship*, Münster – Berlin ^{2}2010, s. index; Id., "'Annäherung Deutschlands und Aethiopiens': Unbekannte Briefe des Kaisers Menelik II. und seines Gesandten 1907–08", in: Stefan Brüne – Heinrich Scholler (eds.), *Auf dem Weg zum modernen Äthiopien, Festschrift für Bairu Tafla*, Münster 2005 [2006], 197–224, here 223; Bairu Tafla, *Ethiopia and Germany, Cultural, Political and Economic Relations, 1871–1936*, Wiesbaden 1981 (AeF 5), 60, 110, 117ff., 178, 253; Birgit Vézina, *Die "Gleichschaltung" der Universität Heidelberg im Zuge der nationalsozialistischen Machtergreifung*, Heidelberg 1982, 81, 84; Georg Wünsch, [review of Zingraff 1926] "Alfred Zintgraff, Der Tod des Löwen von Juda […] 1926", *Die Christliche Welt* 40, 1926, 1202.

Wolbert G.C. Smidt

Zion

The concept of Z. (Amh. ጽዮን, Ṣəyon) is one of the most complex and multi-levelled in Ethiopian Orthodox Christian thought. It condenses multiple meanings and expresses ideas connected with natural, architectural and celestial space, human and divine existence and sacred time (↗Time and space). Thus, Z. refers to an ever expanding series of locations in the Holy Land from Mount Z. to the Temple; to the city of ↗Jerusalem as a whole (and its heavenly counterpart); all of Judea and the entire land and people of ↗Israel. It is used to refer to the royal city of ↗Aksum, its church, ↗Aksum Ṣəyon, which is believed to hold the original ↗*tabot* of Z. Furthermore, it refers to every ordinary *tabot* in the Orthodox churches of the country. Based on the symbolism of the Church as a "womb", Z. often refers to the Blessed Virgin ↗Mary.

The Ethiopian Orthodox Christian concept of Z. is based on the multiple meanings of the term in the ↗Old Testament. Scholars do not agree as to the original meaning of the Hebrew term *Ṣiyyōn*. While it is first used in the Bible for the Jebusite fortress, following its capture by King David, it becomes identified with the "City of David" and the "City of God". When King ↗Solomon built the Temple in Jerusalem, Z. expanded in meaning to include the Temple and the area surrounding it (Ps 20:3; Joel 4:17, 21). Z. was eventually used as a name for the city of Jerusalem (Is 2:3, 33:4; Joel 3:5) and the land of Judea (Is 10:24, 51:11), the people of Judea (Is 51:16) and the people of Israel as a whole (Jer 31:12; Zech 9:13). Z. is also used figuratively for Israel as the people of God (Is 60:14).

↗New Testament references to Z., where it is given the Christian meaning of God's spiritual kingdom, the heavenly Jerusalem (Heb 12:22; Rev 14:1) are far more rare. Peter refers to Christ as the cornerstone of Z.: "See, I lay a stone in Z., a chosen and precious cornerstone, and the one who trusts in Him will never be put to shame" (1 Pet 2:6).

All these meanings are, of course, included in the Ethiopic Bible. However, Ethiopian tradition draws upon and expands upon these Biblical themes. Most importantly, the concept of Z. in Ethiopia can be said to be linked to Ethiopia's ↗Solomonic dynasty and the tradition that Aksum replaced Jerusalem. According to the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*, the Queen of Sheba (↗Makədda) travelled from her capital city named Däbrä Makədda (upon which Z. was set, Beylot 2008:294f.) to visit King Solomon. After being tricked into having sexual relations with him, she returned home where she gave birth to ↗Mənilək I, who in turn travelled to Jerusalem to visit his father. When Mənilək I prepared to return home, priests among the Israelites sent to accompany him, secretly stole the ↗Ark of the Covenant (also known as The Ark of Z. or simply Z.), it was deposited in Aksum, which thus became the new Z./Jerusalem.

While such traditions seek to date the identification of Aksum with Z. to pre-Christian times, the historical evidence is difficult to substantiate. It is not known precisely when Aksum became associated with Z. or Mary of Z. The church of Aksum Ṣəyon (Maryam Ṣəyon) has a long legendary history and there is an abundance of archaeological evidence concerning the history and development of the church at the site. However, the existence of an ancient church dedication to Maryam Ṣəyon cannot be proven, and is not confirmed in Aksumite documentation. The *Liber Axumae*, which dates from medieval time seems to mark the period of the flourishing of Z. traditions in connection with the city and the church. The claim that the church of Maryam Ṣəyon held the original Ark of the Covenant is certainly no later than the 16th cent. and probably some centuries earlier.

The identification of Aksum with Z. is the most discussed aspect of the meaning of Z. in the Ethiopian Orthodox church. The association of Z. with the female figure of St. Mary as Mother of God who bore Christ is also the subject of rich symbolism. Mary is identified with the Temple of the Old Testament, where God was present. Just as God dwelled within the sanctuary of the Temple, he dwelt in the womb of the Blessed Virgin. Through the Covenant of Mercy (↗*Kidanä məḥrät*) Mary symbolizes the new relationship between God and humanity and the new Church of the N.T. in as much as Z. is the Church and the dwelling of God. St. Mary is thus the image of the Church, of Z. and of Jerusalem (cf. Ps 131/32:13; Is 2:3 cf. GrohHymn 199ff.). Thus, the *Mälkəʾa Ṣəyon* ('Image of Z.') is a Marian hymn which is recited on the Feast of Mary which falls on 21 *Ḫədar* (Raineri 1989:107). Mary is also compared with the Tent (of the Tabernacle), in which the Tablets of Law were preserved.

Since every Ethiopian ↗church building follows a threefold division which recalls the Temple of Jerusalem, the symbol of Z. is also expressed in church architecture. Within the church, the central inner sanctuary, ↗*mäqdäs*, symbolizes the heavenly mother as the tradition interprets it as "the body of St. Mary". From the 16th cent. onwards a pair of curtains has been hung to conceal it on the outside of the two main doors in the western wall of the *mäqdäs* and these are referred to as *Anqäṣä Ṣəyon* ('Gate of Z.').

Within Ethiopian Orthodox theology ↗*Däbrä Ṣəyon* ('Mount Z.') refers not only to the sacred sphere and the Virgin Mary, but also by association to the end of time. According to the *Däbrä Ṣəyon* doctrine Christ will judge the whole world on Mount Z. The heavenly Jerusalem will descend there with a millennial banquet for the righteous (YaqMist I, 204 [tr.]; Wendt 1963: 37–44).

Several rulers of the early Solomonic period including *aṣe* ↗Yagba Ṣəyon and *aṣe* ↗ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I included the name of Z. in their ↗names as did ↗Ṣəyon Mogäsa.

Although the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel have shared the attachment of their Christian neighbours to Z., at least since the 19th cent. this has been expressed not exclusively or even primarily in an attachment to Z. in Ethiopia, but as a desire to "return" to the land of Israel. In the mid-19th cent. a Betä Ǝsraʾel monk, *abba* Mäḥari, led a group which sought to recreate the biblical exodus crossing the Red Sea and arriving in the Holy Land. Throughout the 20th cent. various outside Jewish leaders have encouraged the Betä Ǝsraʾel to leave Ethiopia to join their brethren in other lands, and particularly post-1948 in Israel. Although not originally supported by Israel or Zionist organizations this dream of a return to Z. became an important part of Betä Ǝsraʾel rhetoric and was eventually fulfilled by dramatic airlifts from the Sudan in 1983-84 and from Addis Abäba in 1991.

The concept of Ethiopia being Z. is also a central idea in the theology of the ↗Rastafarians. To them it is a divinely chosen place; eventually they will be brought out of Babylon (Jamaica) and to Z. (Ethiopia).

↗Dərsanä Ṣəyon, s. EAE vol. 5; ↗Gihon

Src.: EMML nos. 2044, 2461; ROBERT BEYLOT, *La Gloire des Rois ou l'Histoire de Salomon et de la reine de Saba*, Turnhout 2008 (Apocryphes. Collection de Poche de L'AELAC 12), passim and s. index; GrohHymn 199; OSVALDO RAINERI, "L'Effigie di Maria 'Patto di Misercordia'. Note per un 'Mariale Aethiopicum'", *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 103, 1989, 92–109 here 107; KURT WENDT, *Das Maṣḥafa Milād* (*Liber Navitatis*), *und Maṣḥafa Sellāsē* (*Liber Trinitas*) *des Kaisers Zarʾa Yāʿəqob*, vol. 2, Louvain 1963 (CSCO 236 [SAe 43, 44, 100f.]), 37–44 (tr.); YaqMist I, 204 (tr.).

Lit.: AMSALU TEFERA ALEMU, *Dərsanä Ṣəyon*: *Philological Inquiries, Textual Critical Edition and Annotated Translation*, Ph.D. thesis, School of Graduate Studies, Addis Ababa University 2011; MARILYN HELDMAN, "Maryam Seyon: Mary of Zion", in: *AfrZion* 71-75; TadTChurch 248–50; RICHARD KEIR PANKHURST, "Fear God, Honor the King: the Use of Biblical Allusion in Ethiopian Historical Literature Part I", *NEASt* 8, 1, 1986, 11–30, here 11–15; ROBERT BEYLOT, "Le millenarisme, article de foi dans l'Église Éthiopienne, au XVe siècle", *RSE* 25, 1971–72 [1974], 31–43; SHOSHANA BEN-DOR, "*Hamasa le'ever Ereṣ Yisrael*: *Hasipur šel Abba Mahari* ['The Journey to Eretz Israel: the Story of Abba Mahari']", *Pe'amim* 33, 1987, 4–33; LISA ANTEBY-YEMINI, "Promised Lands, Imagined Homelands: Ethiopian Jews' Immigration to Israel", in: FRAN MARKOWITZ – ANDERS H. STEFFANSON, *Homecomings*: *Unsettling Paths of Return*, Oxford – Lanham, MD 2004, 146–64; BARRY CHEVANNES, *Rastafari Roots and Ideology*, Syracuse 1994.

Steven Kaplan

Ziq

Z. (**ዚቅ**) in a broad sense is a collection of verses from hymns such as ↗*mälkəʾ*, ↗*nägś*, ↗*maḫletä ṣəge*, ↗*säqoqawä dəngəl*, followed by two verses called ↗*məlṭan* and Z., respectively. Z. is performed in dancing and accompanied by musical instruments (↗*aqqʷaqʷam*).

Z. is frequently called *zəqqətäñña* ('the lesser'), to underline its subordinate role to *mälkəʾ* as well as to other elements of the Liturgy of the Hours (↗*Maḫlet*) of which Z. has become part. Their sources are psalms (↗Psalter) and liturgical chants of the ↗*Dəggʷa*, ↗*Zəmmare*, ↗*Mäwaśəʿət* and various offices.

The etymology of the term Z. is not clear. Some traditional scholars connect it to *zännäqä* ('combine, insert', cp. THMDic 1032b). Others derive it from *muziqa* ('music') or *mozzäqä* ('play a musical instrument', s. KaneDic 311a), an obvious folk etymology which reveals, however, the perception of Z. as defining the musical quality of the service.

Internal evidence corroborates the belief that the genre of Z. emerged relatively recently. It was elaborated by the traditional scholars of *aqqʷaqʷam* during the ↗Gondärine kingdom period (according to the local tradition, during the time of ↗Iyasu I), and spread from Gondär to other centres of traditional ↗education. According to one tradition, Z. as the element of the liturgy was introduced to mark the triumphant entrance of the emperor to assist the service. Another tradition claims that Z. was chanted in order to fill the time till the emperor comes, in order to give him the opportunity to participate in the main part of the morning liturgy. In many editions, the collection of Z. is still supplied with the subtitle **ዚቅ ፡ ዘአስተጋብእዎ ፡ ሊቃውንተ ፡ ጎንደር** (*Ziq zäʾastägabʾəwwo liqawəntä Gondär*, 'Z. collected by the scholars of Gondär').

The Z. collection varied from school to school, and became fixed as **መጽሐፈ ፡ ዚቅ** (*Mäṣḥafä ziq*, 'the Book of Z.') only in the second half of the 20th cent. when it was included into the *Ammǝstu ṣäwatǝwä zemawočč* (1967/68 A.D.), a collection of all chants (↗*Zema*) necessary for the celebration of the Liturgy of the Hours, the Eucharist and the Divine Liturgy (↗*Qǝddase*). The *Mäṣḥafä ziq* was compiled by the famous 20th-cent. traditional scholar of *zema*, *mämhǝr* Kǝfle Wäldä Ṣadǝq, nicknamed "Kǝfle Še" (probably referring to his Šäwan origin). He entitled his work *Abba Ǧale*, an allusion to the Gondärine church of Däbrä Ḫǝruyan Abba Ǧale Täklä Haymanot, or Addäbabay Täklä Haymanot where Kǝfle taught for many years. The notation (↗*Mǝlǝkkǝt*) was provided by Kǝfle's disciple *mäggabe aʾǝlaf* Henok Wäldä Mikaʾel (d. 2004).

Src.: **አምስቱ ፡ ጸዋትወ ፡ ዜማዎች ። ፩ ጾመ ፡ ድጓ ፤ ፪ ምዕራፍ ፤ ፫ ዚቅ ፡ ፬ እስመ ፡ ለዓለም ፡ ዝማሬ ፤ ፭ መዋሥዕት** (*Ammǝstu ṣäwatǝwä zemawočč* ['The Five Categories of Chants']: 1 *Ṣomä dǝggʷa*, 2 *Mǝʿǝraf*, 3 *Ziq*, 4 *Ǝsmä läʿaläm*, *Zǝmmare*, 5 *Mäwasǝʿǝt*), Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.]; **መጽሐፈ ፡ ዚቅ ፡ ወመዝሙር** (*Mäṣḥafä ziq wämäzmur*, 'The Book of *Ziq* and Hymns'), Addis Abäba 1987 A.M. [1995/96 A.D.]; *mäggabe aʾlaf* HENOK WÄLDÄ MIKAʾEL (ed.), **ዝክረ ፡ ቃል ፡ ዘውእቱ ፡ መጽሐፈ ፡ ዚቅ ፡ ወመዝሙር** (*Zǝkrä qal zäwǝʾǝtu mäṣḥafä ziq wämäzmur*, '"Promemoria", which is the Book of *Ziq* and Hymns'), Addis Abäba 1996 A.M. [2003/04 A.D.]; DillmLex 1048; THMDic 1032b.

Lit.: EMMANUEL FRITSCH, *The Liturgical Year of the Ethiopian Church. The Temporal: Seasons and Sundays*, Addis Ababa 2001 (Ethiopian Review of Cultures 9–10); HabTent 104f.; HabUff 117ff.; KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY – PETER JEFFERY, *Ethiopian Christian Liturgical Chant: An Anthology*, vol. 2, Madison, WI 1993, vii; VelMe I.

Habtemichael Kidane

Zir Ganela

Z.G. (**ዚር ፡ ጋኔላ**; fl. 14th–early 15th cent.), is the secular name of the patroness of the *de luxe* illuminated ↗manuscript of the Four ↗Gospels (New York, The Morgan Library [formerly Pierpont Morgan Library], M.828), which was commissioned for an unnamed monastery where Z.G. was abbess (Heldman 1972; Brown 2006, cat. no. 40). The manuscript is dated "53rd year of Mercy" (1400/01 A.D.). Z.G. is known solely from the colophon (fols. 205v–06va) at the end of the manuscript (cp. Grébaut 1928: 142–44, the numbering system of the folia used by Grébaut differs from the present scheme). The colophon, written in the third person and evidently composed by the scribe (name erased) of the Gospel text, includes a brief summary of Z.G.'s religious vocation as well as a reference to her prior secular life.

Z.G. "rejected the fleeting world and became a nun" and "the mother of many nuns", i.e. she was an abbess. And she was "the daughter of monks", which suggests that her community of nuns was associated with a well-established monastic community that was not adverse to receiving a gift of a Gospel book illuminated with an extensive multiple frontispiece of full-page miniatures. She was "the supporter of saints" and provider of residence to strangers and travellers as well as food and drink to the starving and the thirsty. Such activities suggest that the religious establishment with which she was associated could afford such benefactions.

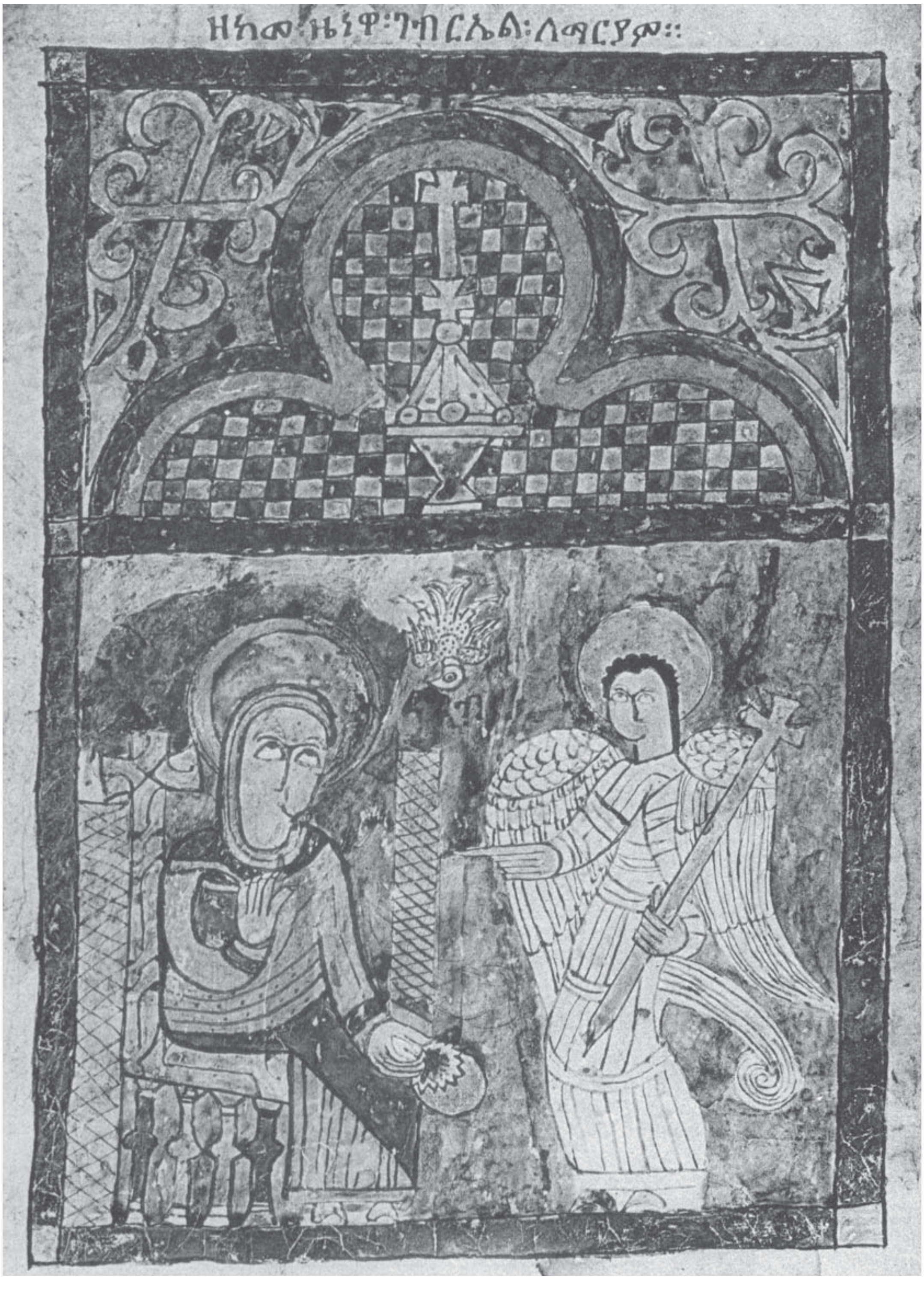
Z.G. entered monastic life at middle age, as she had two sons, Bädlä ʿAfänä and Tänśǝʾa Krǝstos, both of whom were deacons, and two daughters, Fälasit and Zän Ṣǝläla. The colophon presents the profile of an abbess from the ruling class, as was the common pattern of male monastic leadership (KapMon 45).

Grébaut proposed (1928: 141f.) that Z.G. should be identified with the unnamed daughter of ↗Säyfä Arʿad (and granddaughter of ↗ʿAmdä Ṣǝyon) who became a nun under the name of "Bärbara", at the monastery of ↗Aron at Däbrä Daret in Bägemdǝr (Turaiev 1905: 123, 137f.). This identification is unlikely – the name "Bärbara" is written with four characters of the Ethiopian syllabary, while the space of Z.G.'s erased baptismal name in the colophon takes up the space of six or seven characters. However, among the eponyms in the dating of the colophon (fol. 205vb, lines 3–7) is the contemporary governor of ↗Bägemdǝr, Dǝl Mängǝśa, daughter of *aṣe* ↗Dawit; which suggests a personal connection between Z.G. and Dǝl Mängǝśa (Kropp 2006).

The full-page miniatures (↗Painting: miniature) with scenes from the life of Christ in Z.G.'s Gospel book follow a distinctive prototype shared with two other Gospel manuscripts of approximately the same date, the ↗Kǝbran Gospels (AfrZion 178f., cat. no. 69), the Gospel book of the Metropolitan Museum of New York (s. Evans 2004, cat. no. 267). These three Gospel books are not closely related stylistically, and where they were produced has not been determined.

Src.: SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "Note sur la Princesse Zir-Gānēlā", *JA* 213, 1928, 141–45, here 141f.; BORISSUS TURAIEV (ed., tr.), *Acta S. Aronis et Philippi*, Louvain 1908 (CSCO 30, 31 [SAe 13, 14]); personal communication with Manfred Kropp, 24 September 2006.

Lit.: AfrZion 178f.; MICHELLE P. BROWN (ed.), *In the Beginning. Bibles Before the Year 1000*, Washington, DC


ዘከመ፡ዜነዋ፡ገብርኤል፡ለማርያም፡፡

Annunciation, miniature in the Gospel of *Zir Ganela*, fol. 6v, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 828, 1400/1; from Skehan 1954, pl. 267

2006; Helen C. Evans (ed.), *Byzantium. Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, New York 2004 (Metropolitan Museum of Art Series); Marilyn E. Heldman, *The Gospels of Princess Zir Ganela, an Ethiopic Manuscript dated 1400/01 A.D.*, Ph.D. thesis, Washington University, St. Louis 1972; KapMon 45; Patrick W. Skehan, "An illuminated Gospel Book in Ethiopic", in: Dorothy Miner (ed.), *Studies in Art and Literature for* Belle da Costa Greene, Princeton, NJ 1954, 350–57 and pls. 265–289, here pl. 267 (ill.).

Marilyn Heldman

Zoba ↗Administrative division

Zoli, Corrado

Z. (b. 1877, Palermo, d. 1951, Rome) was a journalist, traveller and colonial administrator. In 1914, he took part in a military expedition to the Libyan region of Fezzan as a correspondent for the Italian newspaper *Secolo*. In 1920 Z. was involved as Sottosegretario agli Affari Esteri (Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs) in the short-lived government of the Italian Regency of Carnaro.

Z. became formally involved with Italian colonialism towards 1925, when the British government transferred the administration of Jubaland to Italy (↗Italian Somaliland). Z. was then appointed Alto Commissario per l'Oltregiuba (High Commissioner for Trans-Juba), from 16 July 1924 to 31 December 1926. He had prepared for the worst, expecting insurrections and resistance to the Italian presence, yet the transition from British to Italian rule was peaceful. He kept his post as High Commissioner until 1 July 1926 when Oltregiuba was annexed to Italian Somaliland as the Juba region.

Returning to Rome, Z. served in the Ministry of Colonies as general secretary until his appointment as Governor of Eritrea in June 1928. His tenure, however, proved short-lived and was characterized by recurrent criticism. In October 1928 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs criticized Z. for maintaining a hard-line in relation to boundary incidents with Ethiopia. In December of the same year Z. ordered the occupation of part of Dankalia (↗Dänkäl) attracting the anger of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was then striving to maintain a policy of collaboration. Z. supported an aggressive form of colonialism, championed by the establishment of the Ministry of Colonies, but at odds with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' policy of slow and inexpensive peaceful penetration. Despite his expansionist views being consistent with those of the Fascist officials on the rise in Rome, he soon faced growing criticism for the economic mismanagement of the colony.

In December 1929 Z. occupied the ↗Ḥaniš Islands in the Red Sea. His critics, among whom the Ministro delle Colonie (Minister of the Colonies) Emilio ↗De Bono, blamed him for being more concerned with political strategies and military undertakings than with the well-being of the colony, which was growing unruly. Z. had also approved a number of measures aimed at stricter racial separation as well as a policy of continuous land expropriation in the highlands. Both policies contributed to the progressive alienation of the colonized population and the eventual removal of Z. On 16 July 1930, he was replaced by Riccardo Astuto dei Duchi di Lucchesi as Governor.

Back in Italy, Z. continued to publish works on Ethiopia and to collaborate with several newspapers.

Src.: Lidio Cipriani, *Un assurdo etnico: l'impero etiopico, con presentazione di Corrado Zoli*, Firenze 1935; Ministero delle Colonie, *Oltre Giuba*, Roma 1927; Bernardo Valentino Vecchi, *L'Italia ai margini d'Etiopia; prefazione di Corrado Zoli*, Milano 1935; Corrado Zoli, *Espansione coloniale Italiana*, Roma 1949; Id., "Relazione sull'opera svolta della Reale Società Geografica Italiana nel triennio 1935–1937", in: *Atti del XIII Congresso Geografico Italiano*, Udine 1938, 91–96; Id., *La conquista dell'impero*, Bologna 1937; Id., "The Organization of Italy's East African Empire", *Foreign Affairs* 16, 1, 1937, 80–90; Id., "L'Impero italiano dell'Africa orientale", *Bollettino della Reale Società Geografica Italiana*, 7ª serie, 1, 8, 1936, 473–84; Id., *Etiopia d'oggi*, Roma 1935; Id., *Nel Fezzan; note e impressioni di viaggio*, Milano 1926; Id., *Notizie sul territorio di riva destra del Giuba*, Roma 1927; Id., *Le giornate di Fiume*, Bologna 1921.

Lit.: Angelo Del Boca, *La nostra Africa: nel racconto di cinquanta Italiani che l'hanno percorsa, esplorata e amata*, Vicenza 2003; Id., *Gli Italiani in Africa Orientale*, vol. 2: *La conquista dell'impero*, Roma 1979; ErDizBio 303–04; Barbara Sorgoni, *Etnografia e colonialismo: L'Eritrea e l'Etiopia di Alberto Pollera 1873–1939*, Torino 2001 (Storia, filosofia e scienze sociali); Irma Taddia, *L'Eritrea Colonia, 1890–1952: paesaggi, strutture, uomini del colonialismo*, Milano 1986; Tekeste Negash, *Italian Colonialism in Eritrea, 1882–1941: Policies, Praxis, and Impact*, Uppsala 1987; Yemane Mesghenna, *Italian Colonialism, a Case of Study of Eritrea, 1869–1934: Motive, Praxis, and Result*, Lund 1988.

Matteo Salvadore

Zorzi, Alessandro

Z. (also Giorgi, b. before 1470, d. after 1538) was an Italian traveller and cartographer, probably a native of Venice, where he certainly grew up and was active for a long time. He is known only from a series of autographic writings, including both manuscript sheets and annotated printed pages, with letters, descriptions and maps, preserved in Florence (Biblioteca nazionale centrale, mss. Magl. III 80, 81, 83, 84, now Banco rari 236, in very poor condition; Magl. III 82 is lost). These form a miscellaneous work, known as "Codice Alberico", which touches upon Asia, Ethiopia, the ↗Red Sea, ↗Arabia, Persia (↗Iran) and even the New World. A further autograph of similar content is kept in Ferrara (Biblioteca comunale Ariostea, ms. cl. II 10). Most of these materials were probably meant for a new edition of the famous geographical work by Fracanzano da Montalboddo, *Paesi nuovamente retrovati* (1st ed. Vicentia 1507), but it can be excluded that Z. ever took part in its preparation (Almagià 1936).

Z.'s own mention (ms. Magl. III 84, fol. 29) bears witness to his activity in 1470, which seems to have lasted until 1538. Handwritten notes by the most erudite Venetian doge Marco Foscarini, whose *Della letteratura veneziana* includes a brief mention of Z. (Foscarini 1752: 315 n. 269; Id. 1854: 336 n. 1), are the only evidence for Z.'s death in 1560 – which seems to be too late a date. More reliably, Foscarini says that "he travelled for about 20 years visiting Cyprus (twice), Alexandria, England, Spain and Flanders", and "made notes about customs and antiquities and made drawings of the more interesting ones" (CrawItin 24). Probably a man of considerable learning, with a keen interest in the geographical discoveries of his time, he also seems to have been involved in practical matters, succeeding his brother Domenico in the command of a galley in 1528.

From 1470 at least, Z. took notes concerning Ethiopia, as is apparent in his last notebooks (ms. Magl. III 84, fols. 25–58v), which provide geographical information and describe routes to (from either ↗Jerusalem or Alexandria), from, and within that country. To this effect, Z. resorted to Italian and especially Ethiopian monks and pilgrims who visited Venice from the beginning of the 16th cent., thereby fleeing from the Turks (↗Ottoman empire) and proceeding on to their pilgrimage to the major European sanctuaries (s. Fiaccadori 2009: 39). Z.'s "Ethiopian itineraries" were first made known by Marcellino da Civezza (1879: 217–22), then published by Mannoni (1932), Conti Rossini (1943: 175–99) and eventually by Crawford (as CrawItin 107–93), whose readings, though, are not always reliable (s. Fiaccadori 1992: 440, 443). According to the synopsis in CrawItin xiif., the contents can be summarized as follows: 1) fols. 25–28 and 2) fol. 28v*bis*, on the journey from Cairo to North Africa and Abyssinia, and on the course of the ↗Nile, with information received by Z. in written form from Brother Nicola da Oliveto, then residing at San Michele di Murano, where ↗Fra Mauro's *Mappamondo* had been drawn and was kept; 3) fols. 29–32, on the sources of the Nile, an account said to have been given to Z. in 1470 by an Italian friar who came from Ethiopia, but entirely based on Fra Mauro's map or, possibly, on his preparatory notes for it (Cattaneo 2003 and 2010: 64f. and n. 112, yet mistaking the Italian friar for Brother Nicola); 4) fols. 33–34v, itinerary I, journey from ↗Aksum to Cairo; 5) fols. 35–38, itinerary II, journey from "Barara" (↗Bärara) to Jerusalem made in 1517 by brother Zorgi and narrated to Z. at Venice in 1519; 6) fols. 38v–40v, itinerary III, journey from Bärara, ↗Sawākin and Cairo made about 1518 by brother Raphael and recounted to Z. at Venice in 1522; 7) fols. 41–44, itinerary IV, journey from "Besegai, Ugie and Barara" to Jerusalem made by brother Thomas of "Ganget" and told to Z. at Venice on 7 April 1523; 8) fols. 44–49v, information from Brother Thomas of Ganget and from his companion Antonio (probably the namesake of itinerary V), about various provinces; 9) fols. 49v–53, itineraries V and VI, from brother Antonio of "Urvuar", who went to ↗India and ↗Portugal, tell of Indian trade by way of "Zelo" (↗Zaylaᶜ); 10) fols. 55–58v, itineraries VII and VIII, from another brother Thomas, of "Barara", 4 May 1524, on the branches of the Nile and Southern Ethiopia, also with a hint concerning Andrea ↗Corsali, "a Florentine who is going to print Chaldaean books in the said country" (CrawItin 190f., cp. 23).

Like Francisco ↗Alvares's work, Z.'s itineraries yield a detailed picture of Ethiopia before it was overrun by the armies of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ") and by the ↗Oromo in the 16th cent., and greatly contribute to a direct knowledge both of local history and geography and of the European – chiefly, but not only, Venetian – interest in and communications with the by then no longer fabulous country of ↗Prester John.

Src.: mss. Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Magl. III 80, 81, 83, 84 (= Banco rari 236), and Ferrara, Biblioteca comunale Ariostea, cl. II 10; Marcellino da Civezza, *Saggio di bibliografia geografica, storica, etnografica sanfrancescana*, Prato 1879, 217–22; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Geographica: 1. L'Africa Orientale in carte arabe dei secoli XII e XIII; 2. Carte abissine; 3. Gli itinerari di Alessandro Zorzi", *RSE* 3, 1943, 167–99, here 175–99; CrawItin 107–93; Laura Mannoni, "Notizie sull'Etiopia raccolte da uno studioso Veneto del secolo XVI", *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* 69, ser. 6ª, 9, 1932, 603–20.

Lit.: Roberto Almagià, "Intorno a quattro codici fiorentini e ad uno ferrarese dell'erudito veneziano Alessandro Zorzi", *La Bibliofilia* 38, 1936, 313–47 [repr. in Id., *Scrit-*

ti geografici (*1905–1957*), Roma 1961, 447–68]; CHARLES BECKINGHAM, [review of CrawItin], *JSS* 3, 1958, 415–20; ANGELO CATTANEO – ANDRÉ FERRAND ALMEIDA – DIOGO RAMADA CURTO (eds.), *La cartografia europea tra primo Rinascimento e fine dell'Illuminismo*, Firenze 2003; ANGELO CATTANEO, "Fra Mauro Cosmographus Incomparabilis and his *Mappamundi*: Documents, Sources and Protocol of Mapping", in: CATTANEO et al. 2003, 19–48, here 23; ID., *Fra Mauro Mappa Mundi and Fifteenth-Century Venice*, Turnhout 2011 (Terrarum orbis 8), 47, 64f.; ENRICO CERULLI, [review of CrawItin], *Oriens* 16, 1963, 320-22; CrawItin 23–27, 55–105, 190f.; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Bâli", *La parola del passato* 47, 1992, 439–45, here 440, 443 (Lit.); ID., "L'Etiopia, Venezia e l'Europa", in: GIUSEPPE BARBIERI – GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI (eds.), *Nigra sum sed formosa. Sacro e bellezza dell'Etiopia cristiana. Ca' Foscari Esposizioni 13 marzo – 10 maggio 2009*, Crocetta del Montello (TV) 2009, 27–48, here 39; MARCO FOSCARINI, *Della letteratura veneziana libri otto*, Padova 1752, 315, n. 269; ID., *Della letteratura veneziana ed altri scritti intorno ad essa*, Venezia 1854, 336, n. 1; PLINIO FREIRE GOMES, "Alessandro Zorzi e l'invenzione dei Tropici", in: CATTANEO et al. 2003, 109–32; JEAN LECLANT, [review of CrawItin], *AE* 3, 1959, 317–18; STUART [C.] MUNRO-HAY, *Ethiopia Unveiled*: *Interaction between Two Worlds*, Hollywood, CA 2006, 158ff. and nn. 250–52 (277).

Alessandro Bausi – Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Zoskales

Z. (Gr. Ζωσκάλης, *Zōskálēs*) was a king whose rule extended to the African shore of the ↗Red Sea towards the middle of the 1st-cent. A.D. He is mentioned only in the Greek ↗*Periplus of the Eritrean Sea*. According to this text, after passing ↗Adulis, "lying in a deep bay that runs southwards", and the "several small sandy islands" nearby, "called *Alaláiou*", i.e. the ↗Dahlak, comes "another very deep bay […] some 800 stadies from there, at the mouth of which on the right is a great sandbank, and deeply buried in it is found the obsidian stone, a local produce in that spot alone": Z. "reigns (*basiléuei*)" precisely in "these parts, from [the country of] the Moschophágoi to the other Barbaria", i.e. from the Eritrean ↗Saḥel, in the orbit of Adulis, down to present-day ↗Somalia (s. Fiaccadori 2004: 105); he is "a miserly man always striving for more, but otherwise upright, and skilled in Greek literacy" (§4f., ed. Frisk 1927: 2 = Casson 1989: 52; Bucharin 2007: 31 [§2]). This passage might conceal an allusion to heavy customs duties levied by Z. (Charlesworth 1926: 64; TadTChurch 22 and n. 2). Z. appears to have been an important supplier of "↗ivory, tortoise shell and rhinoceros horn", mostly from the interior regions, to ↗Egypt and the Roman empire. His kingdom provided a market for various imports, among them, clothing, glass, brass, copper, iron, as well as axes, adzes, knives, drinking vessels, Roman money ("for the resident foreigners"), wine and olive oil. A few of these items were specially meant "for the king [*tô dè basileî*]", i.e. for Z.: "silverware and goldware fashioned in the local manner; cloaks of cloth [*imatíōn abóllai*] and and heavy garments [*gaunakaí*] with no adornment, these things being modest in price" (§6, ed. Frisk 1927: 2f. = Casson 1989: 52, 54; Bucharin 2007: 31 [§2]). In such a businesslike text as the *Periplus*, the almost gratuitous remark concerning his knowledge of Greek – then the *lingua franca* of the Red Sea – points perhaps "to something more than a bald commercial connection" (Sutton 1989: 4, cp. Fiaccadori 2004: 136 and Bowersock 2013: 26f., 31f., 45). This is also true of his courtiers, many of whom were probably themselves Greeks or Helenized Egyptians (TadTChurch 21f.).

Z. is more often deemed to have been a king, in fact the earliest known, of Aksum (so, e.g., CRStor 119; Irvine in DicEthBio 217; TadTChurch 18, 21; MHAksum 17, 69, 75, 247; Sutton 1989: 5; Pedroni 1997: 93 n. 15, 99; Seland 2010: 34–39, 46), for *ho Axōmítēs*, 'the Aksumite (territory)', is styled as *mētrópolis* immediately prior to the passages above in the same text (§4 ed. Frisk 1927: 1 = Casson 1989: 50; Bucharin 2007: 31 [§2]). However, he was more likely a local ruler exercising power over a good stretch of the African coast and the area of the "Adulites", mentioned in classical sources since the 1st cent. A.D. as distinguished from the "Aksumites" themselves (Fiaccadori 2004: 128 and 137 ; cp. Bowersock 2013: 26 and 33, unduly inclined to extend Z.'s authority to "the Axumite territory" and beyond). This area, in which the inland city of Adulis was found, was then the centre of a special "realm", still described as comparatively autonomous from Aksum, with a governor (*árchōn*) of its own, by ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes, some five centuries later. With reference to Adulis, he informs on the interlinked but separate harbour and customs installments out to sea at nearby ↗*Gäbäza*(*s*) (*Topogr. Christ.* II, 54ff., ed. Wolska-Conus 1968: 364–68). In keeping with the site's earlier history (s. now Manzo 2012), this accords with Adulis' character and function of "port of trade" (*empórion nómimon* in the *Periplus*, §4, ed. Frisk 1927: 1f. = Casson 1989: 50, 52; Bucharin 2007: 30 [§1]), i.e. the sole port and the only entry to a great continental empire with a further inland capital city and king's residence (*mētrópolis*, s. Fiaccadori 2004: 112, 118ff.).

In no way, but by forcing the evidence, can the (2nd/3rd-century?) king of the ↗Monumentum Adulitanum be considered a "predecessor" of Z. as a ruler "of Adulis and the adjoining territories" (so, instead, Lusini 2009: 71f.; cp. already Id. 2004: 75f. and n. 47). Much later, however, a possible "successor" to Z. is a *ngš* ('king', actually a kinglet) of GBZ (*_Gäbäza_) called SBL, known in an early-4th-cent. Ps.-Sabaic inscription from Aksum, where he features "with his people" as accepting the authority of *nəguś* ↗Ousanas I (DAE IV, no. 8 = RIÉ no. 186.10f., on which s. Fiaccadori 2004: 137; cp. Fauvelle-Aymar 2009: 146f.).

Z's name, associated by several authors (but s. HuntGeogr 39) with that of Zä-Ḥaq(ə)le or Zä-Ḥaq(ə)li of the traditional Ethiopian "↗king lists (s. EAE vol. 5)" (CRList 290, list C, no. 35, cp. Godet 1986–87: 28), should rather be traced to Eth. *zä-* and *säqäla*, '(royal) tent, camp', a word of likely Cushitic origin (Marrassini 2003: 151; Fiaccadori 2004: 118).

↗Inscriptions: Greek Inscriptions in Ethiopia/Eritrea

Src.: HJALMAR FRISK (ed.), *Le Périple de la mer Érythrée*, Göteborg 1927 (Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift 33), 1ff. [§ 4ff.]; LIONEL CASSON (tr.), *The Periplus Maris Erythraei*, Princeton, NJ 1989, 50, 52, 54 (Frisk's text) = 51, 53, 55 (tr.), cp. 106–15; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD (tr.), *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, by an unknown author, London 1980 (The Hakluyt Society, 2nd Ser., 151), 20ff., cp. 59ff.; MICHAIL D. BUCHARIN (ed., tr.), *Neizvestnogo avtora «Peripl ėritrejskogo morja»* ('Unknown author's «P. of the Erythrean Sea»'), Sankt-Peterburg 2007 (Antičnaja biblioteka. Issledovanija), 30f. (text) = 49f. (tr.) [§ 1f.]; DAE IV, no. 8 = *RIE* no. 186.10f.; WANDA WOLSKA-CONUS (ed., tr.), *Cosmas Indicopleustès, Topographie chrétienne*, vol. 1, Paris 1968 (Sources chrétiennes 141), 364–68 [II, 54ff.]; CRList 290, list C, no. 35.

Lit.: GLEN W. BOWERSOCK, *The Throne of Adulis. Red Sea Wars on the Eve of Islam*, Oxford 2013 (Emblems of Antiquity [3]), 26f., 31ff., 45, 52f. (148, 150); FRANCIS BREYER, *Das Königreich Aksum. Geschichte und Archäologie Abessiniens in der Spätantike*, Darmstadt – Mainz 2012 (Záberns Bildbände zur Archäologie. Sonderbände der Antiken Welt), 34, 41, 155; BudHist vol. 1, 209f.; M.P. CHARLESWORTH, *Trade-Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire*, ^{2}1926 [Chicago, IL 1974], 64; CRStor 119f., 122; ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, *Inscriptions de l'Éthiopie antique*, Leiden 1962, 101ff.; FRANÇOIS-XAVIER FAUVELLE-AYMAR, "Les inscriptions d'Adoulis (Érythrée). Fragments d'un royaume d'influence hellénistique et gréco-romaine sur la côte africaine de la mer Rouge", *BIFAO* 109, 2009 [2010], 135–60, here 146f.; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 103–57, here 105, 128, 136f.; ERIC GODET, "Considérations nouvelles sur les rois d'Axoum", *Abbay* 13, 1986–87 [1988], 11–57, here 28; ARTHUR K. IRVINE, "Zoscales", in: *DicEthBio* 217 (Lit.); HuntGeogr 39 and n. 2 [R. P(ANKHURST)]; YURI M. KOBISHCHANOV, *Axum*, University Park, PA, 1979, 42, 46, 54f. and n. 91 (287); GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Note linguistiche per la storia dell'Etiopia antica", in: *StudAeth* 67–77, here 75f. and n. 47; ID., "Naufragio e conservazione di testi cristiani antichi: il contributo della tradizione etiopica", *Annali IUO* nuova ser., 69, 2009 [2012], 69–83, here 71f.; ANDREA MANZO, "Adulis before Aksum? Possible 2nd- and 1st-Millennium BC Evidence from the Site of the Ancient Port of Adulis", *ibid.* 70, 2010 [2012], 29–42; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "The Semites in Abyssinia: Onomastic and Lexicographical Notes", in: LEONID KOGAN (ed.), *Studia Semitica*, Moscow 2003 (Orientalia. Papers of the Oriental Institute 3), 141–51, here 151; MHAksum 17, 69, 75, 247; SerHist 67, 70, 72; J.E.G. SUTTON, "Aksum, the Erythrean Sea and the World of Late Antiquity: a Foreword", in: STUART CHRISTOPHER MUNRO-HAY (ed.), *Excavations at Aksum: An Account of Research at the Ancient Ethiopian Capital Directed in 1972–74 by the Late Dr. N. Chittick*, London 1989 (B.I.E.A. Memoirs 10), 1–6; LUIGI PEDRONI, "Una collezione di monete aksumite", *Bollettino di Numismatica* ser. 1^{a}, 15, I–II [28–29], 1997 [1998, but 2000], 7–147, here 93 n. 15, 99; PhilAfrCiv 54, 64, 73, 79, 197; EIVIND HELDAAS SELAND, *Ports and Political Power in the* Periplus: *Complex Societies and Maritime Trade on the Indian Ocean in the First Century AD*, Oxford 2010 (BAR International Series 2102/Society for Arabian Studies Monographs 9), 34–39, 46;TadTChurch 18, 21f. and n. 1.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Zotenberg, Hermann (Théodore)

Z. (b. 26 January 1834, Prausnitz [Prusice], Silesia, today Poland, d. 1 July 1909, Juan-les-Pins, France) was a librarian and scholar. Born to Jewish parents, Mesulem Zotenberg and Frédérique Langer, he received his secondary education in Breslau. In 1855, he joined the university of this town but was expelled in 1857, reportedly because he did not attend courses.

Z. arrived in France in 1858 and for eight years attended the seminars at the École des Langues Orientales (↗Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales) and the Collège de France. On 11 February 1859, already as doctor, he was admitted into the Société Asiatique, of which he was to become an active member. In 1866, he participated in the foundation of the *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature* and was for a short time its director.

In 1863, Z. began a career as a librarian at the ↗Bibliothèque Nationale. He worked first in the catalogue section and, from December 1864, at the department of Oriental manuscripts, as the assistant of Salomon Munk. On 1 November 1875 he was appointed librarian and later conservator. In ca. 1891, Z. was also a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of Russia (historical and philological division).

Dissatisfied with his position as the deputy of the conservator of manuscripts, in 1895 Z. left the Bibliothèque Nationale and resigned from the Société Asiatique, being replaced by Octave

Houdas. Thereafter, he retired to live in the south of France, severing any ties with his friends and colleagues until his death. He sold a large part of his library to the Picard bookstore and gave some books and manuscripts to the library of the University of Strasburg, where his friend Theodor ↗Nöldeke was professor.

Z. is prominent for the diversity and depth of his works. An erudite Orientalist, he made frequent trips to European libraries to research in their collections and he compiled catalogues of manuscripts and texts in several languages, including Hebrew, Arabic, Coptic, Syriac (Zotenberg [1874]), Pali, Burmese, Thai and even Chinese. He also published several articles and excerpts from manuscripts, such as on "Barlaam and Josaphat" (1864; ↗*Bärälam wäyəwasəf*). His activities as translator were also remarkable. His translation of the Persian version of aṭ-↗Ṭabarī's chronicle in four volumes (Paris 1867–74) and edition of the Arabic text of aṯ-Ṯaᶜālibī, *History of the Persian Kings* (aṯ-Ṯaᶜālibī 1900) remain reference works. Z. was also one of the first scholars to critically analyse the "One thousand and one nights" (Zotenberg 1888).

In the field of ↗Ethiopian Studies, Z. wrote an essay on "Making the history of the Ethiopian language and literature", which earned him the Bordin Prize in 1861. In addition, he compiled a *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens* (ZotBNat), edited the Chronicle of ↗John of Nikiu (1879–83) and published a document on the ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel (1867).

Src.: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Archives du Département des manuscrits orientaux; AṬ-ṬABARĪ, *Taᵓrīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk. Chronique de Abou-Djafar-Moʿhammed-Ben-Djarir-Ben-Yezid Tabari sur la version persane d'Abou ʿAli Moʿhammed Belʿami*, tr. by HERMANN ZOTENBERG, 4 vols., Paris 1867–74, repr. 1958; AṮ-ṮAᶜĀLIBĪ, *Ġurar aḫbār mulūk al-furs wa-siyarihim = Histoire des rois des perses* ('History of the Persian Kings'), tr. by HERMANN ZOTENBERG, Paris 1900; ZotBNat; HERMANN ZOTENBERG (ed.), *Histoire d'ᶜAlâ al-Dîn ou La lampe merveilleuse: texte arabe. publié avec une notice sur quelques manuscrits des mille et une nuits*, Maisonneuve 1888; ID. (ed., tr.), *Chronique de Jean, évêque de Nikiou*: *notice et extraits*, Paris 1883; ID., "Mémoire sur la chronique byzantine de Jean, éveque de Nikiou", *JA* sér 7^{e}, 10, 1877, 451–517; 12, 1878, 245–347; 13, 1879, 291–386 [also Paris 1879]; ID., *Manuscrits orientaux. Catalogues des manuscrits syriaques et sabéens* (*mandaïtes*) *de la Bibliothèque nationale*, [Paris 1874]; ID., "Un *document* sur les *Falashas*", *JA* sér. 6^{e}, 9, 1867, 265–68; ID., *Manuscrits orientaux: catalogues des manuscrits hébreux et samaritains de la Bibliothèque impériale*, [Paris] 1866; ID. – PAUL MEYER, *Barlaam und Josaphat. Französisches Gedicht des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart 1864.

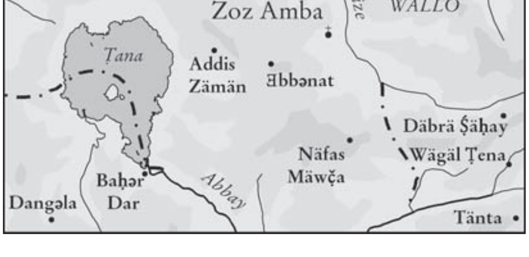
Lit.: GAD FREUDENTHAL, "Hermann Zotenberg (1834–1909): le savant qui a réussi à se faire oublier", *Revue des études juives* 169, 3–4, 2010, 487–514.

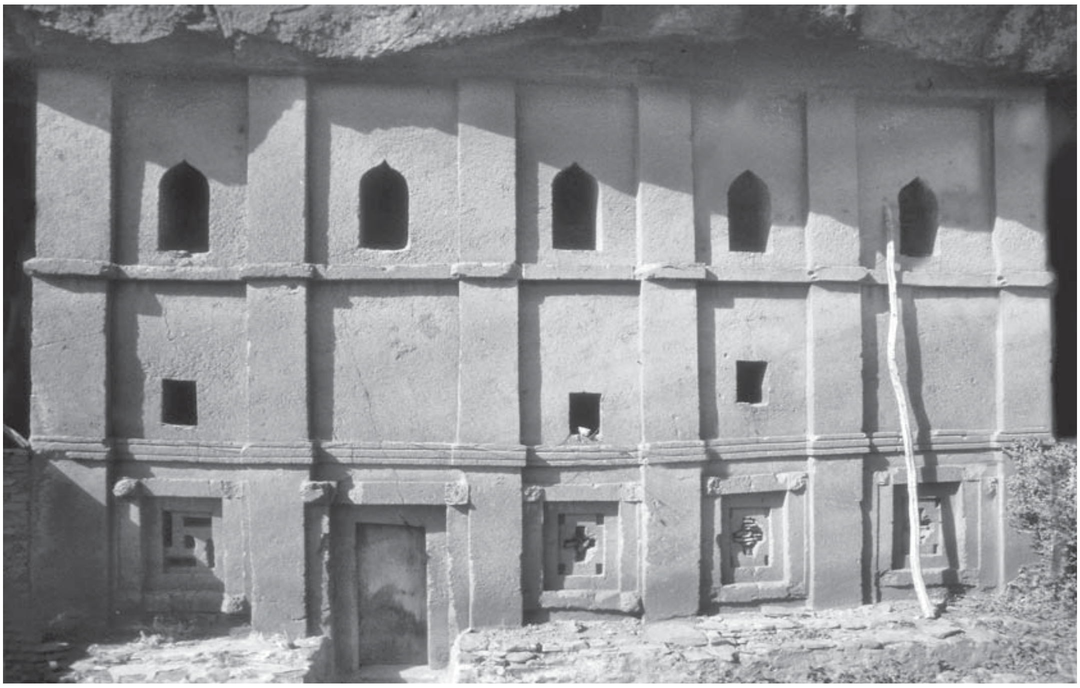
Annie Berthier – Gad Freudenthal – Alain Rouaud

Zoz Amba

The site of Z.A. (**ዞዝ ፡ አምባ**; 12° 23' 34'' N, 38° 09' 51.9'' E, 2,040 m A.S.L.), located ca. 52 km south-east of ↗Ǝbbənät in North Gondär (East Bäläsa *wäräda*, Zoz *qäbäle*), is known for its ↗rock-hewn church dedicated to St. ↗George (other dedications: ↗*Kidanä məḥrät*, ↗Samuᵓel of Däbrä Wägäg, St. Michael). According to tradition, Z.A. was founded by *abba* ↗Absadi of Azäzo and served as the dwelling place of *abba* Samuᵓel of Däbrä Wägäg.

The semi-monolithic church is cut into the south face of the ↗*amba*. It is attached top and bottom to the mother rock, with all sides detached. The south façade is a continuation of the cliff face (10.5 m long x 6.3 m wide x 3.5–5.5 m high, in a cavity of 16.6 x 9 m x 7.3 m). All façades are divided horizontally by two string courses into three levels and vertically by a varying number of pilasters (six on the southern, four on the eastern and western façades); the northern exterior wall is additionally stepped outwards in the central sections and around the door. In the upper level of the southern, eastern and western façades, each unit generated by horizontal and vertical divisions contains a window with an ogee arch. On the southern façade, small, square windows are cut into the lower parts of the first, third and fourth units of the middle level, while four recessed windows – three to the east, with a central, open-work pattée cross, and one to the west – have four corner binders. The southern portal occupies the lowest level of the second unit. On the western façade, a recessed central portal is flanked by two windows with centrally placed





Southern façade of the church at Zoz Amba; photo 2006, courtesy of Michael Gervers

cross-shaped open "tracery". Door and windows here, too, have significant corner binders. The portal's lintel, like that of the window to the south, is decorated with elaborate crosses in relief; that of the blind window to the north, with floral motifs. Cross-shaped windows are located in each of the lower divisions of the eastern facade. Windows on the northern façade are blind, except for a cross-shaped opening east of the north portal. The north portal is triple framed and protrudes from a rectangular "buttress" which fills the two lower architectural rows. A small doorway in the south-west corner of the western ambulatory provides access to a grotto, which in turn leads through another doorway to the cliff face. This opening, positioned above a pathway, may originally have served as the entrance to the church. There is a natural well behind a brick wall in the north-west corner of the site. A stone-built *betä ləḥem* (↗Church buildings) stands opposite the east façade.

Inside, there is a narrow "vestibule", a central barrel-vaulted nave with two flat-ceilinged aisles consisting of three bays, and a sanctuary (↗*mäqdäs*) flanked by side rooms. The bays are separated by pairs of arch-bearing pillars with bracket capitals. A small south-western side room of 1.4 m² has been hewn in the west end of the aisle, while the north-west corner remains unexcavated. The north and south portals open into the first bay. There are blind arches in the north and south walls above windows and doors. A floriated cross is chiselled on the western side of the northern pillar separating bays two and three. The side rooms are linked by open doorways to both the sanctuary and the aisles.

Before the entrance to the *mäqdäs* there is a large wooden *mänbärä* ↗*tabot*; another, metal one stands beside it to the north. Two wooden portable altars (each 90 cm high and measuring 52 x 51 cm diagonally across the top) – bearing dedicatory inscriptions to St. Gabriel and St. Mary, respectively – are housed outside the *mäqdäs*. They are decorated with carved geometrical patterns and arches in relief. They were probably consecrated *tabotat* (Fritsch 2009: 460f., 480f.; Fritsch – Gervers 2007: 14). A small square opening occupies the fourth side. A third such altar has been reported (Lepage – Mercier 2002: 153).

The church bears a number of similarities to Betä Libanos of the ↗Lalibäla complex, which occupies a similar position in the rock face and where the north-western corner of the monument was never excavated. The open nature of the *mäqdäs* at Z.A. suggests a date preceding that of Betä Libanos, where doorways between side rooms and aisles are blind (Fritsch – Gervers 2007: 14). Further chronological indications of an earlier date for Z.A. are provided by the portable wooden altars, whose presence indicates that the doorless side rooms probably served from the 13th cent. as extensions of the *mäqdäs*, following a trend established in Coptic Egypt (ibid.; Fritsch 2009: 454, 493f.).

Two fragments of paintings on cloth are affixed to the northern pilaster standing between the vestibule and the nave: a mounted St. George dating to the 17th cent., and a sketchy equestrian saint accompanied by a figure ploughing with oxen. A recent Crucifixion scene is attached to the northern wall of the second bay. Another such painting depicts saints Absadi and Samuʾel, among others, while a recent work of the Virgin Mary and Child hangs from the curtain rod between the first and second bays. The church possesses several ↗crosses, among them the 15th-cent. circular shafted cross and another one a gift of *ras* ↗Gugsa, as well as a collection of manuscripts which includes *Gädlä Kiros* and *Gädlä Absadi*; some loose leaves of an unknown text were reported and photographed by Otto Jäger.

Lit.: CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ – EMMANUEL FRITSCH, work report to the Centre Français d'Études Éthiopiennes, ms., Addis Ababa, February 2008; ROSITA FORBES, "Lalibala", *Geographical Journal* 66, 6, 1925, 507–18; EMMANUEL FRITSCH, "The Altar in the Ethiopian Church: History, Forms and Meanings", in: BASILIUS J. GROEN et al. (eds.), *Inquiries into Eastern Christian Worship: Selected Papers of the Second International Congress of the Society of Oriental Liturgies, Rome, 17–21 September 2008*, Leuven 2009 (Eastern Christian Studies 12), 443–510; EMMANUEL FRITSCH – MICHAEL GERVERS, "Pastophoria and Altars: Interaction in Ethiopian Liturgy and Church Architecture", *Aethiopica* 10, 2007, 7–51, here 14, 41f.; HuntGeogr 167f.; OTTO JÄGER – LISELOTTE DEININGER-ENGLHART, "Some Notes on Illumination of Manuscripts in Ethiopia", *RSE* 17, 1961, 45–60, here 49; KinBibl 61; CLAUDE LEPAGE – JACQUES MERCIER, "Une église lalibelienne: Zoz Amba", *AE* 18, 2002, 149–54; ROGER SAUTER, "Où en est notre connaissance des églises rupestres d'Éthiopie?", *ibid.* 5, 1963, 235–92, here 237f., 241, 258; RAINER MAUTZ, "12°N 38°E", *Degree Confluence Project* 22 March 2004 (*http://www.confluence.org/confluence.php?visitid=8354*, last access: 29 September 2011).

Michael Gervers – Ewa Balicka-Witakowska – Emmanuel Fritsch

Zula

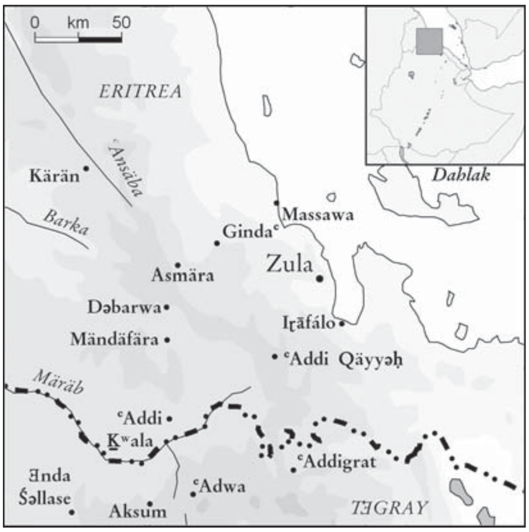
Z. (ዙላ, Sāho: Zolá; 15° 15' N, 39° 40') is one of the old historical villages on the ↗Red Sea coast of Eritrea. It is located on the coastal plain of the Gulf of Z. (also Z. Bay; Bay of Adulis, also known as Annesley Bay [cp. SalTrav map], or Gulf of ↗Iʈāfálo) about 50 km south of the port of ↗Massawa, on the northern edge of the Ḥaddas River. The Gulf of Z. is famous because of its antique port of ↗Adulis. The ruins of Adulis are found north of the Ḥaddas, the village Z. to the south.

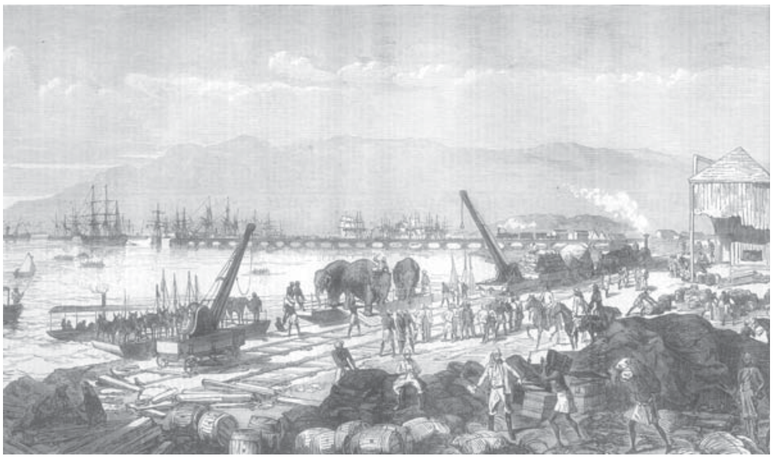
The coast of Z. is the traditional grazing area of the ↗Asaorta (Morin 1999: 88; PollEr 269–71) as well as the ↗Minifire. The first immigrants from the Arabian Peninsula settled in Z. and Iʈāfálo before they migrated to the highland plateaus of ↗Eritrea and ↗Təgray. Archaeological research shows Z.'s importance as an outlet for ↗trade between the Arab peninsula and the Eritrean and Ethiopian hinterland via ↗Akkälä Guzay since at least the third cent. B.C. The oral tradition of the ↗Sāho still refers to the importance of this ancient site (KilHDic 42f.).

The Sāho called the area of Z. *ᶜado láy* ('clear water'), which is related to "Azuli" (Tgr.) and to the port's name "Adulis", used by the Greeks, Roman-Egyptians, and Byzantines (ᶜUṯmān Ṣāliḥ Sabī 1974: 41f.). Today several villages in the Southern Region near ↗ᶜAddi Q̲äyyəḥ still use the name ᶜAdo Lāy. This also appears in the name of one of Massawa's ancient ruling families, the ᶜAdūlāy, tracing their place of origin to Z. (Miran 2009: 124).

During both the domination of the Turks (↗Ottoman Empire; cp. also ↗Ḥabeš *eyaleti*) and under the Egyptian *ḫidīw* ↗Ismāᶜīl, the area of Z. remained under the centralized authority of *ᶜad šayḫ* Muḥammad Zabībī of the Bet Ḥalīfa.

In 1859 *däǧǧazmač* ↗Nəguśe Wäldä Mikaʾel offered Z. and the coast to the French without having factual authority over it. Thereafter France claimed authority over Z. without ever





Port of Zula in 1867/68, established by the Napier Expedition; from *The London Illustrated News*, 21 March 1868

having established a post there (RubActa II, 89).

On 20 May 1866 the Ottoman Empire left the port of Massawa to the Egyptians, who then occupied the port of Z. (cp. MunStud 172) in order to prevent the import of arms to Ethiopia (cp. also ↗Egyptian-Ethiopian war; PankEcon 16). The British in their confrontation with *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II (↗Napier expedition) used Z. as the main station for logistical supply on their way into the Ethiopian highlands (PankEcon 287). The Italians occupied Z. in 1887 (cp. ↗Massawa Governorate) using the region as a springboard for further inland encroachment (Italian ↗colonialism). The affiliation of many of the Asaorta, Đasamó and Dabrimēla with the *Ḫatmīya* led to their refusal to join the ↗Mahdists (Morin 1999: 84); furthermore raids from the highlands and Massawa made the Asaorta, as well as other Sāho groups such as the Idda, Ṭarūᶜá and Gaᶜasó look for protection from the Italians.

After the death of Muḥammad Zabībī in 1902 and following protracted tensions, the clans living in Z. split, despite their common Sāho ancestry. Each clan established its own chief. The most important clan of Z. is the Bet Šek Maḥmūd. During the Italian administration its head was *šayḫ* Muḥammad Ḥamīd Muḥammad Yaḥyā, and later *šayḫ* Maḥmūd Ḥamīd. In addition to the Bet Šek Maḥmūd, Z., which is divided into Big Z. and ᶜAfta, is inhabited by the Bet Qadi, Bet Ḫalīfa, and the Bet Tawkal (MuhTarih 320f; Ciruzzi et al 2002: 202–09). They claim distant origin in the Arabian Peninsula and see themselves vested with varying degrees of religious status. Until today Bet Ḫalīfa has continuously provided religious teachers and *šayḫs* in the area and is known as a branch of the *Malḥīná miᶜimbará* clans (the seven holy clans) of the Sāho. However, the Bet Tawkal and Bet Qadi affiliated themselves with ↗Tǝgre-speaking groups in the Sämhar region.

Src.: Il Parlamento, *L'Africa Italiana al Parlamento Nazionale, Riassunto 1882–1905*, Roma 1907; MunStud 172; RubActa II, 89; PollEr 269–71; SalTrav, map.

Lit.: Sara Ciruzzi et al., "Missione Eritrea, 1905–1906. Diario di Aldobrandino Mochi", *Archivio per l'Antropologia e la Etnologia* 132, 2002, 3-252; Giotto Dainelli – Olinto Marinelli, *Risultati scientifici di un viaggio nella Colonia Eritrea*, Firenze 1912; KilHDic 42f.; *The London Illustrated News*, 21 March 1868 (ill.); Jonathan Miran, *Red Sea Citizens. Cosmopolitan Society and Cultural Change in Massawa*, Bloomington, IN 2009, 124f.; MuhTarih 320f.; Didier Morin, *Le texte légitime, pratiques littéraires orales traditionnelles en Afrique du nord-est*, Paris 1999, 84, 88; Dante Odorizzi, *Il Commissariato regionale di Massaua al 1° gennaio 1910*, Asmara 1911, 217–20; PankEcon 16, 287 ; ᶜUṯmān Ṣāliḥ Sabī, *Tāʾriḫ Iritrīya* ('The History of Eritrea'), Bayrūt 1974; Massimo Zaccaria (ed.), *Le note del commissario Teobaldo Folchi e i cenni storico-amministrativi sul Commissariato di Massaua* (*1898*), Milano 2009, 210–44, s. index.

Abdulkader Saleh Mohammad

Zuramba

The monastery of Z. (**ዙራምባ**, also Zur Abba, Zor Amba; 2,855 m A.S.L.) is located on an ↗*amba* in the South Gondär zone, in the district of ↗Gayǝnt, ca. 20 km to the west of Näfas Mäwč̣a and 57 km east of Däbrä Tabor, close to the village of Sälli. The *amba* is only accessible from the east, other slopes being vertical drops (AmhChurchD vol. 4, 208).

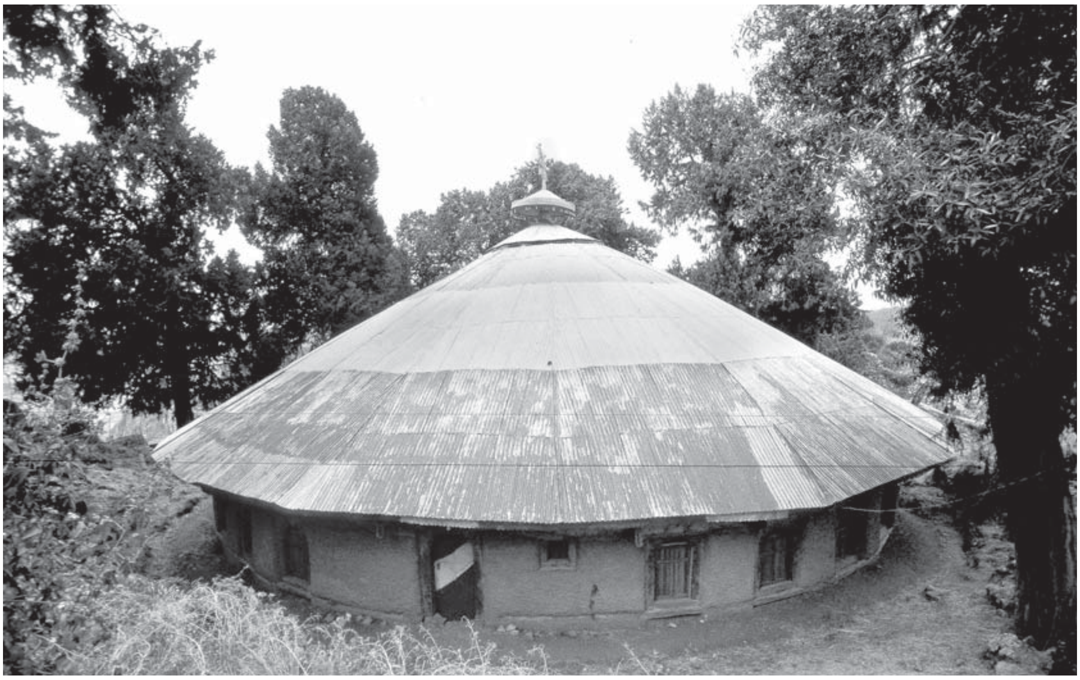
According to tradition, the monastery was founded during the reign of the Aksumite king *aṣe* ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl by *abunä* ↗Zämikaʾel Arägawi, who was ordered in a vision to found a church on a mountain similar to that of ↗Däbrä Damo. The tradition explains the etymology of the name by tracing it back to the advice the Saint received from an angel (or St. ↗Yared) on how to reach the mountain top: **ዙር ፡ አባ ፡ መንገለ ፡ ምሥራቅ** (*Zur abba mängälä mǝśraq*, '*Abba*, go round to the east') or ዙር ፡ አምባ (*Zur amba*, 'go round the *amba*-mountain'). A different tradition tells that Z. was founded by Gäbrä Mäsqäl, Zämikaʾel Arägawi and Yared following the establishment of the monastery of ↗Ṭana Qirqos. Another version claims that the monastery was founded by St. Yared who had already stayed and taught there for three years before Zämikaʾel Arägawi joined him as his student (Siraq Asnaqe 1994). In his time at Z., Yared is believed to have composed ↗*zəmmare* and ↗*mäwaśəʾət*, two of his five liturgical chants. Z. has still the most important ↗*zema bet*, and priests wishing to teach *zəmmare* and *mäwaśəʾət* must complete their traditional *zema* ↗education at Z. (AmhChurchD vol. 4, 208).

Legends report that during the war with *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī some buildings at Z. were destroyed. The monks offered gifts to the *imām* in order to restore peace. Under *aṣe* ↗Śärṣa Dəngəl the monastery was rebuilt, allegedly after the plea of the abbot of Däbrä Damo, *abba* Ləbbawi Krəstos, who personally supervised the renovation (Siraq Asnaqe 1994: 20).

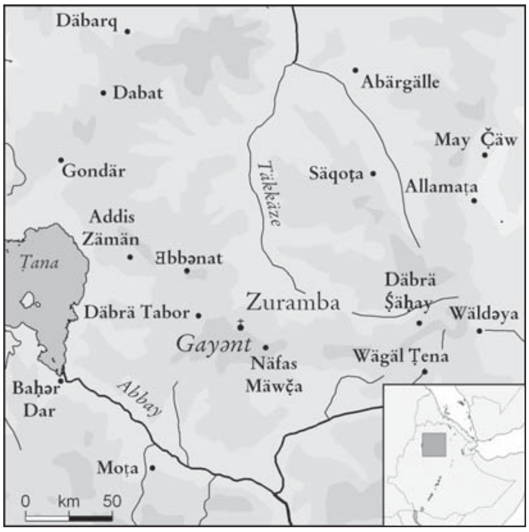
The monastery received considerable attention from Ethiopian rulers, obtaining land and financial support from *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, Śärṣa Dəngəl and ↗Iyasu I (CrumLand 87). Iyasu even gave lands as far away as Fenṭaro and Dəbba, on the shore of Lake Ṭana, to Z. (ibid. 83). In 1857, when *aṣe* ↗Tewodros marched to Koreb to capture the rebel ↗Amäde Bäšir, he used Z. as his camp, twice that year.

The main church of Z. monastery is Zur Abba Arägawi Ṣərḥa Aryam; its ↗*tabot* is dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The present church building with its well-preserved inner roof can be dated to the 17th cent., but some elements in the central part may date back to the 16th cent. The walls of the ↗*mäqdäs* are decorated with ↗paintings on canvas in the style of the Second Gondärine School, executed in several phases during the 18th cent. They display the pictorial programme typical of this period, with many scenes strongly influenced by European (Jesuit) models (Marx in PICES 14, 215; Mercier 2004: 46). The paintings may have been originally ordered by *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa who is represented on the western wall close to the Virgin and Child. One of the painters, known as Häzgel, is known to have also illuminated the 18th-cent. manuscripts BritLib Orient. 790 and 791 (Mercier 2004: 46). Inside the sanctuary, behind the *mänbärä tabot*, there is a 16th-cent. painting showing Mary flanked by two archangels and St. ↗George of Lydda and St. Basilides (↗Equestrian saints).

The church preserves a fine collection of ↗manuscripts, among them a richly decorated



Church dedicated to Mary and St. Zämikaʾel Arägawi, 16th–18th cent.; photo 2005, courtesy of Michael Gervers



↗*Gädlä sämaʿətat*, a ↗*Śənä fəṭrät* and two illuminated copies of the ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam*, one dating to the 17th cent. (s. ill. EAE vol. 4, 795ab), the other, most probably locally illustrated between the 19th and 20th cent. The manuscripts of the *Tarikä nägäśt* ('History of the Kings') and the monastery's "Golden Gospel" (↗*Wängelä wärq*) preserve several of the land grants donated to Z. (s. CrumLand 37, 58).

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il libro delle leggende e tradizioni abissine dell'ecciaghié Filpòs", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 26, 1917, 699–718, here 715; ZanLitTheod 30, 32, 34, 42.

Lit.: AmhChurchD vol. 1, 298ff.; vol. 4, 208, 228f.; **አምስቱ ፡ ጸዋትወ ፡ ዜማዎች** (*Amməstu ṣäwatəwä zemawočč*, 'The Five Categories of Chant'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1966/67 A.D.], introduction; HabTent 102–07; ANNEGRET MARX, "Indigo, Smalt, Ultramarine – a Change of Blue Paints in Traditional Ethiopian Church Paintings in the 19th Century Sets a Benchmark for Dating", in: *PICES* 14, vol. 1, 215–32, here 215f.; JACQUES MERCIER, *Vierges d'Éthiopie*, Montpellier 2004, 46; SerHist 162, 166; SIRAQ ASNAQE, "Gründungsgeschichte des Klosters Zuraba Areggawi Tsirha Aryam", *Kirche und Schule in Äthiopien* 46, 1994, 18–21; **የቅዱስ ፡ ያሬድ ፡ ታሪክና ፡ የዜማው ፡ ምልክቶች** (*Yäqəddus Yared tarikənna yäzemaw mələkkətočč*, 'The History of St. Yared and Signs for his Chants'), Addis Abäba 1959 A.M. [1967 A.D.], 49-51; **ያሬድና ፡ ዜማው** (*Yaredənna zemaw*, 'Yared and his Chant'), Addis Abäba 1981 A.M. [1988/89 A.D.], 33.

Abreham Adugna

Zʷay

Z. (**ዝዋይ**) is (1) the name of the northernmost lake of the ↗Rift Valley and (2) a town on its south-western shores on the main road from ↗Addis Abäba to ↗Šašämänne (for location s. map for Zay).

Zʷay town

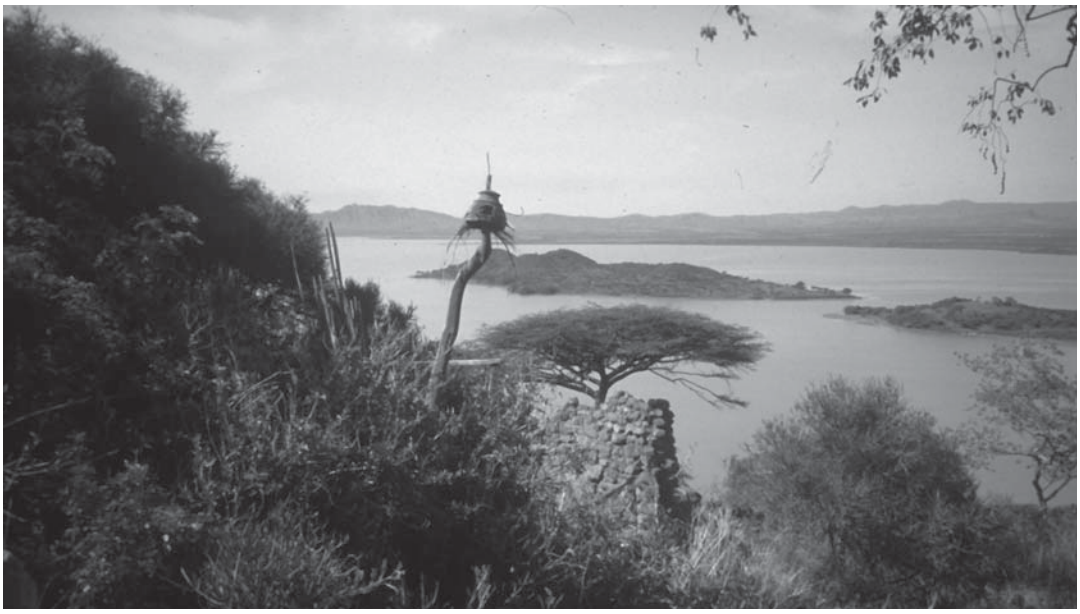
Z. town (7°56' N, 38°43' E, 1,643 m A.S.L.) is a multi-ethnic urban settlement in today's Oromiyaa Regional State (Adamii Tulluu-Ǧido Kombolča *wäräda*; ↗Adamii Tulluu s. EAE vol. 5) with a population of 43,610 in 2007 (CSA 2007). Amhara, Oromo, Gurage and Səlṭe are the predominant ethnic groups among the population (Meyer – Richter 2003: 119).

The town of Z. was founded at the end of the 1950s by a certain *däǧǧazmač* Wärqu [Ǝnqu] Śəllase (Meyer 2001: 318). Previously, the area around the town was a marginal market place where ↗Oromo, ↗Səlṭi, Kəstane (↗Soddo) and ↗Zay exchanged woven textiles and finger millet beer for butter, milk, crops, cattle and cotton (cf. VSAe II, 661). Formerly the place was known by its Oromo designation *Baatu* ('campaign') or *Hoora Dambal* ('Lake Dämbäl'), or as *Haǧǧitti*, i.e. the name of an old woman who is said to have once lived there.

During the reign of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I the church of Kidanä Məḥrät was built at Z. (Meyer 2001: 318). In 1962 Z. became the *wäräda* centre of the ↗Hayqočč-Butaǧira *awraǧǧa* (Braukämper 1980: 369). The establishment of administrative offices in Z. resulted in a rapid growth of small-scale industries, such as bakeries, hotels, restaurants, fuel stations, garages, etc. In addition, a government high-school and several non-government schools (e.g., the Salesian Centre Don Bosco in 1986), a health post and an orphanage were established. Z. town hosts a state prison and a caustic soda factory. After the administrative re-organization in 1991 Z. lost its administrative status but continues to grow. The economy of the town is characterized by fishing and horticulture. Recently, four flower farms and two horticulture farms were established in the vicinity of Z.

Lake Zʷay

The freshwater Lake Z. (Orom. *Laaqii Dambal* or ↗*Dämbäl Mäqi*) is 25 km long, 20 km wide and has a maximum depth of 4 metres. The surface area of the lake is approximately 434 km^2 (MesfAtlas^2 78). The River ↗Mäqi from the Gurage highlands and the River Katar from the Arsi plateau feed the lake and form large deltas covered with ↗papyrus (s. EAE vol. 5) and *ambač* (*Aeschynomene elaphroxylon*). The River ↗Bulbula in the south of the lake drains water towards Lake ↗Abyata (Henze 1973: 76f.). Lake Z. is known for its large population of birds and ↗hippopotamuses. Since



View from the eastern hill of Tulluu Guddoo towards the remains of the old monastery and the islands Fundurro (middle) and Ṣädeča; photo 1999, courtesy of the author

the end of the 1950s Lake Z. supports a steadily growing commercial fishing industry. The fish potential of the lake is gradually declining due to overfishing. The most common fish is *Tilapia Nilotica* but there are also *Barbus* and catfish species (Tesfaye Edetto 1988:17ff.). While *Tilapia Nilotica* and *Barbus* are endemic to the lake, catfish was recently brought from Lake ↗Abbayya.

Lake Z. and its five islands are of volcanic origin, as indicated by tuff stone and hot springs on the islands (VSAe II, 648). The south-western islands ↗Däbrä Sina (Amh. also Dəngəl Maryam) and ↗Gälila (Amh. also Täklä Haymanot) are very close to Z. town. Uninhabited from 1972 onwards (Henze 1989:35; Tesfaye 1988:7), since the end of 1990s Gälila now hosts three families. Tulluu Guddoo (Orom. 'big mountain'; Amh. Ṣəyon Maryam) is the largest of the south-eastern islands, which is characterized by two distinctive summits of more than 600 m in height, linked by a broad valley (cf. Henze 1973:76). Today, approximately 1,200 people live in the three major settlements, Durmäğa, Obborubär and Mäsno, around the eastern summit called Wäyzäro (cf. Henze 1989:36; Meyer 2001:319ff.; but cp. Wedekind – Wedekind 1994 for a much lower estimation of population). Islamge, the western summit, with its former village Gumarge has been uninhabited since the 1970s (VSAe II, 659f.; Henze 1989:35). Ṣädeča (also Ṭädeča, from Orom. *dhaddacha*, 'acacia'; Zay: Aysut; Amh. Abräham), situated to the north of Tulluu Guddoo, is smaller in size but hosts approximately 2,000 people due to a more fertile soil. The smallest of the south-eastern islands is ↗Funduro (from Orom. *fula dura*, 'in front of'; Zay: Famat; Amh.: Getäsämani or Arba^{c}ətu Ǝnsəsa) with less than 150 people. The Oromo names for the south-eastern islands were already used at the beginning of the 20th cent. (cf. Cohen 1931:78ff.). Every island has a church with its own *tabot* which also serves as a name for the island (s. above, Henze 1973:78f.; Meyer 2001:319ff.).

Src.: interviews in the Z^{w}ay area in 1998/99 (cf. Meyer 2001:326f.); CSA 2007; Tesfaye Edetto, *Socio-economic Life of the Zay with Special Emphasis on the Fishing Industry*, B.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 1988, passim; Marcel Cohen, *Études d'Éthiopien méridional*, Paris 1931 (Société Asiatique. Collection d'ouvrages orientaux); MesfAtlas^{2} 78.

Lit.: Paul B. Henze, "Lake Zway and its Islands", *EthObs* 16, 2, 1973, 76–88; Id., "Lake Zway – Southern Christian Outpost and Repository of Medieval Ethiopian Art", in: *PICEA* 1, 30–40; Ronny Meyer, "Zay – Traditions of a Christian People in the Heart of Ethiopia", *Hristianskij Vostok* 2, 2001, 317–28; Id. – Renate Richter, *Language Use in Ethiopia from a Network Perspective. Results of a Sociolinguistic Survey Conducted among High School Students*, Frankfurt am Main et al. 2003; Klaus Wedekind – Charlotte Wedekind, "Initial SLLE Survey of the Zway Area", *S.L.L.E. Linguistic Reports* 14, 1994 [revised version in SIL electronic survey report 63, 2002]; VSAe II, 661, 648, 659f.

Ronny Meyer

Supplementa

A

Abärra Ğämbäre

A.Ğ. (**አበራ ፡ ጀምበሬ**, b. 2 September 1928, Adaᵓa, d. 23 March 2004, Stockholm) was a high-ranking public servant, author and scholar of law and legal history.

As a child, A.Ğ. received a basic traditional education from his maternal grandfather, a ↗*däbtära*, and at various churches in Addis Abäba. During the Italian occupation he was selected to join the Opera Nazionale Balilla (a Fascist youth organization) but his mother Mäᶜaza Baḥru hid him, fearing that he would be taken away to Italy. In 1941, his father Ğämbäre Nurəlləññ, a civil servant who had divorced from his mother, was assigned to Ğimma where A.Ğ. joined the Miyazya 27 School. Starting from the following year, he attended Täfäri Mäkʷännən School in Addis Abäba. He completed secondary level at the age of 19 and continued his education by attending diverse evening classes for many years. In 1962 he obtained a B.A. degree in public administration, and in 1967 a Bachelor of Laws, both from Haile Selassie I University.

Abärra Ğämbäre (left) and Ḥusayn Aḥmad during the 15th ICES in Hamburg; photo 2003, courtesy of the Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian Studies, University of Hamburg

A.Ğ.'s first job in 1947 was as junior clerk in the archives section of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's private secretariat. In June 1949 A.Ğ. became Executive Secretary of the revived Ethiopia Boy Scout Association and under him many new Boy Scout and Girl Guide troops were formed within a short period. In January 1954 A.Ğ. was appointed Secretary General of the head office of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church. He then also served as Director of the ↗Red Cross Society. Thanks to his excellent performance the Emperor appointed him deputy administrator of the Haile Selassie I Foundation.

After ten years service as Secretary General of the Council of Ministers' Secretariat, A.Ğ. was appointed Minister of State in charge of legal and parliamentary affairs, in the Prime Minister's Office. This position, which he held until 1974, led to his eight-year imprisonment by the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) which A.Ğ. faithfully documented in his book *Agony in the Grand Palace, 1974–1982* (2002).

After his release in 1982, he was re-employed in government service as advisor to the Minister of Law and Justice and member of the national *šängo* (↗Parliament). He also resumed his social commitment to organizations, such as the Red Cross and the Rotary Club.

A.Ğ. began researching on Ethiopian legal history and from 1984 taught at ↗Addis Ababa University. Supported by scholarships at the African Studies Centre in Leiden and Erasmus University of Rotterdam he obtained a Ph.D. in Law in 1998 (publ. 2000). He was extraordinarily productive as an author of scholarly, literary and biographical works (s. bibliography in Abbink 2004).

A.Ğ. died while he was undergoing medical treatment in Sweden. His funeral at ↗Qəddəst Śəllase Cathedral of Addis Abäba was attended by several thousand people.

Src.: Abärra Ğämbäre [Aberra Jembere], **የኢትዮጵያ ፡ ሃገረ ፡ ተስፋ** (*Yäᵓityoṗya hagärä täsfa*, 'Ethiopia Land of

Hope’), Addis Abäba 1953 A.M. [1960 A.D.]; ID. [ABERRA JEMBERE], *An Introduction to the Legal History of Ethiopia, 1434–1974*, Münster 2000; ID., *Agony in the Grand Palace 1974–1982*, Addis Ababa 2002; ID., **ድርሳነ ፡ ሕይወቴ** (*Dərsanä ḥəywäte*, ‘Story of my Life’), Addis Ababa 2009. **Lit.**: JON ABBINK, “In memoriam Aberra Jembere (1928–2004)”, *Aethiopica* 7, 2004, 189–93 (Lit.).

Asfaw Damte

Abärra Kaśa Ḫaylu

Däǧǧazmač A. (**አበራ ፡ ካሣ ፡ ኀይሉ**; b. 1896/97, Fəčče, d. 21 December 1936, Fəčče) was an Ethiopian patriot (↗Resistance). He was the son of *ras* ↗Kaśa Ḫaylu, the older brother of ↗Asfa Wäsän Kaśa Ḫaylu and the son-in-law of *ras* ↗Śəyyum Mängäša, to whose daughter, ↗Käbbädäčč Śəyyum, he was married.

In 1936 A. participated in the battles of ↗May Č̣äw and ↗Tämben (↗Italian War 1935–36), where, despite his young age, he earned fame as a vigorous leader (MockWar 156). Upon the defeat of the Ethiopian troops, A. went with his brother Asfa Wäsän to organize guerrilla resistance in northern Šäwa; A. went to the area of ↗Sälale, where he had been governor, and his brother to ↗Bägemdər.

Abärra Kaśa Ḫaylu during a visit in Europe; photo ca. 1924, from the private collection of Asfa-Wossen Asserate

On 29 July 1936 the two brothers were the leaders of the patriots who attempted to attack the Italian forces in ↗Addis Abäba. Since the plan did not materialize due to logistic difficulties and poor communication among the patriotic leaders, the two retreated to Sälale where they joined forces.

The Italians consecutively tried to convince the two brothers to surrender peacefully. Rumours started spreading that they had surrendered to the Italians, which was aimed at weakening the other fighters’ moral. Through the intervention of *ras* ↗Mäsfən Sələši, their cousin, A. abandoned plans to surrender and kept his position in Sälale. Yet, after an exchange of letters between A. and General Tracchia (Salome Gebre-Egziabeher in PICES 3, 301), the two brothers finally submitted themselves to General ↗Graziani after being reassured by the Italians that their lives, as well as those of their followers, would be spared after peaceful submission. This proved to be a fatal mistake. After A. and Asfa Wäsän surrendered on 12 December 1936, they were subsequently killed by the Italians and their bodies publicly displayed in their hometown ↗Fəčče.

A.’s wife Käbbädäčč continued the resistance in the area in the spirit of her husband. She rose to prominence leading an armed militia of her own (Seltene Seyoum 1994: 53), between 1937–38, before she fled with her children to Jerusalem via Sudan.

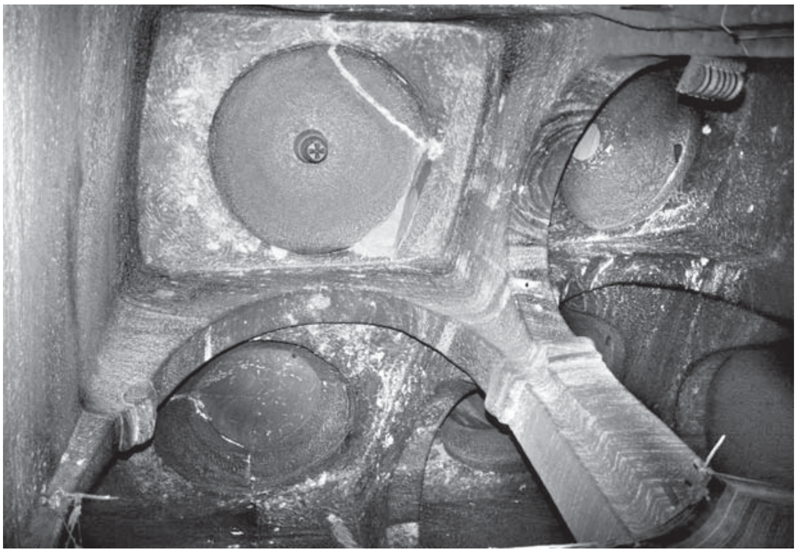
Lit.: ABEBECH AFEWORK, *A Biography of Däjjazmach Abärra Kassa 1906-1936*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1973, passim; FanTarik 422f.; MockWar 104, 156–62, 388; SALOME GEBRE-EGZIABEHER, “The Patriotic Works of Dejazmatch Aberra Kassa and Ras Abebe Aragaye”, in: *PICES* 3, vol. 1, 293–314; SELTENE SEYOUM, “A History of Ethiopian Women and the Resistance”, *Research Report to the Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern Africa* (*OSSREA*), Addis Abäba 1994, 52–56.

Alexander Meckelburg

Abba Yoḥanni

A.Y. (**አባ ፡ ዮሐኒ**, also Däbrä ᶜAśa, coordinates may be 13°41'30"N, 38°56'35"E) is a monastic site and a ↗rock-hewn church in Qʷälla ↗Tämben, Təgray, near the ᶜAbiy ᶜAddi–ᶜAdwa road (for location s. ᶜAddäqäḥarsi P̣äraqliṭos, EAE vol. 5). According to a local tradition, the monastic community was founded by the hermit *abba* ↗Yoḥanni in the time of the 15th-cent.

aṣe ↗Yəsḥaq; the place had, however, been known long before for "hermits who dwelled there as numerous as the fish" (Lepage – Mercier 2005: 164) – an association which supposedly gave the massif out of which it is hewn the name Däbrä ᶜAśa ('Mountain of Fish'). The Acts of Yoḥanni (who, if he is to be identified with the metropolitan Yoḥannəs, lived in the 14th cent.), too, mention the earlier presence of hermits on the site. The first mention of A.Y. is in the Life of the mid-14th-cent. saint ↗Aron of Däbrä Daret (ed. Turaiev 1905: 133). The monastic community is still active; ca. 20 monks and hermits live in the caves and huts in the vicinity of the monastery.



North aisle and nave ceilings of the church of Abba Yoḥanni; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers

The variegated sandstone, three-aisled hall church has four bays and exhibits all the characteristics of 15th-cent. rock-cut architecture: high, flat ceilings with cupolas throughout (height: 6.5–8.6 m, some with a central boss ending in a relief cross), tall and slender cruciform pillars connected by arches, negligible capitals, an open, full-width sanctuary with a flat east wall and three monolithic altars (the central one being over 2.5 m high), and no chancel step. The interior measures ca. 16 x 11 m. Entrance is through a tunnel which descends into the north side of the second bay. A rock fall largely demolished the central and south sections of the westernmost bay, necessitating the construction in the 1950s of a plastered stone wall as the west façade (Gerster 1970: 870). It is pierced by two portals which give onto a ledge, and three small windows. Bay two is narrow compared to the rest. Parts of it are now sectioned off on the east side by heavy cotton curtains, suggesting that bay three had a liturgical affiliation with the sanctuary. The remains of a later, stone-constructed oven stand at the south end of this curtain wall between a pilaster and the south wall of bay three. Niches, large and small, are hewn out of the walls. The quality of the workmanship of the pillars improves from west to east. Six haloed figures, probably apostles, in low relief and linked by a sinusoidal line, decorate the space between the arch and cupola on the east side of the nave and north aisle of the second bay. Small, non-functional, painted wooden bracket "capitals" are attached at a height to some of the pillars. Holes in the cliff face to the north and south of the church indicate hermit dwellings.

The ↗*ᶜəqa bet*, constructed of stone, stands against the cliff on the north side.

There are at least three sets of wall ↗paintings in the church. The earliest, possibly dating from the 15th cent., has almost entirely disappeared. Some traces are visible under the second set which may be dated to the early 17th cent. They are partly preserved on three pillars and on the north wall of the first bay which was reworked when the western part of the church collapsed, and represent: martyrdom of Jacob (Intercisus, or the Apostle), the Archangel Raphael (accompanied by a ↗*sälam*), the saints: ↗Kiros (s. ill. in EAE vol. 3), Yoḥanni, ↗Täklä Haymanot and ↗Ewosṭatewos, Samuʾel (of Waldəbba?), ↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus, Abaydo (disciple of Yoḥanni), and 13 figures, labeled in the inscription as the 12 Apostles. Another inscription mentions the painter of this set, Giyorgis. The Crucifixion and the *Anastasis* on the western side of the central monolithic *mänbärä* ↗*tabot* are executed in the same style. The third set, painted in the late second ↗Gondärine style of paintings, represents the ↗Trinity, St. ↗George, St. ↗Mary with Child, Täklä Haymanot, Gäbrä

Mänfäs Qəddus and *abba* Yoḥanni with wings (an attribute recalling an event told in his Vita, s. ed. Basset 1885: 448).

On the north side of the southern altar a schematically treated figure said to be St. ↗Anthony is dated by Mercier to the 15th cent. (Lepage – Mercier 2005: 164ff.). A similar figure on the south side of the north altar is too worn to be recognizable. The north altar, currently in use, is surmounted by a relatively recent wooden cabinet and bears a large incised X-shaped cross on the west side.

The remnants of two tablet-woven, three-panel, brown cotton ↗*mägaräğa* (probably 19th cent.), decorated with motifs based on the cross, are integrated with plain weave of similar hues and suspended across the north aisle and nave between the second and third bays. The widest remaining fragment is 39 cm in width, the longest, 2.9 m long; originally, they would have measured up to 5 m in length and hung across the full width of the church, as at ↗Wäqen Gäbrəʾel today.

Gerster (GerKir^{2} 150) mentions a collection of crosses preserved in the church, among others three shafted ↗crosses, the oldest being of "Lalibäla" type.

Src.: René Basset, "Vie d'Abbâ Yohanni", *Bulletin de correspondance africaine* 3, 1884, 433–53; Boryssus Turaiev (ed., tr.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum II. Acta S. Aaronis et Philippi*, Lovanii 1908 (CSCO Aeth. II, 20 = CSCO 30, 31 [SAe 13, 14]), 111–58 (text) = 99–153 (tr.), here 133 (text) = 120 (tr.).

Lit.: David Buxton, "The Rock-Hewn and other Medieval Churches of Tigré Province", *Archaeologia* 103, 1971, 33–100, here 64f., pl. 30a–c, fig. 22; Emmanuel Fritsch – Michael Gervers, "Pastophoria and Altars: Interaction in Ethiopian Liturgy and Church Architecture", *Aethiopica* 10, 2007, 7–51, here 16, figs. D, 15, 18; Georg Gerster, "Searching out Medieval Churches in Ethiopia's Wilds", *National Geographic Magazine* 138, 6, 1970, 856–84, here 870, 882f.; Michael Gervers, "The Tablet-woven Hangings of Tigré (Ethiopia): from History to Symmetry", *The Burlington Magazine* 146, 2004, 588–601, here 591f., 597, and figs xi.6 to xi.9; KapMon 78, 133; GerKir^{2} 149f., figs. 219–24; Martha Henze, "Tablet-woven Curtains from Ethiopia: New Light on a Puzzling Group of Textiles", *The Textile Museum Journal* 1999–2000, 84–100, here 95; Claude Lepage – Jacques Mercier, *Ethiopian Art*: *The Ancient Churches of Tigray*, Paris 2005, 164–67; Antonio Mordini, "L'église rupestre de Woqro-Maryâm", *L'Éthiopie d'aujourd'hui* November–December 1962, 27–34, here 27; Ruth Plant, *Architecture of the Tigre, Ethiopia,* Worcester 1985, 156f.; Roger Sauter, "Où en est notre connaissance des églises rupestres d'Éthiopie", *AE* 5, 1963, 235–92, here 258 no. 16b; Id., "Églises rupestres au Tigré", *ibid.* 10, 1976, 157–75, here no. 1616.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska – Michael Gervers

ᶜAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Hararī

Šayḫ ᶜA. (ᶜAbdallāh al-Hararī; b. 1910 [?], Harär, d. September 2008, Beirut) was a prominent Muslim leader in Ethiopia and beyond, a religious scholar and the founder of the international Association of Islamic Charitable Projects, also known under the designation al-Aḥbāš.

He received an Islamic education in different parts of Ethiopia and grew to be a firm believer in Islamic-Christian co-existence. Between 1941 and 1948 he became involved in the struggle over the leadership of ↗Harär's Islamic community which revolved around two issues: (1) in 1941 a group of Harari-Islamic nationalists re-established a local modern school in the spirit of Wāhhabī fundamentalism. A few months later, the Ethiopian authorities closed the school and sent those involved either to prison or into exile. (2) Between 1946 and 1948 the same Islamic nationalist circles in Harär collaborated with the Somali nationalist movement which planned to secede Harär from Ethiopia and annex it to Somalia. Also this plan was baffled by the Ethiopian authorities and its leaders were punished. In both cases, the defeated group accused *šayḫ* ᶜA. of being instrumental in helping the Ethiopian establishment. *Šayḫ* ᶜA. and his followers continue to deny any anti-Islamic collaboration, pointing to the fact that in 1948 ᶜA. himself was suspected by the Ethiopian imperial regime, jailed for a time, and then forced to leave the country.

After leaving Ethiopia, *šayḫ* ᶜA. spent some time in Mecca and, in late 1948, in Jerusalem from where he moved to Damascus. In 1950 he moved to Beirut where he resided until his death. In 1983 he inherited the leadership of a local Islamic association and gradually turned it into an international movement called Association of Islamic Charitable Projects. By that time he had gained fame as a thinker, author – he had published some 20 books –, a *muftī,* and a preacher. His main message remained the one that he had brought from Ethiopia and was centrally relevant to the Lebanon, that of Islamic-Christian co-existence. He soon won the indirect support of the Lebanese Christian establishment and various Islamic publics as well as the support of the Syrian government. The Association flourished in the Lebanon. It has issued a monthly, *Manār al-Hudā*, since 1992, and has had its own radio station, *Nidāʾ al-maᶜrifa*, since 1998. Its members are very active on the internet and have websites that spread the word of *šayḫ* ᶜA. and his polemics with their rivals. Its messages, always based on moderate interpretations of Sunnī Islam, often provoked its rivals among local fundamentalists and the global Wāhhabī circles.

The worldwide Lebanese diaspora helped the Association of Islamic Charitable Projects to become a transnational association in the 1980s. Its main centre in Europe is in Germany, and active branches spread throughout most of Western Europe. The association also has branches in Indonesia, Malaysia, India, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Syria, Jordan, Egypt, Canada, Switzerland, France, Ukraine, The Netherlands, Sweden, Australia, and the USA. They are also active in Africa, notably in Nigeria and Ghana, where they try to create a bridge between local Muslims and those of the Middle Eastern core. By the end of the 1990s, the Association of Islamic Charitable Projects had become one of the best organized transnational Islamic associations in non-Islamic countries, claiming nearly a quarter of a million members. The movement is composed of Muslims from various other ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. The number of Ethiopian members is not known, but there are not many. For his followers ᶜA. is one of the greatest-ever scholars of Islam, and they refer to him with such titles as *al-imām al-muḥaddiṯ*, or *muḥaddiṯ al-ᶜaṣr*, namely the leader of *ḥadiṯ* scholarship and the *ḥadiṯ* scholar of our time. ᶜA. himself took pride in his all-Islamic and allegedly Arab background but at the same time, he also took full pride in his Ethiopian identity. He returned to Ethiopia three times, in 1969, 1995, and 2003. It is also apparent that his many followers identify him with what Ethiopia symbolizes for the more moderate Muslims, an Islam, capable of co-existing with the Christian "other".

Src.: DANIEL NASSIF, "Dossier: Al-Ahbash", *Middle East Intelligence Bulletin* 3, 4, April 2001 (*http://www.meforum.org/meib/articles/0104_ld1.htm*; last access 14 June 2013).

Lit.: HAGGAI ERLICH, *Ethiopia and Saudi Arabia: Christianity, Islam, and Politics Entwined*, Boulder, CO – London 2007, ch. 3; HARSI MUḤAMMAD HAYLULA, *Muḫtaṣar al-ᶜaqīda al-sunnĭya li-l-ᶜallāma ᶜAbdallāh al-Hararī* (' Summary of the Sunnī Creed by the very learned ᶜAbdallāh al-Hararī'), Malaysia n.d.; NIZAR HAMZA – R. HRAIR DEKMEJIAN, "A Sufi Response to Political Islamism: Al-Ahbash of Lebanon", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 28, 1996, 217–29; MUSTAFA KABHA – HAGGAI ERLICH, "Ahbash and the Wahhabiyya: Interpretations of Islam", *ibid.* 38, 2006, 519–38.

Haggai Erlich

ᶜAbiyy Abbäbä

ᶜAbiyy Abbäbä wearing the uniform of a Lieutenant-General of the Ethiopian army; photo from the late 1950s, courtesy of the family

Lieutenant-General ᶜA.A. (**ዐቢይ ፡ አበበ**; also **ዐብይ ፡ አበበ**, ᶜAbəyy Abbäbä); b. 21 July 1916 Addis Abäba; d. 23 November 1974 Addis Abäba) was a high ranking politician and official serving in various positions in the government of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I.

ᶜA.A. was the son of *liqä mäkʷas* Abbäbä Aṭnaf Sägäd, who died in the battle of ↗Sägäle, and *wäyzäro* Bərqənäš Bäšah. He attended the ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I Secondary School and later trained at ↗Holäta Military Academy.

ᶜA.A. took part in the Battle of ↗May Č̣äw and was active in the ↗resistance movement against the Italian occupation until the Emperor called upon him to join him in exile. He thus left Ethiopia for Sudan and proceeded to Britain in June 1938.

On 26 April 1942 ᶜA.A. married the daughter of the Emperor, ↗Ṣ́äḥay Ḫaylä Śəllase, who died shortly after. ᶜA.A. was then married Amaräčč Näsibu, the daughter of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Näsibu

Zäᵓamanuᵓel, but divorced in 1966; in 1970 he married *wäyzäro* Ṣəge ᶜAynᶜaläm.

ᶜA.A. served as a second lieutenant until 1941 and then as chamberlain of the Emperor until 1941, when he became governor-general of ↗Wälläga, 1942–43. He then served as commander of the 1st Army in 1943, Minister of War from 1943 to 1946, Acting Minister of War and Commander of the 1st Army from 1946 to 1948, Vice-Minister of War from 1948 to 1949, Acting Minister of War from 1949 to 1952 and Minister of War from 1952 to 1955.

When ᶜA.A.'s supporter *ṣäḥafe təᵓəzaz* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Wäldä Yoḥannəs fell from grace in April 1955, because of his too modernist leanings, ᶜA.A. was sent as ambassador to France. From 1957 to 1959 he was Minister of Justice and from 1959 acted as the last ↗*əndärase* in Eritrea until Eritrean autonomy was abolished in 1962.

In December 1960 ᶜA.A. played a decisive role in restoring the authority of Ḫaylä Śəllase I during the ↗Coup d'état of 1960 (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081f.). Responding to the underlying causes of the failed coup attempt, ᶜA.A. together with ↗ᶜAśratä Kaśa, Märᶜəd Mängäša, ↗Täᵓammərat Yəggäzu and ↗Gərmaččäw Täklä Ḥawaryat formed a group, later known as the "Stolypinists", and worked out an aide-mémoire for Ḫaylä Śəllase, advocating reforms. It called, among other things, for the election of the Prime Minister by the ↗parliament, a comprehensive ↗land reform and extensive autonomy of the provinces. As a result, ᶜA.A. was sidelined by Ḫaylä Śəllase and made President of the Senate, a largely ceremonial post, which he held from 1963 to March 1974.

ᶜA.A. was then made Minister of Defence between March and 28 July 1974, although, prior to this, he had been designated Prime Minister by the Emperor. Shortly after, he was arrested in his residence and, together with other officials, shot by members of the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) on 23 November 1974.

Src.: interviews with ᶜAbiyy Abbäbä's sons Solomon and ᶜAbiyye II and the daughter Phoebe Abiyye; ASFA-WOSSEN ASSERATE, *Ein Prinz aus dem Hause David und warum er in Deutschland blieb*, Frankfurt am Main 2007, 143f.

Lit.: ClapHS 194, s. index; FanTarik 429; RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia*: *A New Political History*, London 1965, s. index; HSLife II 40, 119, 157; MockWar 388, s. index.

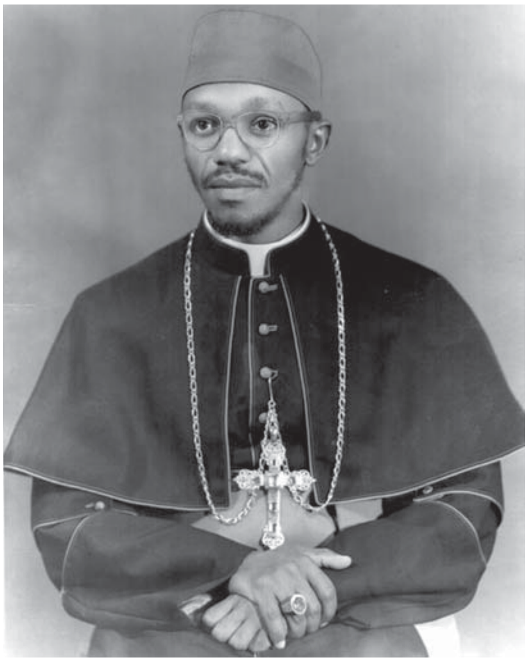
Rudolf Agstner

Abraha François

Abba A. (**አብራሃ**; b. 2 April 1918, Asmära, d. 26 March 2000, Rome) was a Catholic bishop. His father was *blatta* François Hasän, a descendant of a noble Sudanese family, and his mother, Śəllas Abba Simbo from Käfa, was a former slave rescued by the Italians in ᶜAsäb.

A. was orphaned at the age of two, when his parents died of an epidemic of anthrax (1919–20). In 1931, he entered the seminary in ↗Kärän and in the following year he was sent for further education to the ↗Vatican. On 28 May 1941 he earned a doctorate in philosophy with a dissertation entitled *Anthropologia Agostiniana* and five years later he received a doctorate in Theology from Pontifical Urbaniana University. A. attended courses in medicine and studied sacred music with the aim of applying the European notation system to Gəᶜəz hymnody. On 2 March 1944 he was ordained priest and, on 27 March 1946, on completion of his studies, he left the Collegio Etiopico (↗Santo Stefano dei Mori).

Upon his return home, A. was appointed teacher at the Seminary, first in Addis Abäba, then back in Rome along with a group of Ethiopian seminarians. Following bishop ↗Yaᶜəqob Gäbrä Iyäsus's turbulent replacement from the Exarchate of Asmära on 14 February 1956, A. was nominated Vicar Delegate. On 8 October 1961, he was consecrated bishop and first Eparch of



Abraha François on the day of his episcopal consecration, 8 October 1951; photo by "Foto Eritrea", courtesy of the archive of the Cistercian Fathers of Asmära

Asmära, at Kidanä Məḥrät Cathedral by bishops ↗Ḫaylä Maryam Kahsay and ᶜAśratä Maryam Yämərru (Mojoli 1973: 78, 177).

Well travelled and with a keen interest in African countries, A. knew perfectly Italian, English, French, as well as Gəᶜəz and Latin. Alongside his pastoral duties, he was a permanent member of the staff at the Theological Institute in Asmära where he taught Philosophy and Theology for more than 20 years. He was also dedicated to ↗education and under his tenure around 70 elementary schools were opened in various places in Eritrea.

A. was a fervent champion of the Oriental identity of the Ethiopian Church and especially of the Gəᶜəz Rite and promoted inter-religious dialogue. He participated in the Second Vatican Council (1962–65). Politically engaged, he denounced the massacres and abuses against un-armed civilians committed by the Ethiopian army. He openly protested after the assassination of 120 innocent civilians who had taken refuge in the mosque of Bəskədira on 30 November 1970, and the following day of 714 people massacred in ᶜOna. A. resigned from his office on 17 July 1984. He died in Rome after a long illness and was buried in Asmära.

Src.: FRANÇOIS ABRAHA [FRANCESCO ABRAHA], "La liturgia etiopica", in: *Alma Socia Christi. Acta Congressus Mariologici-mariani Romae anno sancti MCML Celebrati*, vol. VI, fasc. I: *De B.V. Maria et SS.ma Eucharistia*, Roma 1952, 90–93; ID., "Etiopia Cristiana", *Selezione Missionaria* (Asmära) 10, 3, 1953; ID., "Psicologia religiosa del cristiano etiopico", *QSE* 1, 1980, 17–22; KƎBRÄ AB SÄᶜAD, **ገድለ ፡ ሕይወት ፡ ብፁእ ፡ አቡነ ፡ አብርሃ ፡ ፍራንሷ** (*Gädli ḥəywät bəṣ́uᵓ abunä Abrəha Fəransʷa*, 'Life Struggle of Blessed Abunä Abraha François'), Frankfurt 2010; GIUSEPPE MOJOLI, *La Chiesa in Etiopia*: *note e ricordi di un nunzio*, Roma 1973, 78, 177, 306; Città del Vaticano, Pontificio Collegio Etiopico, Registro degli Alunni, no. 39.

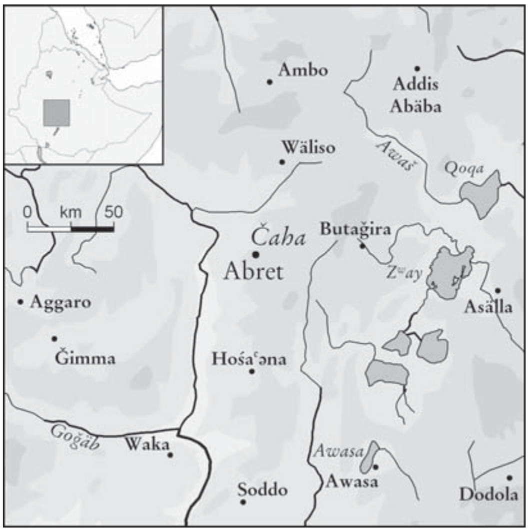
Lit.: *Bərhan* [monthly newspaper published by Cistercian monks], *Yäkkatit–Mäggabit* 1992 A.M. [= February–April 2010 A.D.], special issue, 1–4; TEDROS ABRAHA, "Remembering Abunä Yaᶜəqob Gäbräyäsus (1889–1969)", *Aethiopica* 11, 2008, 206–09.

Tedros Abraha

Abret

A. (**አብሬት**, also Yabret) is the name of a village in the ↗Čaha district of ↗Gurage and a centre of traditional mystical ↗Islam (s. also ↗Islamic brotherhoods) which played a crucial role in the spread and strengthening of the religion in southern Central Ethiopia.

The historical roots of the ↗*zāwiya* of A. may be found in the first half of the 19th cent. during the early phase of Islamization and Islamic revitalism in the region which reached its apex in the 1880s. The predecessor of the A. tradition was *sayyid* Ibrāhīm, a son of the highpriest of the Gurage thunder spirit ↗Božžä, *gʷetakʷəyä* ('lord of the spirit representatives') Sərgʷariye from the Ǝntežära clan of Ǝnor (s. ↗Ǝnnämor). According to legend, already in his childhood he opposed the Gurage traditional ↗religion (s. also ↗Waq, ↗Dämʷamʷit). As a youngster he converted to Islam, leaving the office of *gʷetakʷəyä* to his younger brother. He joined Muslim teachers in Ayand (Čaha) and Qonnät (Gʸeta [s. ↗Geto]). *Sayyid* Ibrāhīm was never able to gather a larger following (oral informants). He is commemorated as a *wäliye* ('holy man') and designated as *yäqubba abba* [or *gʷeta*] ('owner/father [or 'lord'] of the grave') after his mausoleum (s. below; oral informants).



The founder of the *zāwiya* of A. was *sayyid* Bušrā (also Bušura, Šamsaddīn al-Abretiy, b. 1877, Ǝnangära, d. 1919, A.), the son of *sayyid* Ibrāhīm and Aseyat. After the death of his father he grew up with the supporters of *damo* Hamdeno of Gʸeta, who had converted to Islam voluntarily during the *ğihād* of ↗Ḥasän Ǝnğamo, and was able to protect him from the still strong non-Muslim branch of the Ǝntežära clan. After having studied with different ᶜ*ulamā*ᵓ in western Gurage, *sayyid* Bušrā completed his Islamic education in ↗Wäläne, went into retreat in Ğimma and then spent three years in Dana (Wällo) for further studies under *šayḫ* Šihabaddīn Aḥmad until he was given the title of ↗*ḫalīfa* of the Qādirīya order (oral informants; Nuredin Delil 2007: 20; Mubarek Muzew Muhammad 2010: 26). Back in

The minaret and the *ḥaḍra* of Abret; photo 2010, courtesy of the author

Gurageland he first taught in the small mosque of *šayḫ* ᶜAli in A. The Čaha warriors Umär Färda and Ğewhar Ganč̣ena, against the will of the *gʷetakʷəyä*, built a mosque near Ǝnangära, but after *šayḫ* ᶜAli's death *sayyid* Bušrā bought the *šayḫ*'s land in A. and established the *zāwiya* there. For those Gurage converted to Islam, the *šayḫ* of A. was now able to take over the central position held before by the *gʷetakʷəyä*, i.e. receiving voluntary gifts during annual feasts (Božžä cult: *nəpʷär*, A.: *mawlid*) in exchange for spiritual protection. Moreover, the *šayḫ* acted as a charismatic healer and diviner. An ordeal in which *sayyid* Bušrā had to drink snake venom without being harmed was interpreted as proof that he still had the power of a *gʷetakʷəyä*. Thus, he was given the leading role in the assembly of the *Säbat bet* Gurage in ↗Yäğoka which was before led by the highpriest of Božžä (oral informants; Mubarek Muzew Muhammad 2010: 15ff., 30f.; ShGurage 191–94, Shack is wrong in stating that it was Budallāh who drank the venom).

Sayyid Bušrā's time, after the defeat of the *ğihād* in 1889, was characterized by the establishment of Ethiopian rule and Orthodox Christianity in the region. This was paralleled, however, by an increase in the number and quality of local *ᶜulamāʾ*, a further spread of Islam, and an intensification of trans-regional Islamic networks. A. had a very active role in this development. Additional to the connection to Dana, e.g., *sayyid* Bušrā established close relations with *sulṭān* ↗Abbaa Ğifaar II of Ğimma. He encouraged the copying and collecting of Islamic books in A. and himself authored Arabic manuscripts, such as *al-Asrār as-Sāriya* ('Travelling Secrets') and a collection of five ↗*Manzuma* (Mubarek Muzew Muhammad 2010: 39).

The fame of A. reached its peak under *sayyid* Budallāh (Budälla, also called Abretiye, Abba Ramuz [after his son Ramuz], *yabret getočč* or *šayḫočč*, b. 1907, Yəsfa-Aṭaṭ, Ǝža, d. 20 April 1978 [?]). He was the eldest son of *sayyid* Bušrā and Abida *šayḫ* Saᶜīd. *Sayyid* Budallāh received his Islamic education in Azäkäre (Gʸeta) and other places in Gurage country. His father died when Budallāh was still young. One year later, however, he began to take on his father's role.

Sayyid Budallāh received an advanced Islamic education in Dana and, thereupon, was acknowledged as Qādirīya *ḫalīfa*. However, Abretiye was also open to influence from the Tiğanīya brotherhood, due to his family's good relation with Ğimma and his second wife being a daughter of *sulṭān* ↗Abbaa Ğoobir (ShGurage 193f.). His wide knowledge, creativity and spiritual inspiration are documented by Arabic manuscripts and printed texts from his hand, such as the *Šawāhid* ('Things Witnessed'), the *Misbaḥa* ('Rosary'), the *Matḥaf* ('Precious Gift', the biography of his father) and a collection of diverse texts, *Mağmūᶜa* (Mubarek Muzew Muhammad 2010; Nuredin Delil 2007).

Beside, and probably beyond, *šayḫ* ᶜIsa of ↗Qatbäre, with whose following his own supporters competed, *sayyid* Budallāh became the most influential Islamic leader in southern Central

Ethiopia. Among his followers he was considered a living saint and a great healer. Moreover, curative power was ascribed even to soil from A., especially when taken from the tracks of the *šayḫočč* or his white mule (oral informants; cp. ShGurage 193f.).

The court in A., where *sayyid* Budallāh judged according to the ↗*šarīᶜa* and ↗customary law (*[y]ägurage qiç̣ç̣a*), was not only frequented by Muslims but also by Christians and adherents of Gurage religion. Thus, for all Gurage Abretiye fully attained and even enhanced the spiritual prestige and political importance inherited from the priestly lineage of the Božžä spirit. Like his father, he also led the Yäǧoka assembly.

During the Italian occupation *sayyid* Budallāh was acknowledged as official *qāḍī* of the Gurage and opened an office in ↗Wälqiṭe. He was then also engaged in the negotiations with the British Sudanese liberation army in Gurage with whom he communicated in Arabic. During the reign of Ḫaylä Śəllase I Abretiye was able to further develop his central position. He was invited by the Emperor on several occasions and is even said to have been his adviser is some matters. He is especially remembered for his mediation between the central authorities and the many outlaws active in the region. Thanks to frequent donations from his followers Abretiye and his family were able to accumulate considerable wealth which was partially redistributed. He bought additional land from Amhara ↗*mälkäñña* around A. and had three houses in Addis Abäba. In 1970 he undertook the *ḥaǧǧ* (oral informants; Shack – Habte Mariam Marcos 1974: 129, nn. 6, 7; Hasselblatt 1979: 60).

After the Revolution, in 1974, *sayyid* Budallāh was harassed by ↗*zämäča* students who accused him of being a feudal lord (Hasselblatt 1979: 67). Four years later, during the Red Terror, the *šayḫočč*, his son Ḥamza Saᶜīd and his driver were abducted by *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) officers. The regime never admitted to having killed Abretiye and many of his followers until today refuse to believe in his death (oral informants).

The *zāwiya* of A. can be described as a little "town". It has had its own electric generator at least since the 1960s and consists of the small mosque of *sayyid* Bušra, a large *ḥadra* mosque, the house of Abretiye, now used as a kind of shrine or museum, and hundreds of dwellings (*ḫalwa*) for pilgrims and residents grouped around an open field with a separate minaret, donated by Ḫaylä Śəllase, in its midst (s. ill.). Another place of pilgrimage is the mausoleum of *sayyid* Ibrāhīm and the surrounding graveyard of the *ᶜulamāʾ* of A. in Qubba, Ǝnangära, constructed in a unique style by *sayyid* Budallāh (Bustorf, in preparation).

Today, A. continues to be an important centre of Islam in the region, the *mawlid* in the Month of *Rağab* attracting hundreds of thousands of participants yearly. Many followers, especially Gurage, Səlṭe (↗Səlṭi) and ↗Oromo, stay in A. during ↗*Ramaḍān* or the great Islamic ↗feasts. A considerable group of mystics lives permanently in and around the *zāwiya*. It is administered by the sons of *sayyid* Budallāh and his closest senior followers. The *gʷetakʷəyä* branch of the Ǝntežära clan maintains the shrine of Božžä in Ǝnangära until today.

Src.: interviews in Gʸeta with *šayḫ* Abdulḫani *šayḫ* Muḥammad Sabir, 27 November 2010, Wərča; *siti* Muhazaba Saᶜīd *sayyid* Budallāh and *ḥaǧǧī* Šifa Yūsuf, 29 November 2010, Qäbul; *šayḫ* Saʾad ᶜAbdallāh, 30 November 2010, Qonnät; interview in Čaha with *ḥaǧǧī* Nūru *sayyid* Budallāh, 15 and 16 December 2010, Abret; *šayḫ* Umär Bäšər, **ጥሮና ፡ የኢትዮጵያ ፡ ቀደምትና ፡ ታላላቅ ፡ ኡለማዎች ፡ ታሪክ ፡ የወለኔ ፡ ሸክ ፡ የተጻፈ** (*Ṭərona. Yäʾityop̣ya qädämtənna talallaq ulämawočč tarik, Yäwäläne šäk yätäṣafä*, 'Ṭərona. The History of the Ethiopian Earlier and Great [Islamic] Scholars, Written down by the *šayḫ* of Wäläne'), ed. by Abdulfetah Abdällah, Addis Abäba 1998 A.M. [2005 A.D.].

Lit.: BrHad 188f.; Dirk Bustorf, *Lebendige Überlieferung*: *Geschichte und Erinnerung der muslimischen Silt'e Äthiopiens*, Wiesbaden (AeF 74), 140, 247 n. 15, 254, 313, 326 n. 3; Id., "Spatial Representations of Sacredness and Power among the Gurage", in: Andreu Martínez – Paul Lane (eds.), *Architectures of Power in the Horn of Africa* (in preparation); Gunnar Hasselblatt, *Äthiopien. Menschen, Kirchen, Kulturen*, Stuttgart 1979, 58–62, 64, 67; Mubarek Muzew Muhammad, *The Contribution of the Shaykh of Abret* (*Said Budella*) *to the Development of Arabic Literature in Gurage Zone*, M.A. thesis, Department of Philology, Addis Ababa University 2010; Nureddin Delil, *The Life and Works of the Shaykh of Abret* (*1908–1978*): *with Special Reference to his Arabic Manuscripts*, M.A. thesis, Department of Philology, Addis Ababa University 2007; ShGurage 191–94; William A. Shack – Habte Mariam Marcos, *Gods and Heros*: *Oral Traditions of the Gurage of Ethiopia*, Oxford 1974, 128–33.

Dirk Bustorf

Abū Bakr

Kūšam A.B. (ابو بكر; d. ca. 1530, Däwaro) was an ↗*amīr* and horseman, married to the sister of *sulṭān* ↗Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Āzar of ↗ᶜAdal.

During the conflict between ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ") and the ↗Walašmaᶜ *sulṭān*, A.B. sided with his brother-in-law, taking over the command over his troops while the *sulṭān* campaigned in the Somali territory. When the two armies met at Zaᶜka (ᶜAdal), A.B. fled with his comrades to ↗Harär. There, Aḥmad Grañ besieged A.B. for a period of time, finally defeating him during a sortie at Šamanǧūd. This series of events took place between 1520 and 1525 and enabled Aḥmad Grañ's entry into Harär.

Subsequently, A.B. seems to have changed allegiance, as in 1528 he is listed as a follower of Aḥmad Grañ. In the Muslim campaign against ↗Ifat – still before the beginning of the ↗*ǧihād* proper – A.B. was wounded by the renegade Wāšū ᶜUṯmān and only narrowly escaped death. He recovered quickly enough to participate in the battle at ↗Šəmbəra Kʷəre in March 1529 and later raids.

During the first combats in ↗Däwaro, A.B., accompanied by four warriors, left his unit and met a Christian troop in a valley. His companions fled the numerically much superior enemy; A.B. chose to confront the adversaries on his own and was killed. He was buried in Däwaro.

Despite his initial enmity to Aḥmad Grañ, A.B. is portrayed in ᶜArabfaqīh's ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* as a pious, ascetic and religious warrior and a staunch defender of ↗Islam. According to this source, A.B. prayed to God that he could die in the *ǧihād*; an angel of death appeared to A.B. during the Battle of Šəmbəra Kʷəre and announced that his request would be granted; during his final fight, A.B. called out to God to grant him the grace of ↗martyrdom.

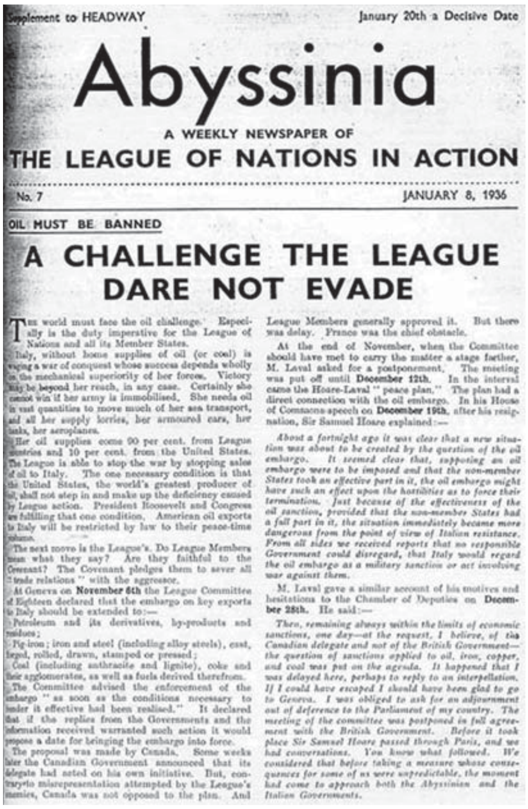
Src.: BassHist I, 10f., 26f., 39, 47f., 65f. (text) = II, 23f., 60, 62, 91, 105f., 133f. (tr.); ŠIHĀBADDĪN AḤMAD B. ᶜABDALQĀDIR ᶜARABFAQĪH, *Tuḥfat az-zāman aw Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* ('Rarity of Time, or, the Conquest of Ethiopia'), ed. by FAHĪM MUḤAMMAD ŠALTŪT, Cairo 1394 H. [1974 A. D.], 12f., 29f., 44, 53f., 74f.

Franz-Christoph Muth

Abyssinia

A. was a short-lived weekly publication produced in Great Britain by the ↗League of Nations Union, an influential internationalist association set up in 1920. The publication, which ran from 20 November 1935 to 11 March 1936, at the height of international excitement generated by Italy's invasion of Ethiopia (↗Italian war 1935–36), was founded to support League of Nations sanctions, and appeared as a supplement to the Union's longer-established journal *Headway*.

A. had a weekly circulation of 90,000 copies. Despite its title it published little about Ethiopia, but concentrated on the latter's relationship with the League, demanding the extension of sanctions to include oil, and opposing the ↗Hoare-Laval plan.



Supplement to HEADWAY
January 20th a Decisive Date

Abyssinia

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF
THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN ACTION

No. 7
JANUARY 8, 1936

OIL MUST BE BANNED

A CHALLENGE THE LEAGUE
DARE NOT EVADE

THE world must face the oil challenge. Especially is the duty imperative for the League of Nations and all its Member States.

Italy, without home supplies of oil (or coal) is waging a war of conquest whose success depends wholly on the mechanical superiority of her forces. Victory may be beyond her reach, in any case. Certainly she cannot win if her army is immobilised. She needs oil in vast quantities to move much of her sea transport, and all her supply lorries, her armoured cars, her tanks, her aeroplanes.

Her oil supplies come 90 per cent. from League countries and 10 per cent. from the United States. The League is able to stop the war by stopping sales of oil to Italy. The one necessary condition is that the United States, the world's greatest producer of oil, shall not step in and make up the deficiency caused by League action. President Roosevelt and Congress are fulfilling that one condition. American oil exports to Italy will be restricted by law to their peace-time volume.

The next move is the League's. Do League Members mean what they say? Are they faithful to the Covenant? The Covenant pledges them to sever all "trade relations" with the aggressor.

At Geneva on **November 6th** the League Committee of Eighteen declared that the embargo on key exports to Italy should be extended to:—

Petroleum and its derivatives, by-products and residues;

Pig-iron; iron and steel (including alloy steels), cast, forged, rolled, drawn, stamped or pressed;

Coal (including anthracite and lignite), coke and their agglomerates, as well as fuels derived therefrom.

The Committee advised the enforcement of the embargo "as soon as the conditions necessary to render it effective had been realised." It declared that if the replies from the Governments and the information received warranted such action it would propose a date for bringing the embargo into force.

The proposal was made by Canada. Some weeks later the Canadian Government announced that its delegate had acted on his own initiative. But, contrary to misrepresentation attempted by the League's enemies, Canada was not opposed to the plan. And League Members generally approved it. But there was delay. France was the chief obstacle.

At the end of November, when the Committee should have met to carry the matter a stage farther, M. Laval asked for a postponement. The meeting was put off until **December 12th**. In the interval came the Hoare-Laval "peace plan." The plan had a direct connection with the oil embargo. In his House of Commons speech on **December 19th**, after his resignation, Sir Samuel Hoare explained:—

About a fortnight ago it was clear that a new situation was about to be created by the question of the oil embargo. It seemed clear that, supposing an oil embargo were to be imposed and that the non-member States took an effective part in it, the oil embargo might have such an effect upon the hostilities as to force their termination. Just because of the effectiveness of the oil sanction, provided that the non-member States had a full part in it, the situation immediately became more dangerous from the point of view of Italian resistance. From all sides we received reports that no responsible Government could disregard, that Italy would regard the oil embargo as a military sanction or act involving war against them.

M. Laval gave a similar account of his motives and hesitations to the Chamber of Deputies on **December 28th.** He said:—

Then, remaining always within the limits of economic sanctions, one day—at the request, I believe, of the Canadian delegate and not of the British Government—the question of sanctions applied to oil, iron, copper, and coal was put on the agenda. It happened that I was delayed here, perhaps to reply to an interpellation. If I could have escaped I should have been glad to go to Geneva. I was obliged to ask for an adjournment out of deference to the Parliament of my country. The meeting of the committee was postponed in full agreement with the British Government. Before it took place Sir Samuel Hoare passed through Paris, and we had conversations. You know what followed. We considered that before taking a measure whose consequences for some of us were unpredictable, the moment had come to approach both the Abyssinian and the Italian Governments.

Cover page of a 1936-issue of *Abyssinia*; from the collection of the author

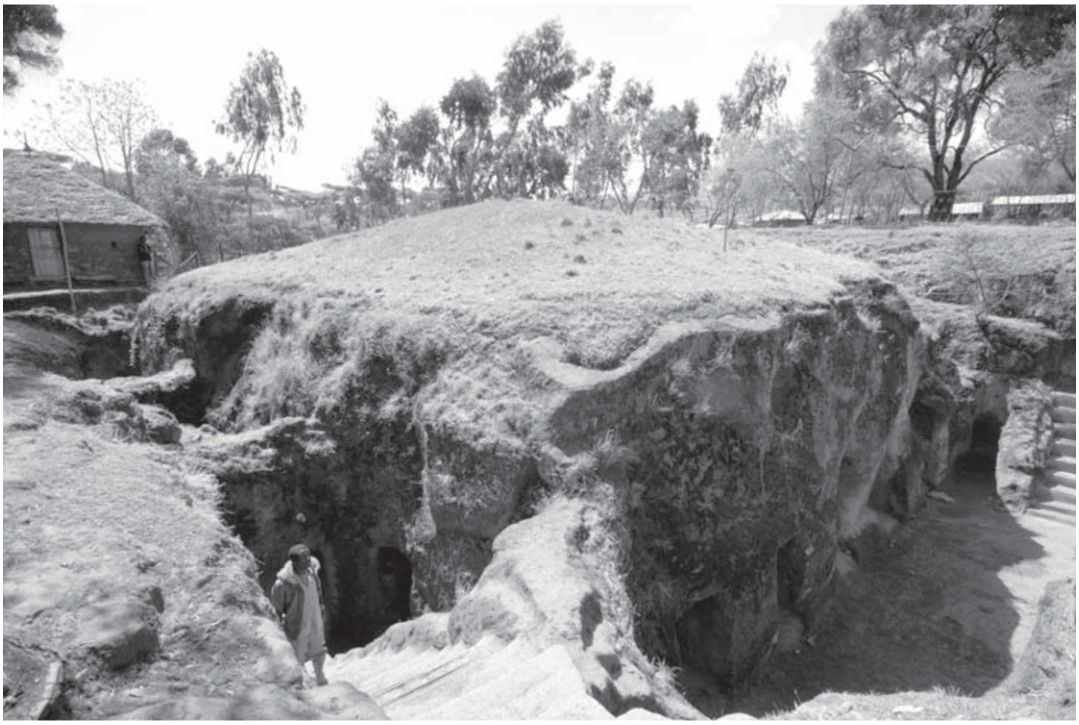
Lit.: RICHARD PANKHURST, "The Short-lived Newspaper *Abyssinia* (1935–1936): A Memory of the League of Nations", in: *VarAeth* 265–72; DANIEL WALEY, *British Public Opinion and the Abyssinian War 1935–1936,* London 1975, passim.

Richard Pankhurst

Adadi Maryam

A.M. (**አዳዲ ፡ ማርያም**, also known as Anfar Maryam; 8°31' N, 38°14' E) is a monolithic church in Soddo ↗Gurage, ↗Šäwa, situated about 65 km south-west of ↗Addis Abäba and 18 km north of ↗Mälka Qunṭure. It is one of the southernmost ↗rock-hewn churches of Ethiopia.

A.M. is an approximately square structure (19.5 x 16 m) with an external pillared ambulatory, encircled by narrow trenches (ca. 5 m deep) and linked at the corners with the mother rock by slightly curved buttresses. The eastern part of



Adadi Maryam; photo 2012, courtesy of Michael Gervers

the structure (about a third of the length of the monolith) has never been fully excavated.

The church is accessible from two sides. From the north, two stairways, eastern and western, lead by way of the trench and a passage between the pillars to the eastern and western parts of the ambulatory, respectively. From the north-west is a winding stepped ramp leading to the western courtyard, while from the south-west a modern rock-hewn stairway descends to the same.

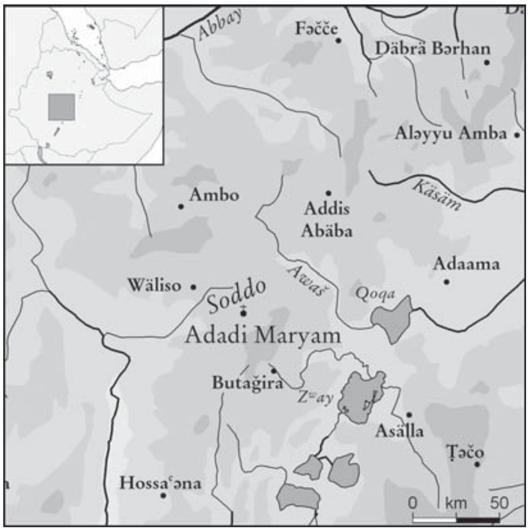
The western part of the ambulatory, wider than the three others (13 x 4 x 2.6 m), is used as the *qəne maḫlet* (↗Church buildings). The church has three entrances, from the south, north and west and the interior is divided into two rooms. The western room, relatively narrow (8 x 2.5 m), and lit by two western windows, one on each side of the door, serves as the *qəddəst*. The eastern room, separated from the western by two pillars and three wooden doors is used as the sanctuary (↗*mäqdäs*). It houses two monolithic altars and has two windows which open to the southern and northern parts of the ambulatory. Stone carvings, some imitating the architectonic elements, can only be seen on the ceilings in the *qəne maḫlet* (bands descending onto the pilasters), in the *qəddəst* (two large crosses) and in the *mäqdäs* (a small, shallow cupola).

The age of the church cannot be established with certainty. Local tradition ascribes the foundation to King ↗Lalibäla. The structure clearly postdates the ↗Lalibäla complex and might be connected with the movements of some monastic groups to the south at the end of the 14th and in the 15th cent. This assumption seems to be confirmed by the similarity of A.M.'s plan to the churches of ↗Ǝšätän Maryam (upper) and Qanqanit Mikaʾel near Lalibäla.

According to local priests, A.M. is mentioned in the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*ṭefut* as one of the several land grants (↗*gʷəlt*) given by *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob to ↗Amba Gəšän, and in the pseudo-historical narrative the *Zəkrä ṣadəq* kept in the Library of the Patriarchate.

Alvares records that the court of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl stopped at a rock-hewn church in 1523 which may have been A.M. (BeckHuntAlvar 397–401). An unpublished biography of *ras* ↗Gobäna Dač̣i (*Yäras Gobäna tarik*) credits the *ras* with building the church in 1876. This, however, must refer to the story that A.M. was filled up with earth and stones in the 16th cent. and uncovered in the 19th cent. (cp. Stitz 1975: 18, 24; Shinn – Ofcansky 2004: 346).

UNESCO lists A.M. as a world heritage site. A Swiss team conducted restoration works on the church in 1996–98.



Src.: François Azaïs – Robert Chambard, *Cinq années des recherches archéologiques en Éthiopie*, Paris 1931, 166–69, pl. 48, 49; *Guida* 547f.; Paul Mérab, *Impressions d'Éthiopie* (*L'Abyssinie sous Ménélik II*), vol. 2, Paris 1929, 199.
Lit.: Anon., "Die Schweiz restauriert eine Felsenkirche in Äthiopien", press release National Swiss UNESCO Commission, Bern, 20 January 1999; AmhChurchDic vol. 3, 148ff.; Francis Anfray, "Chronique archéologique (1960–1964)", *AE* 6, 1965, 3–48, here 13–16 (Guy Annequin, "Adadi Maryam [ou Anfar-Maryam] Choa"), figs. 3, 4, pls. XI–XIII; David Buxton, "The Christian Antiquities of Northern Ethiopia", *Archaeologia* 92, 1947, 1–42, here 33f., pl. XII cd; Id., *Travels in Ethiopia*, London 1949, 73ff., fig. 26; Louis Findlay, *The Monolithic Churches of Lalibela in Ethiopia*, Le Caire 1944, 29f.; Josef Jelen, "Adadi Maryam a Yekka Michael", *Nový Orient* 58, 6, 2003, 280–83; Claude Lepage, "Premières recherches sur les installations liturgiques des anciennes églises d'Éthiopie (X^{e}–XV^{e} siècles)", in: *Travaux de la recherche Coopérative sur Programme R.C.P. 230*, fasc. 3, Paris 1972, 77–114, here 103, fig. 19; Roger Sauter, "Où en est notre connaissance des églises rupestres d'Éthiopie", *AE* 5, 1963, 235–92, here 279; David Hamilton Shinn – Thomas P. Ofcansky (eds.), *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia*, Lanham, MD 2004, 346; Volker Stitz, "Distribution and Foundation of Churches in Ethiopia", *JES* 13, 1, 1975, 11–36.

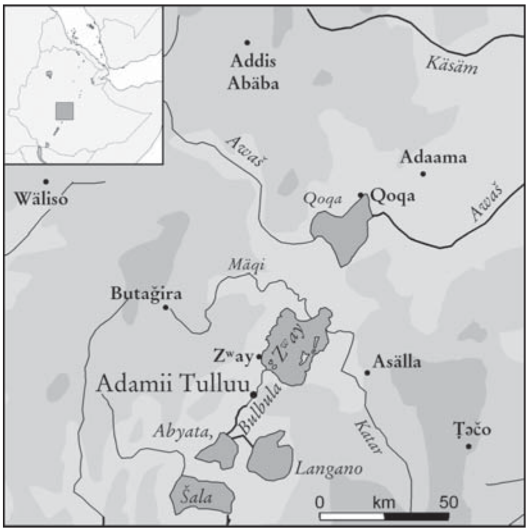
Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Adamii Tulluu

A.T. (Orom. '*Euphorbia* hill'; **አዳሚ ፡ ቱሉ**; 7°52' N, 38°42' E; 1,636 m A.S.L.) is a town approximately 15 km south of ↗Zʷay in the A.T.-Ğido Kombolča *wäräda* (Məsraq Šäwa Zone; Oromiyaa Regional State) on the all-weather road from Addis Abäba to Awasa. Today, A.T. has approximately 9,000 inhabitants (CSA 2007). The town is called A.T. after its most prominent landmark, a hill north of the town which is overgrown with ↗*Euphorbia candelabrum*.

A.T. was founded by the German farmer ↗Götz and his companion Hans Jannasch in 1904/05 after they were given land for farming in the ↗Arsi region by *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II (Bairu Tafla 1981: 164, 171). Götz first built his farm house at the top of the "*Euphorbia* hill" near his ostrich farm (Meyer 2001: 318). Soon afterwards, runaway slaves started to settle at the bottom of the hill (Zahn 1951: 159) and thus laid the foundations of the later town. In the 1920s, another companion of Götz, Hakim ↗Zahn, built a macadamized road from A.T. to the Moğo railway station to connect A.T. with the main line in central Ethiopia (Bairu Tafla 1981: 172; Zahn 1951: 171ff.). Since then, Götz's farm house in A.T. was used sporadically as a stop-over by European travellers and scientists.

A.T. expanded during the Italian occupation when it served as a fortress. Between 1964 and 1969 it functioned as the capital of the ↗Ḥayqočč-Butağira *awrağğa*. Today, one of Ethiopia's agricultural research centres is based in A.T. (Lindahl 2005; Fisseha Teshome Mengistu 2009: 92).



Src.: CSA 2007; Fisseha Teshome Mengistu, *Problems and Prospects of Farmers Training Centers: the Case of Adaʾa Woreda, East Shewa, Oromia Region*, M.Sc. thesis, Haramaya University 2009; *Guida* 555; Bernhard Lindahl, *Local History in Ethiopia*, 2005 [*www.nai.uu.se*; last access 22 February 2011].
Lit.: Bairu Tafla, *Ethiopia and Germany: Cultural, Political and Economic Relations 1871–1936*, Wiesbaden 1981 (AeF 5); Ronny Meyer, "Zay: Traditions of a Christian People in the Heart of Ethiopia", *Hristianskij Vostok* new ser. 2, 2001, 317–28; Walter Zahn, *Adami Tullu: Apothe-*

ker, Pionier und Zauberer im Lande des Negus, Stuttgart 1951, 159–216.

Ronny Meyer

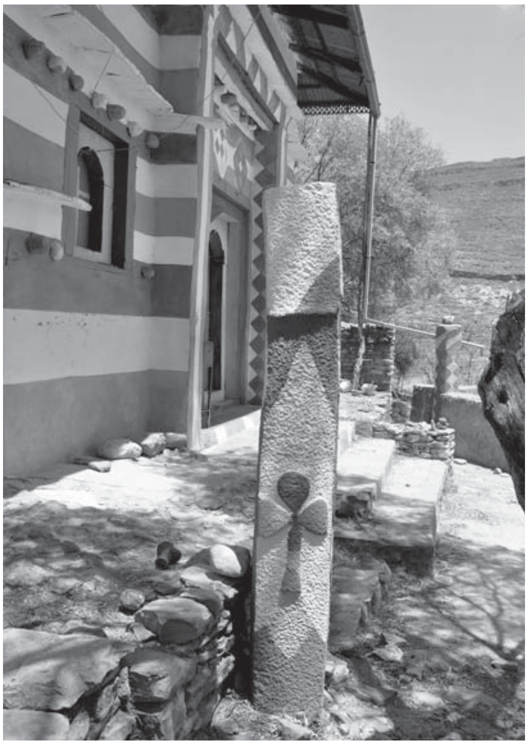
^{c}Addäqäḥarsi Ṗäraqliṭos

^{c}A.Ṗ. (**ዓደቀሓርሲ ፡ ጰራቅሊጦስ**, also ^{c}Addiqäḥarsi, ^{c}Addi Qäḥarsi) is an archaeological and religious site in the present day *wäräda* ↗Gulo Mäk̲äda, East Təgray. The site is located at half-way between the area of ↗^{c}Addigrat and ↗Däbrä Dammo; it was visited and briefly mentioned by Paul Henze in 2005 and 2007 (Henze 2011: 273ff.) and recorded in detail by Denis Nosnitsin in 2010 (s. Nosnitsin 2013: 3–15; also Ancel 2013: 91–105). ^{c}Addi Qäḥarsi may be a contraction of ^{c}Addi Däqqi Ḥarsi ('country/village of the children of Ḥarsi'); *Ṗäraqliṭos*, from Greek *Paráklētos*, means in Gə^{c}əz 'Holy Spirit'.

The site ^{c}A.Ṗ. preserves traces of ancient religious tradition. A sanctuary might have existed at ^{c}A.Ṗ. as early as in the first millennium B.C., as is illustrated by the presence of an Epigraphic South Arabian (Sabaean) ↗inscription there (Weninger 2007). Three stone pillars, ca. 2.5 m tall each, may be remains from the Aksumite period. Two pillars stand free at both sides of the podium on which the church building raises; the third pillar has been re-used in the gate-house doorway. One of the two free-standing pillars has an anthropomorphic relief on one side and a relief of the ↗cross on the other.

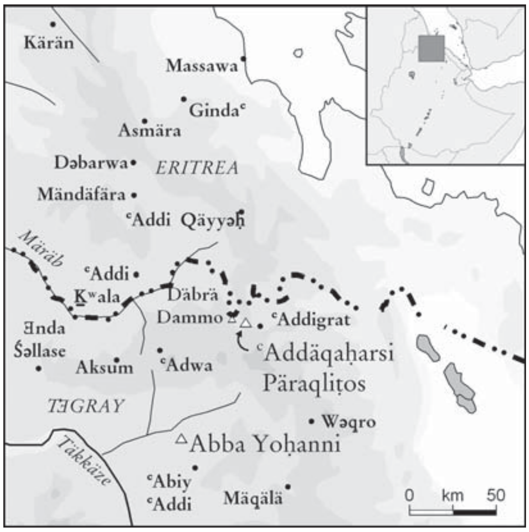
The church is called ^{c}Addäqäḥarsi Mäkanä Ḥəywät Ṗäraqliṭos. It is a big, relatively recent rectangular building in the traditional Təgrayan style, constructed on a podium. The large compound includes a number of older structures of different age, among them dwellings for priests, and a basin with the holy ↗*ṣäbäl*-water.

The dedication of the main *tabot* of the church is to the *Ṣadəqan zä-Ṗäraqliṭos* ('the Righteous ones of Ṗaraqliṭos'). These saints appear to be a previously unknown group of ↗*Ṣadəqan.* According to local tradition, there had been a pre-Christian sanctuary on the site; the *Ṣadəqan* arrived from Tiberias, evangelized the area and made the sanctuary a church under King Al^{c}ameda (↗Ǝllä ^{c}Amida). A conflict arose between the missionaries and the confessors of the old religion, "Jews"; the "Righteous Ones" and their partisans were martyred. A stone platform behind the church is believed to be the burial site of the *Ṣadəqan* (the place is considered sacred and is not accessible to women). The tradition about the *Ṣadəqan* is written down in their Acts, *Gädlä ṣadəqan zä-Ṗäraqliṭos*, a work of ↗Gə^{c}əz literature which has not been previously recorded or known. The oldest manuscript was completed in 1523, during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl, just three years after the site had been visited by the Portuguese embassy (s. BeckHuntAlvar chs. 42–44: "Paraqlitos"; cp. Ancel 2013: 91–105). There are some other indications that the church was re-established by Ləbnä Dəngəl; "Ṗäraqliṭos", now perceived by the local people as a part of the place name, might be a hint to the pre-16th-cent. dedication of the church.



Two pillars in front of the western entry of the church of ^{c}Addäqäḥarsi Ṗäraqliṭos (the front one decorated with a relief of the cross); photo 2010, courtesy of the author

^{c}A.Ṗ. does not feature in later sources, and it seems that the monastic community dissipated, even though the site was apparently favoured by the 19th/early 20th cent. rulers of ↗^{c}Agamä. Today, the church possesses an extensive manuscript collection, formed by several manuscripts of different age. Six mss. contain the *Gädlä ṣadəqan zä-Ṗäraqliṭos*. Beside the Acts, the hagiographic dossier of the local *Ṣadəqan* includes the miracles (↗*Täʾammər*) and a ↗*mälkə*^{c}-hymn. An entry in the local ↗*Sənkəssar* for 4 *Säne* is dedicated to the *Ṣadəqan*.



Src.: BeckHuntAlvar chs. 42–44, s. index; author's field notes; STEFAN WENINGER, "Aethiosabaeica minora", *Aethiopica* 10, 2007, 52–57.

Lit.: STÉPHANE ANCEL, "Historical Overview of the Church of ᶜAddiqäḥarsi Ṗaraqliṭos (Gulo Mäk̲äda): Site, Traditions, and Library", in: DENIS NOSNITSIN (ed.), *Ecclesiastic Landscape of North Ethiopia – Proceedings of the International Workshop.* Ecclesiastic Landscape of North Ethiopia: History, Change and Cultural Heritage. *Hamburg, July 15–16, 2011*, Wiesbaden 2013 (Aethiopica Supplement 2), 91–105; PAUL HENZE, "Exploring Unexcavated Aksumite and Pre-Aksumite Sites", in: STEFFEN WENIG (ed.), *Im Kaiserlichen Auftrag*: *Die Deutsche Aksum-Expedition 1906 unter Enno Littmann*, vol. 2: *Altertumskundliche Untersuchungen der DAE in Tigray* (*Äthiopien*), Wiesbaden 2011 (Forschungen zur Archäologie außereuropäischer Kulturen 3-2), 271–84, here 273ff.; ID., "Visits to Ethiopia, December 2006, February–March 2007", online ms. Washington, VA 23 March 2007; DENIS NOSNITSIN, *Churches and Monasteries of Təgray: A Survey of Manuscript Collections*, Wiesbaden 2013 (Aethiopica Supplement 1), 3–15.

Denis Nosnitsin

Addis Abäba Treaty of 1896

The A.A.T. was a treaty of peace between Ethiopia and Italy, signed after the Battle of ↗ᶜAdwa, recognizing Ethiopia's independence, her full sovereignty and Italy's possessions in Eritrea.

On the eve of the Battle of ᶜAdwa, relations between Ethiopia and Italy were already defined by the 2 May 1889-Treaty of Wəčale (↗Italo-Ethiopian Treaty of Friendship and Commerce), an ambiguous and disputed document. According to the Ethiopian interpretation, Ethiopia was recognized as a fully sovereign state, which accepted Eritrea as an Italian colony (↗Eritrea: Colonial history of Eritrea) beyond the line of the rivers ↗Märäb, ↗Bäläsa and May Muni. According to the Italian interpretation of the treaty, Ethiopia accepted that it was a de-facto protectorate of Italy.

The Italians' overwhelming defeat in ᶜAdwa on 1 March 1896 shattered their ambitious claims and dictated the need to redefine relations. Peace negotiations began ten days after the battle and were conducted in two stages. The first lasted ten days, beginning on 11 March. The Italian major Tommaso Salsa was sent to *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II's camp by General Antonio ↗Baldissera, first to oversee the proper burial of the dead and then to prepare the way for a new treaty. Mənilək, for his part, chose to end hostilities. Though some of his advisers supported crossing the Märäb and liberating Eritrea, the Emperor decided not to attack the Italians in their fortifications. His considerations included supply difficulties, the need to allow his huge army of peasant-soldiers to return to their farms, and, arguably, an interest in avoiding the reunification of the Təgrayans once Eritrea was re-annexed (he still doubted the loyalty of *ras* ↗Mängäša Yoḥannəs). Mənilək offered the Italians his acceptance of military disengagement, recognition of the Märäb-Bäläsa line, and the negotiation of a new treaty, annulling Wəčale, and based on full recognition of Ethiopian independence. While still in the Ethiopian camp, Major Salsa received Rome's instructions to offer negotiations based on the principle of Italian special status in Ethiopia. This angered Mənilək, who ordered that the Italian prisoners be marched to Addis Abäba, with Major Salsa as a hostage.

The second stage began on 23 August 1896 when Dr. Cesare ↗Nerazzini, the Italian negotiator, now in Addis Abäba, received instructions to accept Mənilək's conditions. Thus, the A.A.T. was signed on 26 October. It stipulated that the state of war between Italy and Ethiopia was over, and that the Treaty of Wəčale "is and will remain definitely annulled with its annexes" (Marcus 1975: 177). Italy recognized "absolutely and without reserve the independence of the Ethiopian Empire" (ibid.). The two contracting powers agreed to observe – transitorily (regarding Italy's playing for time and its ambiguous diplomatic policy, s. Guazzini 1999, ch. 1) – the status quo "determined by the course of the Mareb, Belessa, and [May-Muni] rivers" (ibid.). This time the textual ambiguity of the treaty of Wəčale was not to be repeated, and it was stated that the official texts in Amharic and French were absolutely identical (ibid.).

Immediately after the formalities for the peace treaty were completed, a convention for the repatriation of the Italian prisoners was signed. Those prisoners who had survived their wounds, the march from ^{c}Adwa to Addis Abäba, and their stay in and around the capital – a total of 1,705 Italian soldiers (including 49 officers) – were all repatriated through Harär and Somalia by the middle of 1897.

The A.A.T. with Italy ushered in a new period. With the collapse of the Italian claim to be a protector of Ethiopia, all European governments recognized her independence, negotiated their treaties and opened their embassies. In the coming decades, Ethiopian sovereignty was to be undermined and repeatedly tested by the imperialist powers, but was not again challenged as bluntly until ↗Mussolini's aggressive ambitions in the early 1930s.

Src.: GueCopMen, index.

Lit.: Richard Caulk, *"Between the Jaws of Hyenas": a Diplomatic History of Ethiopia* (*1876–1896*), ed. by Bahru Zewde, Wiesbaden 2002 (AeF 60), ch. 15; Carlo Conti Rossini, *Italia ed Etiopia dal Trattato d'Uccialli alla Battaglia di Adwa*, Roma 1935; RubInd, index; Federica Guazzini, *Le ragioni di un confine coloniale*: *Eritrea 1898–1908,* Torino 1999, ch. 1; Harold G. Marcus, *The Life and Times of Menelik II, Ethiopia 1844–1913*, Oxford 1975, 174–78; Carlo Rossetti, *Storia diplomatica durante il regno di Menelik II*, Torino 1910, 181ff.

Haggai Erlich

Admasu Ǧämbäre

A.Ǧ. (**አድማሱ ፡ ጀምበሬ**, also Mälᵓakä Bərhan; b. 6 August 1893, Dima Giyorgis, d. 31 July 1970) was a Gə^{c}əz scholar, theologian and exegete. Under the tutorship of his uncle, *liqä ṭäbäbt* Kənfu, he studied *ṣomä dəgg^{w}a*, *dəgg^{w}a*, *zəmmare*, *mə^{c}əraf*, *mäwaśəᵓət* and *qəne*.

In 1911/12, A.Ǧ. went to Addis Abäba and later to Däse, where he studied the interpretation of the O.T. and N.T., the ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt* and the *Mäṣaḥəftä liqawənt*. According to his own account, he attended the debate on the ↗Trinity known as the *and mäläkot-śost mäläkot* ('one divinity-three divinities') controversy, held in Däse in October–November 1914, in the presence of the Egyptian *abunä* ↗P̣eṭros. In 1925/26 A.Ǧ. returned to ↗Dima Giyorgis as *qəne* teacher. In 1932/33, he prepared a Lectionary (*Mäṣḥafä* ↗*gəṣṣawe*) which was well received by *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, who, impressed by A.Ǧ.'s talent, appointed him teacher at the ↗Mənilək II Secondary School in Addis Abäba.

A.Ǧ.'s intellectual qualities and merits were officially acknowledged and he was given a number of titles: first *mäggabe məśṭir*, in 1934/35, *liqä ṭäbbäbət* and, in 1940–41, *mälᵓakä bərhan*. In 1941/42 he was among those intellectuals who were active in seeking autonomy for the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church from the Egyptian Church. In 1956/57 he was appointed judge at the Supreme Court at the behest of the Emperor. When he retired ten years later he went back full time to academic life.

An articulate writer, one of A.Ǧ.'s most renowned works is his apologetic work *Mädlotä amin* (1954 A.M.), a response to the Amharic version of ↗Ayyälä Täklä Haymanot's book *The Doctrine on the Natures of Christ* (1967/68). It is a vigorous, detailed and sometimes disparaging refutation of the methodology and contents of the latter's work. The text also provides an interesting, though not neutral, perspective of the doctrines of the various Christological (↗Christology) parties that emerged since the 17th cent.

Src.: Admasu Ǧämbäre (Mälᵓakä Bərhan), **መዝሙር ፡ ሐዋዝ ፡ ዘምስለ ፡ መሰንቆ ፡ ሃይማኖት ፡ እንተ ፡ ለብስዋ ፡ ሰማዕት** (*Mäzmur ḥawaz zäməslä mäsänqo haymanot əntä läbsəwa säma^{c}ət*, 'Sweet Song which is with the Lyre, the Faith that the Martyrs Put on'), Addis Abäba 1940 A.M. [1947/48 A.D.]; Id., **ሰው ፡ ሆይ ፡ መድሎተ ፡ አሚን ፡ የሃይማኖት ፡ ሚዛን** (*Säw hoy*! *Mädlotä amin, yähaymanot mizan*, 'Oh Man! The Scales of Faith'), Addis Abäba 1954 A.M. [1961/62 A.D.]; Id., **መጽሐፈ ፡ ቅኔ ፡ ዝክረ ፡ ሊቃውንት** (*Mäṣḥafä qəne zəkrä liqawənt*, 'The Book of *qəne* Memorial of the Scholars'), Addis Abäba 1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.].

Lit.: Ayyälä Täklä Haymanot [Mario da Abi-Addi], **የኢትዮጵያ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ስለ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ባሕርያት ፡ የምታምነው ፡ ትምህርት** (*Yäᵓityoṗya betä krəstiyan səlä Krəstos baḥrəyat yämməttamnäw təmhərt*, 'The Doctrine on the Natures of Christ Believed by the Church of Ethiopia'), tr. by Agosṭinos Tädla da Ḥebo, Asmara 1959 A. M. [1967/68 A.D.]; Tedros Abraha, "Mälkəᵓa Śəllase. L'effigie della Trinità di Abba Səbḥat LäAb. Analisi storica, letteraria, teologica. Testo e traduzione annotata", in: *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* XV, Città del Vaticano 2008 (Studi e testi 453), 311–98, here 323–48; Tesfazghi Uqbit, *Current Christological Positions of Ethiopian Orthodox Theologians*, Roma 1973 (OrChrA 196), 198; Yaqob Beyene, *L'unzione di Cristo nella teologia etiopica,* Roma 1981 (OrChrA 215), 301.

Tedros Abraha

Afäwärq Täkle

A.T. (**አፈወርቅ ፡ ተክሌ**; b. 22 October 1932, Ankobär, d. 10 April 2012, Addis Abäba) was Ethiopia's most celebrated artist.

A.T.'s parents were Täkle Mammo, a minor court functionary, and Fälläqäčč Yämatawärq. A.T. was seriously wounded during the Italian invasion. After the Liberation, he was enrolled in Addis Abäba's Patriots' School. He was subsequently selected as one of the first students to be admitted to the newly established Ḫaylä Śəllase I Secondary School.

In the summer of 1947, A.T. was selected for further education in Britain. In London, he was accommodated by Sylvia ↗Pankhurst, who had already noted the young man's artistic talent during her visit to his school back in 1944. A.T. was admitted to Leighton Park Secondary School, the Quaker boarding establishment in Reading. The Ethiopian Government had intended him to be a mining engineer, but with mediation from Sylvia Pankhurst he was granted a change in curriculum and was duly enrolled at the Central School of Arts and Crafts in London. He went on to become the first African student to be accepted by the prestigious Slade School of Fine Arts. Besides studying arts, A.T. showed a talent in dancing, and partially financed himself by winning prizes at ballroom dancing competitions.

Before returning to Ethiopia, A.T. and Habtäᵓab Bayru, brother of ↗Tädla Bayru, accompanied Bərhanu Täsämma, of the Ethiopian Embassy in London, on an extensive European tour, giving A.T. an opportunity to admire European art in Paris, Madrid and Rome. A.T. was particularly appreciative of Spanish culture and art.

On his return to ↗Addis Abäba in 1954 A.T. was attached to the National Library of Ethiopia (now ↗National Archives and Library of Ethiopia) where he was allocated space for a studio. He began to refer to himself as "Afäwärq Wäldä Nägʷädgʷad" ('A., Son of Thunder') – this designation later appeared as a shield, both in Amharic and English, on a wall of his house and on one of the doors of his car. In the same year he held his first one-man ↗art exhibition, opened by *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I at the Addis Abäba Municipality. This did much to raise the prestige – and pricing – of modern Ethiopian ↗painting.

Subsequently, A.T. was charged, together with ↗Ǝmäᵓaläf Ḫəruy, with the decoration of ↗Gännätä Ṣəge Giyorgis, which had been damaged in February 1937. A.T. designed and executed mosaics for the upper part of one of the inner walls of the Cathedral.

In 1958, he was commissioned to decorate the Africa Hall, the then new ↗United Nations Economic Commission for Africa building, for which he produced his most famous work: the triptych of three stained glass windows which, over 150 cm², depict the sorrow of the colonial past, the struggle of the present, and the hope for the future of independent Africa. Starting from the 1950s, A.T. produced several cover illustrations for ↗*Ethiopia Observer*.

A.T. travelled widely in connection with awards and exhibitions of his work, in Africa, Europe, Asia and America. He exhibited in Algeria, Bulgaria, France, Germany, Kenya, Russia, Senegal, the Soviet Union, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates, the USA, and Zaire. He was introduced to royal personages, including the Queens of Belgium, England, Iran and Spain, and met important African statesmen, among them Kenneth Kaunda, Jomo Kenyatta, Léopold Sédar Senghor and Kwame Nkrumah, who invited him to Ghana, where he made sketches for a portrait of the statesman.

A.T. was versatile in the subjects that attracted him, no less than in the forms his art took. He sketched and painted many Ethiopian landscapes (e.g., "Sunrise over the Səmen Mountains", 1963). He was fascinated, and re-created on canvas, the city and citizens of Harär, which he visited in 1957; he depicted historic buildings of Addis Abäba, such as the "↗Ǝnqulal bet" (1956, publ. in the *Ethiopia Observer*) and the castles of Gondär. He also produced a pen and wash image of Betä Giyorgis at ↗Lalibäla (1958). A.T. left a number of paintings of beautiful women, Ethiopian and foreign (his most popular paintings being "The *Mäsqäl* Flower", 1959 and "Mother Ethiopia", 1963), and a considerable number of self-portraits, including the one hanging in the Permanent Collection of the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, Italy – the first work by an African artist to enter the permanent collection.

A.T.'s profound devotion to Africa is demonstrated in the subject of many of his paintings, including a monochrome portrait of Patrice Lumumba (1960) and an oil portrait of Nkrumah (1964). His "Backbones of African Civilisation" (1969) depicted the Aksum Obelisk (↗Stelae) among other African cultural symbols.

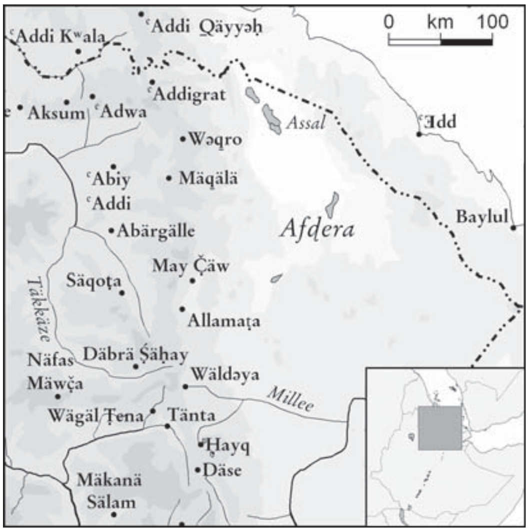
Among his other notable works are the equestrian statue of *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən in Harär (designed in 1958 and cast in bronze in 1968), and stained glass windows of "Four great warriors of Ethiopia" (↗ᶜEzana, ↗Kaleb, ↗Mənilək II, and *ras* Mäkʷännən) in ↗Harär Military Academy. He also painted a "Last Judgment" for the Catholic Cathedral of ↗ᶜAddigrat.

In 1959 A.T. designed a large silver cross, executed by the Ethiopian jeweller, Täklu Dästa, for the Chapel of the Tower of London, where it is on permanent display. He also designed numerous postage stamps, posters (such as “This is Ethiopia”, 1963), playing cards, ties and scarves.

A.T. was recognized by many international awards, and, in 1964, was the first winner of the Haile Selassie I Prize for Fine Arts. His funeral at the ↗Qəddəst Śəllase Cathedral was attended by a large number of people, including the Patriarch, *abunä* P̣awlos I.

Lit.: ANON., “Afwerk Tekle”, *EthObs* 6, 1962, 189–240; ANON., “Postage Stamps by Afewerq Tekle”, *ibid.* 7, 1964, 169–72; RICHARD PANKHURST, “The Art of Afewerq Tekle: Recent Years of Achievement”, *ibid.* 9, 1965, 161–209; ID., *The Life and Selected Works of Maître Artiste Afewerq Tekle*, Addis Ababa 1987; ID. – RITA PANKHURST, *Ethiopian Reminiscences*: *Early Days,* Los Angeles, CA 2012; TAYE TADESSE, “**ሜትር አርቲስት አፈወርቅ ተክሌ ፲፱፻፳፬** Maitre Artiste Afewerq Tekle 1932”, in: ID., **አንዳንድ የታወቁ የኢትዮጵያ ሠዓሊዎች አጭር የሕይወት ታሪክ ፲፱፻፷፪ – ፲፱፻፹ ዓ.ም.** *Short Biographies of Some Well-Known Ethiopian Artists 1869–1957*, Addis Ababa 1991, 52–53.

Richard Pankhurst – Rita Pankhurst



Afḍera

A. (^{c}Afar: Afxeera; 13° 17' 20" N, 40° 56' 25" E), also known as Giulietti (s. ↗Giulietti expedition) and as Egogi Bad (Nesbitt 1935: 8, 323; CTI, foglio 2), is a lake (17 km x 7 km; Guida 336) in the north of the ↗^{c}Afar Depression (103 m B. S.L.). It was first explored by ↗Nesbitt in 1927.

A., which gets its waters from *wadi*s and from a number of thermal springs easily located by clumps of doum palms (US-EAGLE), forms a huge *sabkha* (salt flat) skirted with salt concretions and evaporates (Nesbitt 1935: 318–23). It also has an island. It is home to an endemic species of perch, *Danakilia franchettii*.

A. is located in a fracture of the East African Rift and is surrounded by the lava flow from active volcanoes: Barawli and Tat ^{c}Alī to the west and Afḍera Tärara to the east, a 812 m high Holocene stratovolcano.

For a long time A. has been nomadic ground for the Rorom ↗^{c}Afar during the rainy season and is now a stopping place for scientific expeditions en route to the Erta ^{c}Ale lava lake.

Administratively, A. used to belong to the ^{c}Afar sultanate of Bîḍu (Nesbitt 1935, map). In the imperial ↗administrative division until 1984, it was included into the Təgray region and later in the special *awrağğa* of ↗^{c}Asäb (A. *wäräda*). In 1987 it became part of the autonomous ^{c}Afar region which became ^{c}Afar *kəlləl* in 1991.

The shores of Lake Afḍera at Alganda with the peak of Amart in the background; photo 1972, courtesy of Didier Morin

Src.: *http://www.volcano.si.edu/index.cfm* (last access: July 2013); *http://www.dankalia.com/afrera/01200.html* (last access: July 2013); *http://www.worldlakes.org/lakedetails.asp?lakeid=9208* (last access: July 2013).

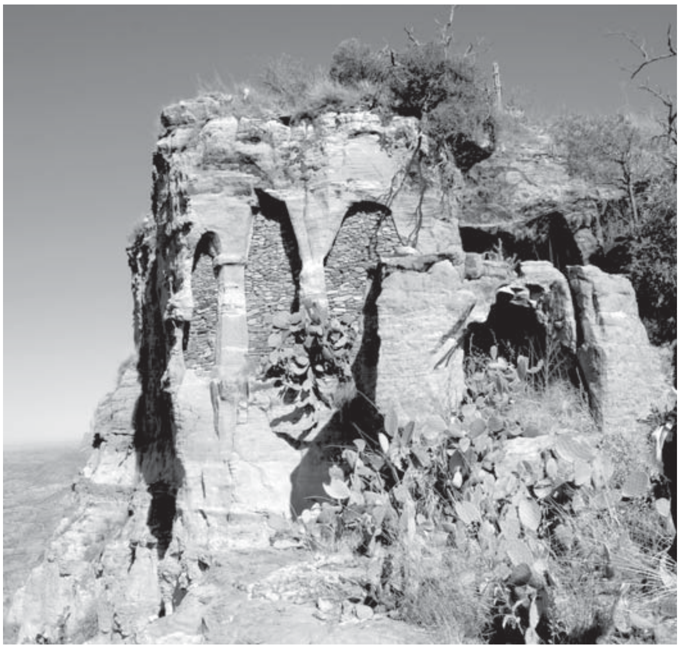
Lit.: CONSOCIAZIONE TURISTICA ITALIANA, *Carta dell’Africa Orientale Italiana* (*scala 1:1,000,000*), Milano 1938; EMAtlas; *Guida* 336; LUDOVICO MARIANO NESBITT, *Abyssinia Unveiled*: *Desert and Forest*, Hamburg – Paris – Bologna 1935, 8, 318–23, maps.

Alain Gascon

Ag^{w}äza

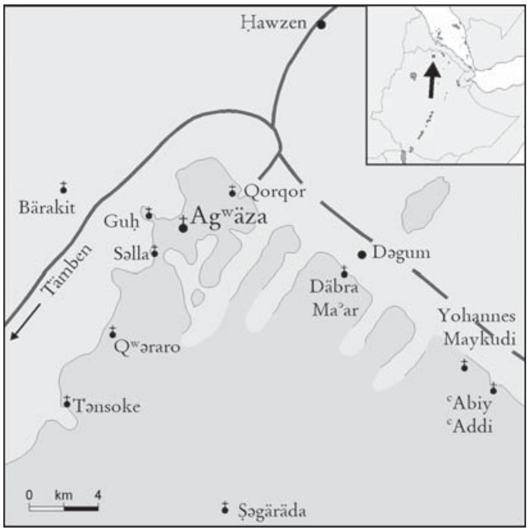
A. (**አጐዛ**, also **አጎዛ** Agoza; 08° 23' N, 39° 56' E; 2,006 m A.S.L.) is a site in ↗Təgray located in the mountains facing the northern cliffs of the ↗Gär^{c}alta massif, on the east side of the Ḥawzen–Tämben road (Ḥawzen *wäräda*, Ag^{w}äza *qušät*). There are two ↗rock-hewn churches at the site, the older one on the top of the mountain and the newer one at its foot. Both are dedicated to the Four Living Creatures (Arba^{c}ətu Ǝnsəsa) and the Trinity (Śəllase). According to local tradition and the documents found at A., the upper church belonged to a monastic community known as Däbrä Sahəl, established around the first quarter of the 15th cent. by the metropolitan *abunä* ↗Bärtälomewos who supposedly is buried there. The monastery flourished until the 19th cent. when it experienced a gradual decline and eventually fell into oblivion with the death of the last monk in the 1990s.

The upper church, now used only occasionally, is cut into the rock at the very top of the mountain and is accessible only by chains. This three-aisled hall was at an unknown time affected by a rock-slide which carried away the vestibule and half of the first bay. The present western wall is constructed of clay and bricks. The central nave and the aisles, equally large, are divided by two pairs of pillars, the first squared, the second octagonal, with bracket capitals and connected by arches. The ceilings of the aisles and of the third bay of the central nave are topped by shallow cupolas. The central nave and north aisle end in the sanctuary with rounded, raised and interconnected rooms, each housing a stone-built altar stuccoed to look like a monolith. The third bay is prolonged towards the north by an extension with a small oculus in the ceiling. Originally, it had an entry which has been blocked by a constructed wall. The southern end of that bay has two small, rounded niches, directed northwards and southwards respectively. At present the church is accessible through a door situated in the first bay of the southern aisle. An arched window in the wall of the second bay has been blocked by stones. In the surrounding caves there is a necropolis which is still in use.


Damaged western part of the upper church of Ag^{w}äza; photo 2007, courtesy of Michael Gervers

The lower church was hewn in the cliff of the same mountain in 1992. The work, directed by *märigeta* Zäbərhanat Ḫaylä Iyäsus from Ḥawzen, involved six people and took six months to complete. Entirely hidden in the mountain, the church is accessible by two openings cut into the plain western face of the rock. The tripartite interior is composed of a large, trapezoidal room serving as the *qəne maḫlet* (↗Church building), with a smaller *qəddəst* (raised by one step), a nearly circular sanctuary between two side "rooms" which provide access to the aisles. It is prolonged towards the east by a circular room where the *mänbärä* ↗*tabot* is kept. The *qəne maḫlet* is divided centrally by two, large, oval columns, and the *qəddəst* by two squared pillars. The entrance to the sanctuary is framed by two pillars; two smaller pillars frame the side-room passages. The ceilings of the eastern room and sanctuary are provided with a shallow cupola; six cupolas are carved into the ceiling of the *qəne maḫlet*.

Among the ↗manuscripts preserved in the newer church there are old fragments previously kept in the old church, some of them rare pieces. The most precious item of the collection is a mid-15th cent. copy of the Four Gospels decorated with full-page miniatures: the ↗Canon tables, a short Christological cycle (↗Crucifixion, Holy



Women at the Tomb, Ascension) and the portraits of the ↗Evangelists. The manuscript served as the Golden Gospel (↗*Wängelä wärq*) of the village and contains documents (one in Arabic) relating to *abunä* Bärtälomewos, *aṣe* ↗Yǝsḥaq and *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿǝqob.

A collection of ↗paintings on wood and ↗crosses is also preserved in the newer church. It includes, among others, a large Crucifixion executed by a follower of Niccolò ↗Brancaleone, a panel representing St. ↗George in the so called "Syrian style", and two iron crosses: a staff cross with inlaid brass and a hand cross with figural engravings. Both are said to have belonged to *abunä* Bärtälomewos.

Lit.: EWA BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA, "The Illuminated 'Golden Gospel' of Agwäza and its Historical Documents", in: ADAM MCCOLLUM (ed.), *Festschrift Getatchew Haile*, (in preparation); BERNHARD LINDAHL, *Local History of Ethiopia*, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala 2005–08 [*http://www.nai.uu.se/library/resources/dossiers/local_history_of_ethiopia/*; last access: 4 December 2012]; TEWELDE MEDHIN JOSEPH, "Introduction générale aux églises monolitiques du Tigray", in: *PICES* 1, 83–98, here 96.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Aḥiqar

A. is the main protagonist of a story set in the court of the Assyrian Empire, where he is said to be the scribe and counselor to the Assyrian king Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.) and then to his successor Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.). According to the most fully preserved versions, A. does not have a son, and so he prepares his nephew Nadan (or Nadin) to succeed him by instructing him through a number of wise sayings. Nadan is, however, ungrateful and plots to have his uncle put to death. Through the help of a friend, A. escapes execution. With A. presumed to be dead, the Egyptian Pharaoh issues a challenge to the Assyrian king. A. then reemerges and successfully aides the Assyrian king in this challenge. The story concludes with A. harshly scolding Nadan by means of additional wise sayings, after which Nadan dies.

The narrative concerning A. along with a collection of wise sayings are transmitted in a number of languages. The earliest extant textual witness is a fragmentary Aramaic papyrus from the 5th cent. B.C. (Porten – Yardeni 1993:24–53; Niehr 2007). The narrative and sayings are combined in this papyrus, but they are written in slightly different dialects of Aramaic suggesting that they may have at one time circulated independently of one another. A fragmentary text related to A. is also extant in Demotic. In addition, the narrative and sayings of A. must have been translated into Greek. This Greek translation does not survive, but portions of it were adapted in the Greek *Life of Aesop*. The lost Greek translation served as the *Vorlage* for the Romanian and Old Slavonic versions, the latter being the basis for the Serbian and Russian versions. The oldest complete version of the narrative and sayings of A. is found in Syriac (five different recensions). An older Syriac version served as the *Vorlage* for the Arabic version (sometimes appended to *A Thousand and One Nights*), for the Neo-Aramaic version (which also shows influence from the Arabic version), as well as for the Armenian version. The latter in turn was the basis for the Georgian and Old Turkish versions.

A complete version of the narrative and sayings of A. does not survive in Ethiopic. Nevertheless, a short text entitled *Mäṣḥafä Ḥiqar* (**መጽሐፈ ፡ ሒቃር**, 'The Book of Ḥiqar') is found at the beginning of several manuscripts of the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*fälasfa ṭäbiban*. The *Mäṣḥafä Ḥiqar* (ed., French tr. Schneider 1978; Engl. tr. Sumner 1972:261–69; 1974:127–35; 1985:55–63; Ital. tr. Lusini 2005:257–66; ed., Engl. tr. Lusini 2011) was translated from Arabic and contains the narrative of A., without any wise sayings. In addition, some sayings of A. are found in (later) manuscripts of the *Mäṣḥafä fälasfa ṭäbiban* (15 sayings: ed., German tr. Cornill 1875:19ff., 40–44; Engl. tr. Conybeare – Harris – Lewis 1913:128f.; it should be noted that none of the sayings of Aḥiqar are included in the excerpt of the *Mäṣḥafä fälasfa ṭäbiban* given in DillmChr 40–45). These Ethiopic sayings of A. were translated from Arabic and have parallels in the other versions.

Src.: FREDERICK CORNWALLIS CONYBEARE – J. RENDEL HARRIS – AGNES SMITH LEWIS, *The Story of Aḥiḳar from the Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, Ethiopic, Old Turkish, Greek and Slavonic Versions*, Cambridge ²1913; CARL HEINRICH CORNILL (ed., tr.), **መጽሐፈ ፡ ፈላስፋ ፡ ጠቢባን** *Das Buch der weisen Philosophen nach dem Aethiopischen untersucht*, Leipzig 1875, 19–21, 40–44; DillmChr 40–45; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, “The Ethiopic Version of the ‘Story of Ahiqar’ (*Mäṣḥafä Ḥiqar*),” in: *RSE* nuova ser. 3, 2011, 219–48; HERBERT NIEHR, *Aramäischer Ahiqar*, Gütersloh 2007 (Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit, N.F. 2, 2); BEZALEL PORTEN – ADA YARDENI, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*, vol. 3: *Literature, Accounts, Lists*, Winona Lake, IN 1993, 24–53; ROGER SCHNEIDER, “L’histoire d’Ahiqar en éthiopien”, *AE* 11, 1978, 141–52; OSVALDO RAINERI, “I detti di Achicar in alcuni codici etiopici della Vaticana”, in: *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* 12, Città del Vaticano 2005 (Studi e testi 430), 483–99; CLAUDE SUMNER, “Ethiopian Philosophy. ‘The Book of the Wise Philosophers’”, *Abba Salama* 3, 1972, 233–95; ID., *Ethiopian Philosophy*, vol. 1: *The Book of the Wise Philosophers*, Addis Ababa 1974, 123–35; ID., *Classical Ethiopian Philosophy*, Addis Ababa 1985, 55–63.
Lit.: SEBASTIAN P. BROCK, “Aḥiqar”, in: ID. et al. (eds.), *The Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage*, Piscataway, NJ 2011, 11–12; CAVT 148–55 (no. 195); GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, “La Storia di Ahiqar in versione etiopica”, in: RICCARDO CONTINI – CRISTIANO GROTTANELLI, *Il saggio Ahiqar*, Brescia 2005 (Studi biblici 148), 255–66; ALBERT-MARIE DENIS et al., *Introduction à la littérature religieuse judéo-hellénistique*, vol. 2, Turnhout 2000, 993–1037; JONAS C. GREENFIELD, “The Wisdom of Ahiqar”, in: JOHN DAY – ROBERT P. GORDON – HUGH GODFREY MATURIN WILLIAMSON (eds.), *Wisdom in Ancient Israel*, Cambridge 1995, 43–52.

Aaron Michael Butts

Aʾira

A. (**አኢራ**, also **አይራ**, Ayra; Orom. sp. Ayraa; 9° 5ˈ 60" N, 35° 23ˈ 60" E) is a town in today’s Aʾira (Ayra) Guliso *wäräda* of the Western Wälläga Zone. It has been and still is a centre of ↗Protestantism in ↗Wälläga.

The ↗Hermannsburger Mission rented a single ↗*gašša* of land from *käntiba* ↗Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Dästa in 1928, located ca. 500 km west of Addis Abäba. Rev. Dietrich Wassmann and two German craftsmen erected a solid residence, a clinic, a school and other buildings, during the following years. For subsistence they started farming and built a grinding mill on the nearby Huursaa River. Sister Martha Wassmann joined the group in 1930, which marked the beginning of medical work at A.

A school was opened in 1932, with 34 pupils, originally using ↗Oromiffaa as the language of instruction. Rev. Wassmann started Biblical teaching. ↗Dafaa Ǧammoo became the first communicant in 1935, others followed. The new Protestant believers maintained the station during the Italian occupation (↗Italian war 1935–36).

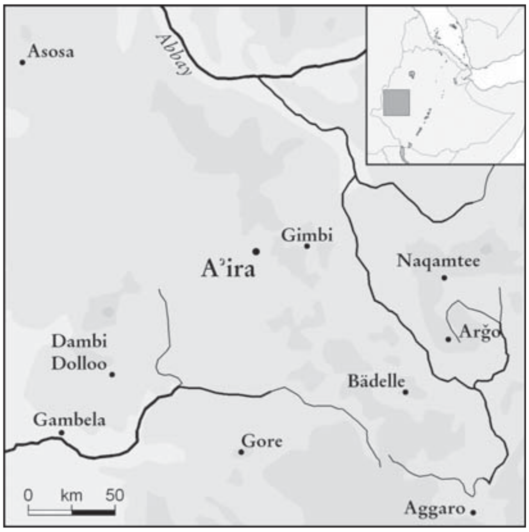
In the 1950s former German missionaries returned to A. and others joined, including medical doctors, teachers, pastors and technicians. New buildings for a school and a hospital were erected and an airstrip prepared. To train evangelists the Onesimos Näsib Bible School (↗Onesimos Näsib) was opened. At the hospital a dresser school and a nutritional centre were started. A. became a centre treating up to 200 outpatients and 50 inpatients per day. Ca. 700 students attended the Elementary and Junior Secondary School. In 1970/71 all institutions of the Mission were handed over to the Western Synod of the ↗Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus.

Local Oromo visiting the newly established missionary station at Aʾira; photo from the 1930s, from the archive of the Herrmannsburger Mission

During the *Därg* regime (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council), the A. station was able to continue its services although many congregations of the area were closed. After 1991 the work expanded. Three million German marks were spent to build and equip a new hospital. The Laaloo Ayraa Secondary School moved to a spacious compound with modern facilities. The Bible School was enlarged and upgraded to a Theological Seminary.

The number of Protestant believers grew rapidly and the Birbir Diillaa Synod, having more than 200,000 members, established its administrative centre at A.

From its humble beginnings in 1928, an important medical, educational and spiritual centre for the whole area has developed.



Out of the total population of the A. and Čäliya towns, Aʾira Guliso *wäräda*, 90.1 % are Protestants (CSA 1996).

Src.: CSA 1996.

Lit.: GUSTAV ARÉN, *Envoys of the Gospel in Ethiopia*: *in the Steps of the Evangelical Pioneers, 1898–1936*, Stockholm – Addis Abeba 1999 (Studia missionalia Uppsalensia 75), 417–37; ERNST BAUEROCHSE, *Ihr Ziel war das Oromoland*: *Die Anfänge der Hermannsburger Mission in Äthiopien*, Münster 2006 (Quellen und Beiträge zur Geschichte der Hermannsburger Mission und des Ev.-luth. Missionswerkes in Niedersachsen 14), index; ID., *A Vision Finds Fulfillment*, Münster 2008 (Quellen und Beiträge zur Geschichte der Hermannsburger Mission und des Ev.-luth. Missionswerkes in Niedersachsen 15), passim.

Johannes Launhardt

Akalä Krəstos

Abba A.K. (**አካለ ፡ ክርስቶስ**, also known as Akalä Kəsos; b. Wämbärəya, Agäw Mədər, d. 30 September or 3 October 1707) was a father of the ↗*Qəbat* school of theology. In the genealogical list of the school given in the *gädl* of *abba* ↗Śärṣ̌ä Ṗeṭros of ↗Däbrä Wärq, A.K. is mentioned as one of his successors (*Gädlä Śärṣ̌ä Ṗeṭros*, fol. 3r; Hummel 2010: 55).

A.K. represented the *Qəbat* at the council of ↗Aringo, convened by *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I on 10 October 1682 to reconcile doctrinal differences between A.K.'s school and the ↗*Täwaḥədo* represented by *abba* Niqolawos of ↗Mändabba and Addam of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa (GuiIohan 55f. [tr.]; BassÉt II, 293 [tr.]; Böll in PICES 16 [online]). The assembly declared in favour of the *Täwaḥədo* doctrine while condemning the *Qəbat* teaching (BassÉt II, 293). Consequently A.K. and a certain Zäʾiyäsus were exiled (GuiIohan 115; AmhChurchDic vol. 6, 51).

Later A.K. lived in a place called Tamre. When ↗Dəlbä Iyäsus fled from Iyasu I, he sought asylum with A.K. However, the Emperor's troops captured the fugitive and had him imprisoned (GuiIohan 87).

The assassination of Iyasu I in 1706 and the coming to power of his son ↗Täklä Haymanot created confusion among the people. The *Qəbat* favouring Goǧǧames used this opportunity to liberate themselves from the domination of the central authority that refused to acknowledge this theological school. On 10 September 1707 they crowned the pretender ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon their king at ↗Yəbaba (DombrChr 244f. [tr.]). On hearing of the rebellion *aṣe* Täklä Haymanot ordered his maternal uncle *däǧǧazmač* ↗Dərmən of Goǧǧam (s. EAE vol. 5) to reverse the action. ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon and Dərmən fought at Qäbäro Meda. Dərmən won the battle while many civilians and *Qəbat* monks, including A.K., lost their lives (BassÉt II, 362 [tr.]; Taddesse Tamrat 1988: 16f.).

Src.: ms. Däbrä Wärq Maryam, *Gädlä Śärṣ̌ä Ṗeṭros*, fol. 3r; BassÉt II, 293, 362 (tr.); DombrChr 212, 244f. (tr.); GuiIohan 55f., 87, 115 (tr.).

Lit.: AmhChurchDic vol. 6, 51; VERENA BÖLL, "Aṣe Iyasu I (1682–1706) and the Synod of Yəbaba", in: *PICES* 16 [online], 65–73; SUSANNE HUMMEL, *Die Vita des Heiligen Śärṣ̌ä Ṗeṭros*: *Eine vorläufige Untersuchung*, M.A. thesis, University of Hamburg 2010, 55; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Processes of Ethnic Interaction and Integration in Ethiopian History: the Case of the Agaw", *JAH* 29, 1988, 5–18, here 16f.

Abreham Adugna

Aklilä Bərhan Wäldä Qirqos

Liqä ṭäbbäbt A. (**አክሊለ ፡ ብርሃን ፡ ወልደ ፡ ቂርቆስ**; b. [?], Ankobär, d. 1980/81, Addis Abäba) was a renowned ecclesiastic and prolific and influencial scholar of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church.

After A. completed the first stage of traditional church education, he left his village and parents and went to Däbrä Dəmaḥ (↗Dima Giyorgis) in Goǧǧam to learn ↗*qəne* and ↗*andəmta*. He then went to ↗Däbrä Tabor and studied the ecclesiastical dancing tradition of *täkle* ↗*aqqʷaqʷam* with *aläqa* Mäkʷännən. He further deepened his knowledge of ecclesiastical dance by learning *yägondär aqqʷaqʷam* from *mämhər* Bäyyänä in ↗Dabat.

Having finished his school education, A. went to Addis Abäba and started serving at ↗Qəddəst Śəllase Cathedral and later went to Addis ᶜAläm Maryam Church where he enrolled as a teacher of ↗*dəggʷa*, ↗*məᶜəraf* and *aqqʷaqʷam*. It was there that he received the title of *liqä ṭäbbäbt* ('head of scholars').

Unlike the majority of ecclesiastical scholars in the Church, A. also published in print. Among his best known publications are: *Märḥa ləbbuna*, *Mäṣḥetä ᵓamin* and *Zena mäṣaḥəftä bəranna*.

A. died a natural death and was buried at Qəddəst Śəllase in Addis Abäba.

Src.: AKLILÄ BƎRHAN WÄLDÄ QIRQOS, **መርሐ ፡ ልቡና** (*Märḥa ləbbuna*, 'The Guide of Consciousness') Addis Abäba 1943 A.M. [1950/51 A.D.]; ID., **መጽሔተ ፡ አሚን** (*Mäṣḥetä amin*, 'The Mirror of Faith') Addis Abäba 1946 A.M. [1954/55 A.D.]; ID., **ዜና ፡ መጻሕፍት ብራና** (*Zena mäṣaḥəftä bəranna*, 'The History of Manuscript[s]') in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 133–39; AmhChurchD vol. 6, 65f.

Mersha Alehegne

Alexander Naty

A.N. (**አለክሳንደር ፡ ናቲ**, b. 10 September 1953, Marda, Mariti Kunamaland, d. 9 December 2003) was a prominent Eritrean intellectual among the very few first generation anthropologists trained in North America. He attended a Catholic mission school in ↗Barentu where he picked up Italian, Təgre and some Təgrəñña, the language of his wife, in addition to his ↗Kunama mother tongue. Later, he also learned fluent English and some Arabic. At some level of his education he also had undergone a training geared towards priesthood. He completed his secondary school education at Qäyyəḥ Baḥri Secondary School in ↗Asmära and then joined the Sociology Department of ↗Addis Ababa University from where he graduated with a bachelor's degree in 1982. His interest in ↗Aari ethnography began under the supervision of Donald Donham whom he accompanied during his fieldwork in the Omo valley, in the early 1980s. After a brief stay at the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies as a researcher A.N. left for Stanford University where he received an M.A. in anthropology in 1986 under the supervision of Donham. Between 1988 and 1989 he conducted an extensive fieldwork among the Aari and that is where he met and made friends with some Japanese ethnographers who were doing similar studies as he but with different ethnic groups in the same valley. In 1992 he submitted a dissertation on Aari ethno-historical and political relations entitled as *The Culture of Powerlessness and the Spirit of Rebellion among the Aari People of Southwest Ethiopia* and graduated with a Ph.D. in anthropology still under Donham at Stanford University.

Alexander Naty during the 15th ICES in Hamburg; photo 2003, courtesy of Paul B. Henze

A.N. was one of the very few Eritrean intellectuals who returned from overseas right after independence. He was a member of both the Constitutional Commission during the process of drafting the Eritrean Constitution and of the Election Board and he collaborated with the Ministry of Education in the development of mother tongue education. Professionally, he was an active member of the American Anthropological Association and African Studies Association. His first appointment as a faculty member was in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Asmara in 1994. He became its head from 1994 to 1996.

A.N. won a Rockefeller Foundation Grant twice, the first to conduct field research for his dissertation and the second as a part of a career award for African scholars. He regularly attended national workshops and seminars, actively participated in international conferences as a result of which he became well connected to local and foreign institutions, and had a number of short term research residences at, for example, Yale's Agrarian and Social Policy Studies Centre (1992–93) and Leiden's African Studies Centre (Summer 2001). In the meantime, he carried out several brief field research stays among his own people, the Kunama of Eritrea.

A.N. wrote a variety of short articles, the most prominent of which were those on Aari social institutions (1994), ethno-history (1994), metaphors of power (1997), gender and revolution (2002), and proselytization (in EthMis). His first two publications on Kunama ethno-history (2001) and ecology (2002) were preceded by an article on Eritrean linguistic diversity (2000). His article on Aari religious movement as a response to the Ethiopian ↗*gäbbar* system was first presented at the 15th ↗International Conference of Ethiopian Studies in 2003 and published posthumously in 2006 with the editorial support of Kaneko, Shigeta and Bustorf. In addition, he published numerous newspaper reviews, notices and communications in Eritrean media. In his writing he was influenced by Julian Steward, Victor Turner, Robin Horton and Terence Turner.

A.N. was an important promoter of social anthropology in Eritrea. As inspired and dedicated teacher and mentor to his undergraduate students he drew some 200 students to his introductory anthropology course every year and effortlessly made it feel like an intimate seminar. As an author, translator, editor, and scholar he offered his own iconoclast cast to the ethnography of the Aari and the Kunama by focusing on the analysis of social categories in order to properly comprehend their daily life. As a member of an ethnic minority A.N. articulated his views on ↗ethnicity most vigilantly in which he envisaged integration without discrimination, and favoured tolerance to other languages, religions and ways of life by engaging anthropology as an empirical philosophy not as revision of conventional judgments but as provocation of alternative possibilities of conduct in search of equality, equity and human dignity.

Towards the end of 2003, soon after A.N.'s return from the Hamburg International Conference of Ethiopian Studies to Asmära via Rome, he was briefly incarcerated and then also expelled from the University of Asmara for unclear reasons. Shortly after, he left for Gaš Barka where he caught cerebral malaria in Haykota and was already in coma when he arrived in Asmära where he died. He is survived by his spouse Aster Bäyyänä and his daughter Amanlä.

Src.: ALEXANDER NATY, "The Thief-Searching (*leba shay*) Institution in Aariland, Southwest Ethiopia, 1890–1930s", *Ethnology* 33, 4, 1994, 261–72; ID., "From Independent Chiefdoms to Abyssinian Subjects: the Aari Interpretation of Conquest and Colonisation", *Africa* (Roma) 49, 1994, 498–515; ID., "Articulating the Experience of Domination: Metaphors of Powerlessness among the Aari of Southwest Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 13, 2, 501–15; ID., "Linguistic Diversity in Eritrea", *Africa* (Roma) 55, 2000, 267–80; ID., "Memories of the Kunama of Eritrea towards Italian Colonisation", *ibid.* 56, 2001, 573–90; ID., "Environment, Society and the State in Western Eritrea", *Africa* (Cambridge) 72, 2002, 569–97; ID., "Memory and the Humiliation of Men: the Revolution in Aari", in: WENDY JAMES et al. (eds.), *Remapping Ethiopia*: *Socialism and After*, Oxford 2002, 59–73; ID., "Protestant Christianity among the Aari People of Southwest Ethiopia 1950–1990, in: *EthMis* 141–52; ID., "The *ak'aat k'aal* Movement among the Aari People of South-west Ethiopia", ed. by MORIE KANEKO – MASAYOSHI SHIGETA, *Aethiopica* 9, 2006, 49–63.

Lit.: ABEBBE KIFLEYESUS, *Recollections of Return, Resettlement, and Reintegration from Gash Barka,* Addis Ababa 2010, ii–iii; WOLBERT G.C. SMIDT, "In memoriam Alexander Naty (1957–2003)", *Aethiopica* 7, 2004, 188–89.

Abbebe Kifleyesus

^{c}Ali Mirāḥ b. Ḥanfaɖé

Sulṭān ^{c}A. (^{c}Afar sp. Qali Miraac Canfaxe; b. 1921, Fursi, d. 24 April 2011, Addis Abäba) was a 20th-cent. *sulṭān* of ↗Áwsa.

^{c}A. was the son of Hawy Omar and Hanfaɖé Aydāhis of the Mōdayto (Aydāḥissó) group of the ↗^{c}Afar. During the fratricidal "Sangerrá war" (ca. 1898–1919) between the successors of *sulṭān* ↗Maḥámmad "Illálta" Ḥanfaɖé ^{c}A.'s father was imprisoned in ↗Ǧimma together with his grandfather Aydāhis Maḥámmad and his uncle *sulṭān* ↗Yayyo Maḥámmad of ↗Áwsa by the order of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II (s. also MorDic 241–44).

After the death of Aydāhis ^{c}A.'s father Hanfaɖé was brought up by Aydāhis's brother *sulṭān* Yayyo. However, when ^{c}A. was two years old *sulṭān* Yayyo killed Ḥanfaɖé in the course of eliminating all potential competitors to his own son *sulṭān* ↗Maḥámmad Yayyo. Soon after, ^{c}A.'s mother died and his eldest sister Faṭuma took care of both ^{c}A. and his sister Medina.

In 1943 the Ethiopian government intervened in order to depose *sulṭān* Maḥámmad who had collaborated with the Italians. Ethiopian troops invaded Áwsa, captured *sulṭān* Maḥámmad in his palace at Ḥinnālé and appointed the 22-year-old ^{c}A. *sulṭān* (*amóyta*) of Áwsa. *Aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I gave the title of *däǧǧazmač* to *sulṭān* ^{c}A. and the title of *fitawrari* to Yayyo Ḥámmadu, his brother in-law and former deputy of *sulṭān* Maḥámmad.

In 1949, ^{c}A. had some disagreement with the imperial government as it attempted to rule Áwsa directly through the appointment of a governor in order to control agricultural land along the ↗Awaš valley. As a result ^{c}A. escaped to Bōhá, on the western shore of Lake ^{c}Uddumma. From there he established contacts with Arab countries in order to create awareness for the Áwsa sultanate and to lobby for a "Bōhá revolt" against the Ethiopian government. After two years of negotiations, in the course of which Ḫaylä Śəllase took the initiative to travel to Áwsa and meet with ^{c}A., the conflict was settled. According to their agreement the governor was removed and ^{c}A.'s *wazīr* (deputy), *fitawrari* Yayyo was appointed governor of the new district administered from ↗Asayta. Ḫaylä Śəllase accepted ^{c}A. as a semi-independent ruler responsible only to the Emperor.

ᶜAli Mirāḥ b. Ḥanfaḏé giving an interview; photo 2008, courtesy of Eloi Fiquet

In 1952, Ḫaylä Śəllase further conferred upon ᶜA. the title of ↗*bitwäddäd*.

After this, *sulṭān* ᶜA. gave between 820 and 2,000 hectares of land to Crown Prince ↗Asfa Wäsän (the only non-ᶜAfar who owned land in Áwsa) at Barga and invited foreign companies to invest in large-scale commercial farms in Áwsa. As the Awash Valley Authority, established by the Ethiopian government in 1962, began to compete for control of land in the ↗Awaš valley, *sulṭān* ᶜA. adopted a strategy for sedentarization of the local ᶜAfar and allowed them to lease land to ᶜAfar investors. He also engaged himself in modern farming over an estimated terrain of 20,000 ha. The growing wealth of the Áwsa sultanate together with his traditional (spiritual and political) authority as well as cordial relations with the palace in Addis Abäba strengthened his influence in the area.

Sulṭān ᶜA. visited several foreign countries, such as Egypt, Syria, the United States and the United Kingdom. In the 1970s, on the occasion of his visit to Lubbock, Texas, he was given honorary American citizenship by the mayor of the city.

The 1974-↗Revolution brought ᶜA.'s first period of rule to an end. He escaped from the November 1974-executions of imperial ministers and high ranking officials. While the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) sent a delegation to Asayta to convince the *Sulṭān* to go to Addis Abäba, on the night of 2 June 1975, he left Asayta via Manda for Djibouti. On 3 June 1975, his son Ḥanfaḏé declared the birth of the ᶜAfar Liberation Front (A.L.F.). After a sojourn in Djibouti, ᶜA. together with many of his family members emigrated to Saudi Arabia.

Sulṭān ᶜA. was the founder of ᶜAfar Radio Programmes, which are still today broadcasted from Egypt and Ethiopia. He developed cordial relations with Arab countries and was able to obtain support for ᶜAfar political movements from countries such as Egypt and Somalia.

In their struggle against the *Därg* regime, the A.L.F. cooperated with other liberation movements including the ↗Tigray People's Liberation Front. After the demise of the *Därg* in 1991, ᶜA. returned to Ethiopia where he started to play a role in his community as nominal leader of the ᶜAfar and man of influence. ᶜA. attended the National Conference held at Africa Hall from 1 to 5 July 1991 together with his sons Ḥanfaḏé and Aḥmad as representatives of the A.L.F. Opposing Eritrea's secession plan, ᶜA. uttered his renowned saying "even our camels know the Ethiopian flag" and the Eritrean delegation left the conference hall in anger.

After the creation of federal regional states, ᶜA.'s party, the A.L.F., won the 1992 regional election and his sons, Ḥabīb (r. December 1991–August 1995) and Ḥanfaḏé (r. August 1995-March 1996), became presidents of the newly created ᶜAfar *kəlləl* successively until 1996. Soon after a T.P.L.F.-provoked split of the A.L.F. into two wings under his two sons, ᶜA. moved back to Saudi Arabia in 1998 to oppose "T.P.L.F.'s meddling in the internal affairs of the ᶜAfar".

In April 1999 ᶜA. returned to Ethiopia thanks to mediation efforts during the Ethio-Eritrean border war of 1998–2000. During his last years, ᶜA., now father of 14 male and 15 female children, fell ill and was treated at Tor Ḫayločč hospital until his death. His funeral was held in Asayta in the presence of high level government officials from Ethiopia and Djibouti. He was succeeded as a traditional leader by his son Ḥanfaḏé.

Lit.: ARAMIS HOUMED SOULÉ, *Deux vies dans l'histoire de la Corne de l'Afrique, Mahamad Hanfare* (*1861–1902*) *et Ali Mirah Hanfare* (*1944–…*), *Sultans Afars*, Addis-Abeba 2005, 56; DAHILON YASIN, *The Rise and Fall of the Sultanate of Aussa with Particular Reference to the Reign of Ali Mirah*, B.A. thesis, Department of Political Science, Addis Ababa University 1985, 17–21; ǦAMĀLADDĪN AŠ-ŠĀMĪ B. IBRĀHĪM B. ḪALĪL AŠ-ŠĀMĪ, *Al-manhal fī taʾrīḫ wa aḫbār al-ᶜAfar* (*al-Danākil*) ('*The Source of the History and the Notes of the ᶜAfar* [*Al-Danākil*]'), ed. by HĀŠIM ǦAMĀLADDĪN AŠ-ŠĀMĪ, Cairo 1997; GAMALEDIN MAKNUN, "The Decline of Afar Pastoralism", in: JOHN MARKAKIS (ed.), *Conflict and the Decline of Pastoralism in the Horn of Africa*, London 1993, 45–62; KADAFO MOHAMMED, *The Background History of the Sultanate of Awsa*, Nigeria n.d., 61–82; MorDic 74, 241–44; YASIN MOHAMMED YASIN, "The Political History of the Afar in Ethiopia and Eritrea", *Africa Spectrum* 42, 2008, 39–65.

Yasin Mohammed Yasin

Alula Gugsa

Däǧǧazmač A.G. (**አሉላ ፡ ጉግሳ**; d. 1822) was the eldest son of *ras* ↗Gugsa Märsa of the Wärräsek dynasty of ↗Yäǧǧu, which was the most influential power group in the first half of the 19th cent. His mother was *wäyzäro* Amätä Śəllase, daughter of *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis.

As a high ranking officer, bearing the title of *däǧǧazmač,* A.G. was involved in a number of battles of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt* period, playing a significant role to support the rule of his father. In return, he was named governor of ↗Damot and ↗Goǧǧam.

A.G. was the first husband of *wäyzäro* ↗Mänän Libän Amäde (CRReal 448). The marriage aimed at consolidating the alliance between the Wärräsek and ↗Mammädočč family of Wärrä Himäno. *Ras* ↗Ali Alula (Ali II), the last Yäǧǧu ruler of the *Zämänä mäsafənt*, came from this union.

Src.: CRReal 448; GueCopMen 203; EDUARD RÜPPEL, *Reise in Abyssinien*, vol. 2, Frankfurt am Main 1890, 363–402, 421.

Eloi Ficquet

Amäde Kolase

Imām A.K. (**አመዴ**, horse name "Kolase", Or. 'castrated horse, gelding'; b. 1750s, d. September 1803) was the head of the ↗Mammädočč dynasty of ↗Wärrä Himäno in ↗Wällo from ca. 1788 to 1803.

A.K.'s father was Mäḥammäd (or Mammäd) Abba Ǧibo, the founder of the Mammädočč imamate of Wärrä Himäno. His mother, Alko (or Alkon), descended from Christian noble families of Dälanta and Ambassäl. According to the unpublished notes of Arnauld d'↗Abbadie, A.K. entered the service of *ras* ↗Goššu Zäwde, governor of Amhara, at the age of 20. He was baptized as a Christian, taking the name Wäldä Gäbrəʾel, and married Goššu's niece, Səhin, who descended from a long line of lords of Bägemdər and Goǧǧam. She was A.K.'s only known wife and the mother of his only known son, ↗Libän Amäde Kolase.

After the death of Goššu, ca. 1783, A.K. returned to Wällo and reconverted to ↗Islam. He joined his father and brother Adäm in the battles against the military campaign *aṣe* ↗Täklä Giyorgis launched against Wällo in 1783–84. There was some internal feud before A.K. succeeded his father. His brother Bäṭṭo, who had played a strategy of submission and integration within the Christian kingdom, was made ↗*däǧǧazmač* by Täklä Giyorgis. A.K., who did not want to subdue, rebelled against his brother for some years. He was eventually successful, and in ca. 1788, the year of the death of *ras* ↗Ali Gʷangul, A.K. took over Wärrä Himäno. *Ras* ↗Aligaz, the brother and successor of Ali Gʷangul, tried to win A.K. on his side, but A.K. refused to submit himself and to bargain his title of ↗*imām* against a position in the Christian hierarchy.

The rule of A.K. is characterized by the reinforcement of the regional power of Wällo against the dominance of the power of Gondär led by the Wärräsek (↗Yäǧǧu) dynasty. In the first years of his reign, he defeated two attempts of military seizure of Wärrä Himäno by *ras* Aligaz who was allied with *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Wänd Bäwäsän of Lasta. The most audacious act of A.K. was when he entered Gondär in January 1799 to show his strength and sovereignty. The chronicle of the period

(CRReal 862f., BlunChr 463f.) says he was castigated as a heathen by the ↗*abun* and the ↗*əč̣č̣äge*, but that he reacted in a gentle manner to prove the contrary. Oral traditions of Wällo recount that he performed the Muslim call for prayer (*aḏān*) from the top of the highest tower of the royal castles of Gondär. A.K. refused to bear the title of ↗*ras* and to install himself in Gondär as a king maker. He kept his title of *imām* and imposed his men on territories neighbour to Wällo in order to create a protecting buffer zone. A.K. also consolidated the power of the Wärrä Himäno against the other Oromo lineages of Wällo (particularly Lägä Hida, Lägä Gora and Ǧamma).

A.K. died in a battle against groups of Southern Wällo, in the Ǧamma area (CRReal 873, BlunChr 474). Traditions recount that he was killed by the chief of Lägä Hida, a certain Abba Wasu, who took his revenge against A.K. who had humiliated him publicly mocking his physical disgrace.

A.K. was succeeded by his only known son Libän.

Src.: ARNAULD D'ABBADIE, "Recueil de renseignements juridiques, historiques et littéraires éthiopiens", ms., Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Carte d'Abbadie 18; BlunChr 435f., 442–46, 463f., 474; CRReal 862f., 873.

Lit.: DOMENICO BRIELLI, "Ricordi storici dei Uollo (con note di C. Conti Rossini)", in: *CRStud* 78–110, here 95f., 101f.; ELOI FICQUET, "La mixité religieuse comme stratégie politique. La dynastie des Māmmadoč du Wallo (Éthiopie centrale), du milieu du XVIII^{e} siècle au début du XX^{e} siècle", *Afriques* 1, 2010 (*http://afriques.revues.org/533*, last access 14 December 2011); ZERGAW ASFERA, *Some Aspects of Historical Development in "Amhara, Wällo" ca. 1700–1815*, B.A. Thesis, Haile Sellassie I University 1973, 37–52, 70.

Eloi Ficquet

Amäde Lämma

Fitawrari A.L. (**አመዴ ፡ ለማ**; b. 8 April 1921, ^{c}Ali Bet, d. 21 April 2009, Addis Abäba) was a prominent public figure and parliamentarian.

A.L.'s father was Lämma Endris [Idrīs] and his mother Dästa Gämmäčču. He spent the first 17 years of his life in the ↗Wällo countryside in the service of his parents. He then moved to ↗Däse where he became a successful trader and broker for *ḥağği* Yəmär [^{c}Umar] Dawd, a wealthy hides and skin merchant. During this service he continued school until graduation in grade ten. Later, A.L. obtained a law diploma from Haile Selassie I University (↗Addis Ababa University). He mastered Amharic, English, Italian and Arabic.

In 1956/57 A.L. was elected representative in the national ↗parliament. Elected for four consecutive legislative periods, he served in both chambers for a period of 16 years. Upon the completion of his services as a parliamentarian, he was appointed governor of ↗Rayya and ↗Qobbo *awrağğa*.

A.L. also worked in various capacities for a number of community associations and welfare organizations. He was founder, manager and patron of the Ethiopian Swimming Federation (for 20 years), member of the committee for the return of the Aksum obelisk (↗Stelae), founder and president of a vocational training institute, founder and manager of the Wällo Public Transport Association, member of the Ethiopian Traditional Sports Federation, member of the committee for the erection of a monument for *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II at ↗Mäqdäla and the promotion of the town as a tourist destination, member of the committee for the resolution of the Ethio-Eritrean conflict, member of a committee of elders for the reconciliation of political groups, and patron of the committee for the development and reconstruction of the shrine of *šayḫ* Muḥammad Šāfī in Ǧama Nəguś, Albukko.

A.L. was married for 65 years. He and his wife had ten children. He was the author of an unpublished 600-page autobiography in Amharic. A.L. died of a sudden illness in his home in ↗Addis Abäba at the age of 88.

Src.: *Addis Zämän*, 15 *Miyazya* 2001 A.M. [3 April 2009 A.D.]; *The Ethiopian Herald*, 24 April 2009; *al-^{c}Alam*, 30 *Miyazya* 2001 A.M. [8 May 2009 A.D.].

Hussein Ahmed

Amäde Libän

Imām A.L. (**አመዴ ፡ ሊበን**; Amäde Libän Amäde, horse name Abba Muğğa; b. 1803, d. 1831) of the ↗Mammädočč dynasty of ↗Wärrä Himäno in ↗Wällo ruled from 1815 to 1831. His parents were *imām* ↗Libän Amäde Kolase and *wäyzäro* Ṭuma Gaddisa.

During his childhood, A.L. was the captive of *ras* ↗Gugsa Märsa, the ruler of the Wärrä Šehočč (Wärräsek) dynasty in Gondär (↗Yäğğu). The reasons for this detention are not known. When A.L. was ten, a peace agreement was reached between Gugsa and Libän Amäde. A.L. was subsequently released, and his sister, ↗Mänän Libän, was married to the son of Gugsa, ↗Alula, forging an alliance between the two ruling families of Wärräsek and Mammädočč. A.L. was then entrusted to *däğğazmač* Ṭamru, who was in charge of Amhara ↗Sayənt, a Christian territory neighbouring Wärrä Himäno.

In 1815, Libän Amäde died after a long and powerful reign, and A.L. was invested as ↗*imām*. At the age of twelve, he had to face the rivals of his father who sought to benefit from the lack of military and political experience of the young *imām*. After resisting a few months, A.L. lost a battle against *ras* Gugsa's army and was taken captive. For three years, he was kept under guard at an estate in ↗Fogära. But *däǧǧazmač* Gobäna Alula, the representative of Gugsa in Wällo, lost control of the region and, in 1818, A.L. was sent back to restore calm. The following years, A.L. was in conflict with his half-brother Ali Libän "Abba Bulla", who wanted to seize Wärrä Himäno and the title of *imām.* To this end, Ali "Abba Bulla" made an alliance with the two brothers and successors of *ras* Gugsa, ↗Yəmam Gugsa and ↗Marəyye Gugsa. A.L. could rely on the support of his sister Mänän, who was very powerful in Gondär's power games. A.L. also fought very hard battles against other Muslim chiefdoms of Wällo (Qallu, Täkʷəladäre).

In the Christian chronicle of the period (CRReal 487f., BlunChr 885, 910ff.), A.L. is portrayed as a fanatic Muslim, who committed several crimes against the Christians. These allegations of A.L.'s acts of anti-Christian profanation and blasphemy could be rumours, which were reported in the chronicle in order to show that the favours granted by *ras* ↗Ali Alula, who was A.L.'s nephew, were wrong.

A.L. died after a conflict with Ali Faris of Lasta. Ali "Abba Bulla" then obtained full control of Wärrä Himäno for a few years, before confronting the son of A.L., Libän Amäde Libän.

Src.: ARNAULD D'ABBADIE, "Recueil de renseignements juridiques, historiques et littéraires éthiopiens", ms., Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Carte d'Abbadie 18; BlunChr 487f.; CRReal 885, 910ff.

Lit.: DOMENICO BRIELLI, "Ricordi storici dei Uollo (con note di C. Conti Rossini)", in: *CRStud* 78–110, here 103f.; ELOI FICQUET, "La mixité religieuse comme stratégie politique. La dynastie des Māmmadoč du Wallo (Éthiopie centrale), du milieu du XVIII^{e} siècle au début du XX^{e} siècle", *Afriques* (online) 1, 2010 (*http://afriques.revues.org/533*, last access 5 December 2011); HusIslam 162, 168, 203.

Eloi Ficquet

Amäde Libän

Imām A.L. (**አመዴ ፡ ሊበን**, horse name **አባ ፡ ዋጠው** Abba Waṭäw, baptized as Ḫaylä Mikaᵓel; b. ca. 1850, d. ca. 1880) was one of the last leaders belonging to the ↗Mammädočč dynasty of ↗Wärrä Himäno in ↗Wällo. He was the son of *imām* Libän Amäde Libän and queen ↗Mästäwat.

In the 1860s, Wällo was under occupation of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros who had established his headquarters on *amba* ↗Mäqdäla. The two dowager queens, ↗Wärqitu (widow of *imām* ᶜAli "Abba Bulla") and Mästäwat, carried on the leadership of the revolt against Tewodros and defended for their sons the claim for taking over the dynasty. The young A.L., under the protection of his mother Mästäwat, was the most legitimate claimant to the succession of the Mammädočč leadership and the imamate of Wärrä Himäno, particulary after 1865, when Tewodros sentenced to death Amäde ᶜAli, the son of Wärqitu, at Mäqdäla. But he was soon challenged by another cousin, Mäḥammäd ᶜAli (the future *ras* ↗Mikaᵓel [Ali]), the stepson of Wärqitu, who started his own rebellion ca. 1867. When Mäḥammäd ᶜAli won the support of Wärrä Himäno factions, A.L.'s position was weakened to a point that he had to move his forces to Wärrä ↗Qallu further east.

After Tewodros's death in 1868, Mənilək (future *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II) waged expeditions to occupy Wällo, a territory that was necessary in his strategy of conquest of supreme power (cp. GueCopMen 119). After a brief resistance, A.L. submitted, but waged another revolt (GueCopMen 120; CecZeila I, 267f.). He assembled an army in Yäǧǧu, armed additionally with the guns he could seize from the rebellious Zägäyye (GueCopMen 121), but failed to secure support of Kaśa Mərča (future ↗Yoḥannəs IV, s. CecZeila I, 269) and was defeated. A.L. was caught and imprisoned in ↗Wärrä Illu, the then *kätäma* of Mənilək (BTafA 645; Brielli 1945: 107; corroborated also by oral traditions in Asnake Ali 1983: 15); the governorship of Yäǧǧu was given to ↗Wäle Bəṭul.

A.L. was released by Mənilək after some months in order to fight against Kaśa. However, A.L. rebelled once again, chose ↗Mäqdäla as his base, and pursued his feud against Mäḥammäd ᶜAli, who was at that time on Kaśa's side. Subsequently, Mäḥammäd ᶜAli rallied to Mənilək and was appointed *imām* of Wällo. In July 1876, after five years of rebellion against this coalition of Mənilək and Mäḥammäd ᶜAli, A.L. was captured and imprisoned. This event marked the achievement of Mənilək's aim at subduing Wällo.

In 1877, another shift of alliance happened when Mäḥammäd ᶜAli rebelled against Mənilək and allied with Yoḥannəs. Therefore, Mənilək reconciled with A.L. (who had already escaped from prison in Ǝnnäwari; GueCopMen 136) and appointed him over Wällo (CecZeila I, 278).

This indirect conflict for the control of Wällo between Mənilək and Yoḥannəs expressed in the feud between A.L. and Mäḥammäd ᶜAli came to an end in May 1878, after the council of ↗Boru Meda that was concluded by agreement on Wällo as a buffer zone between Šäwa and Təgray. This Muslim territory had to be Christianized. Mäḥammäd ᶜAli was baptized by Yoḥannəs; he was renamed Mikaᵓel and made *ras*. A.L. was converted at Wärrä Illu by Mənilək who became his Godfather. He was renamed Ḫaylä Maryam and made *däǧǧazmač* (GueCopMen 157f.). Wällo was partitioned between the two rival Mammädočč cousins. Wärrä Himäno and most of western Wällo went to Mikaᵓel. A.L. ruled the territories of lesser fiscal value – Wärrä Illu, Wärrä Qallu, ↗Täkʷəlädäre, ↗Lägä Gora and ↗Lägambo – with his centre in Gärado, in the environs of ↗Däse (to be founded some years later by Mikaᵓel). A.L.'s attachment to his new religion remained loose. While he did not revert to ↗Islam, he kept a neutral attitude towards Muslims, unlike Mikaᵓel who persecuted them to implement the policy of forced conversion ordered by Yoḥannəs.

A.W. died of natural causes at the age of 30 and was buried at ↗Ḥayq. After his death, his domains were ruled by his mother Mästäwat who acted as regent to the young Abba Ǧäbäl, son and successor of A.L. In 1885–86 Mästäwat and Abba Ǧäbäl rebelled against Mikaᵓel's supremacy. Mästäwat died in fight at Lagarafto near Gärado (Asnake Ali 1983: 38) and Abba Ǧäbäl gave up and was allowed to rule the territory of Lägambo (Caulk 2002: 170). He died in 1890, at the age of 17, and was also buried at Ḥayq. This was the final episode of A.L.'s line in the Mammädočč dynasty.

Src.: BTafA 645–51, 667; CecZeila I, 267f.; GueCopMen s. index [s.v. Abba Ouatto].

Lit.: ASNAKE ALI, *Aspects of the Political History of Wallo*: *1872–1916*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University, 1983, 9–22, 37; DOMENICO BRIELLI, "Ricordi storici dei Uollo (con note di C. Conti Rossini)", in: *CRStud* 78–110, here 105–08; RICHARD A. CAULK, "*Between the Jaws of Hyenas*": *a Diplomatic History of Ethiopia* (*1876–1896*), ed. by BAHRU ZEWDE, Wiesbaden 2002 (AeF 60), 170; HusIslam 162f., 169f., 174, 201; HAROLD G. MARCUS, *The Life and Times of Menelik II*: *Ethiopia 1844–1913*, Oxford 1975, 35–40; ZewYohan 31f., 35f., 89, 91.

Eloi Ficquet

Ambo Agricultural College

A.A.C. (**የአምቦ ፡ የእርሻ ፡ ኮሌጅ**, *Yäᵓambo yäᵓərša kolleǧ*) has been a centre for modern agricultural education and research since the 1930s in the town of ↗Ambo.

In 1931–32, ↗Maḫtäma Śəllase Wäldä Mäsqäl, who had studied agriculture in France and Spain, started an agricultural station near Ambo. Shortly thereafter, the Ambo Agricultural School (A.A.S.) offering instruction from grades one to eight began operating. ↗Abrəha Däboč̣ was the first head, and a faculty of four Ethiopian and four French teachers taught courses in agriculture, Amharic, Maths, and French.

During the Italian occupation from 1935 to 1941 (↗Africa Orientale Italiana), the school was closed and the campus was used as a military garrison and prison. Additional buildings were constructed during this period.

After the Liberation, the school was reopened under the direction of Habtä Wäld Kurfa. In 1946, under the Imperial Ethiopian Government, the A.A.S. became A.A.C., administered by the Imperial Ministry of Agriculture. The school began a four-year program of agricultural education for students who had completed the eighth grade and successfully passed the nationwide General Examination that qualified them for secondary schooling. Academic subjects were taught in the morning and practical agricultural work in the afternoons. All faculty and high ranking administrative staff were Germans (↗Germany, relations with).

Graduates who completed the four-year course of study were awarded a Certificate/Diploma. Many of the graduates were employed in Agricultural Extension work or pursued advanced training in German universities. After the founding of the Imperial Ethiopian College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts at ↗Alämayya in October 1956, many A.A.C. graduates continued their education there. A forestry program was begun as an independent unit in the A.A.C. in 1959, and the school was re-designated the Ambo Agricultural and Forestry School. In that year, 150 students were enrolled. The forestry program was terminated in 1963.

In 1965, the school Director, Efrem Bäqqälä, and Yəlma Yəmänbərhan, Director of the Ǧimma Agricultural and Technical School, proposed a two-year post-secondary institute in Ambo. The Ministry of Agriculture approved the proposal and started advanced training in 1967 (the year the German faculty connection ended). The school was renamed the Ambo Institute of Agriculture, and its director was Tewodros Asfaw.

After the ↗Revolution of 1974, the school became Ambo Junior College of Agriculture, and later, Ambo College of Agriculture, and between 1995–96, it was administered as a department of Ǧimma University. In 2009 A.A.C. became Ambo University.

Src.: AMBO TOWN A.A.C. et al., **የአምቦ ፡ እርሻ ፡ ኮሌጅ ፡ ታሪክ ፡ በአጭሩ** (*Yäᵓambo ərša kolleǧ tarik bäᵓaç̣ç̣əru*, 'A Brief History of Ambo College of Agriculture'), Ambo n.d.; BÄQQÄLÄ GUDETA, **የአምቦ ፡ እርሻ ፡ ኮሌጅ ፡ ታሪክና ፡ የ50 አመት ፡ የወርቅ ፡ ኢዮብሉ** 1939–1989 (*Yäᵓambo ərša kolleǧ tarikənna yä50 amät yäwärq iyobəlu*, 'The History of Ambo School of Agriculture and its 50th Anniversary 1939–1989' [1947–1997 A.D.]), Ambo n.d.
Lit.: PankHist 208.

Theodore M. Vestal

ᶜAmdä Mikaᵓel

Ras bitwäddäd ᶜA.M. (**ዐምደ ፡ ሚካኤል**, also known as ᶜAmdo/ᶜAmdu; fl. second half of the 15th cent.) was an influential political figure from the reign of *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob to that of *aṣe* ↗Naᶜod. He remained important even after his death, as evidenced, e.g., by Wänag Sägäd's (future *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl) grant of a ↗*gʷəlt* land "to ᶜAśratä Maryam, son of ᶜAmdä Mikaᵓel" (*Four Gospels*, Däbrä Damo, Reel 1, frame 213v). Already his family had played a decisive role in shaping Ethiopian political history from perhaps as early as the establishment of the *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak dynasty in 1270.

The first time ᶜA.M. appears in Ethiopian history is in a royal chronicle, which states that Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob appointed him as ↗*mälkäñña* over all of ↗Fäṭägar (PerrZarY 15; ms. EMML no. 1515, fol. 161, s. EMML V, 18). This claim is corroborated by a 15th- or 16th-cent. source on the "Əsṭifanosites" (↗Stephanites) which states that Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob ordered "ᶜAmdu, governor of Fäṭägar, to bring (to his court) the saints who were in his domain" (ms. EMML no. 4, fols. 138v–139r, s. EMML I, 7; s. also Sergew Hable-Selassie in PICES 4, 542–51). Moreover, the *Sənkəssar* mentions "ᶜAmdä Mikaᵓel, the Chief of the army of the kings of Ethiopia […], Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, Bäᵓədä Maryam and Əskəndər", among those commemorated on 3 *Ḫədar* (ms. EMML no. 5665, fol. 81r; cp. ColSyn VIII, 246–49).

ᶜA.M. is most remembered for the role he played in determining the successors to *aṣe* ↗Bäᵓədä Maryam (1468–78), Naᶜod (1478), ↗Əskəndər (1478–94), ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon II (1494), and again Naᶜod (1494–1508). Naᶜod was twice deposed, and both times ᶜA.M. was the power behind it (Taddesse Tamrat in PICES 4, 526f.). The first time, ᶜA.M. found Naᶜod on the throne when he (and Əskəndər) returned from a military expedition. He immediately replaced the new king with Əskəndər. Due to Əskəndər's young age his mother *əmmäbet* ↗Romna, *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* Täsfa Giyorgis and ᶜA.M. strongly supported Əskəndər's regency (PerrEsk 352f.). When Əskəndər died, which happened while ᶜA.M. was on another military expedition, Naᶜod reclaimed the throne. As soon as ᶜA.M. returned, he replaced Naᶜod with ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon, the infant son of Əskəndər, who however died within a few months, exposing the nation to violent internal strife (Taddesse Tamrat in PICES 4, 529f.).

The sources on ᶜA.M.'s death are contradictory. One source maintains that Əskəndər was responsible for his execution (ms. EMML no. 5403, fols. 43r–44v). This source (examined by Sergew Hable-Selassie in PICES 4, 547–50) states that Əskəndər later regretted his actions and had the *ras* canonized and buried at the monastery of ↗Däbrä Libanos. This assertion, however, is untenable if the *ras* indeed was instrumental in the crowning of ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon in 1494. Furthermore, the claim is not corroborated by the important sources of the time, such as the *gädl* of *abunä* ↗Märḥa Krəstos. The more plausible version, preserved in both Gəᶜəz and Amharic, accuses Naᶜod of the *ras*'s blood: "Naᶜod had his revenge on this renegade (*ras* ᶜAmdu): he buried him alive up to his chest and they drove on him cows, sheep, horses, mules, camels and donkeys" (Taddesse Tamrat in PICES 4, 526f.; ms. EMML no. 1610, fol. 12v, s. EMML V, 116, and ms. EMML no. 6536, fol. 37v). Possibly at the order of his old adversary, queen ↗Əleni, ᶜA.M.'s body was removed from his grave at Däbrä Libanos to another grave. Finally the body of ᶜA.M. was reburied at ↗Atronsä Maryam by *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl (cp. ColSyn VIII, 247, 249 [tr.]; GuiSyn I, 697f.; TadTChurch 289). In several *Sənkəssar* manuscripts it is said that the final burial took place 40 years after ᶜA.M.'s execution, and 20 years after Əleni's death, thus roughly dating ᶜA.M.'s time of death to 1485 (e.g., BritLib Orient. 667, 154; GuiSyn I, 697f.; s. also TadTChurch 289).

ᶜA.M. had an interesting family background. A donation note in one of the Däbrä Ḥayq Əsṭifanos manuscripts (EMML no. 1768, fol. 88r, s. EMML V, 241f.) indicates that he was a descendant of a Jewish family from Yemen: "The origin of this *ras* ᶜAmdu is Israelite, from the tribe of Joseph. In the time of the reign of the Zagʷe, there came out of the land of Aden a Jewish man, called Joseph, who was named after his father. He was highly honored and wealthy. And he settled in Ǝllaw(ə)z, in the land of Amhara. And subsequently, he begot Amba Nad; Amba Nad (begat) Gʷäžžam Sägäd; Gʷäžžam Sägäd (begat) Amməḫa Ṣəyon; Amməḫa Ṣəyon (begat) Täsfa Ṣəyon; Täsfa Ṣəyon (begat) Gälawdewos; (and) Gälawdewos (begat) *ras* ᶜAmdu; and *ras* ᶜAmdu (begat) *ras* Särṣe; and *ras* Särṣe (begat) ↗*ḥasgʷa* (s. EAE vol. 5) Wäsän" (Taddesse Tamrat 1970: 112; Getatchew Haile in PICES 15, 251–59).

Another genealogical note states that the descendants of ᶜA.M.'s family became important personalities in Kätäta, Wäğ, Təgray, and Fäṭägar (ibid. 253f.). Interestingly, the Fäṭägar genealogy states that Zela Rəᶜəd ('Trembler of Zaylaᶜ') begat Dəl Ḫaǧäba ('Victory Escorted Her') from a daughter of Yəkunno Amlak. It is not unreasonable to suspect that this family of Jewish background supported Yəkunno Amlak's overthrow of the Zagʷe dynasty in 1270, at least by popularizing Yəkunno Amlak's connection to the royal family of Israel as later detailed in the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*.

Src.: Däbrä Dammo, ms. *Four Gospels*, Reel 1 of Donald Davies' microfilm; mss. EMML no. 4 [EMML I, 7], EMML nos. 1515 [EMML V, 18], 1610 [V, 116], 1768 [V, 214f.], 5403, 5665, 6536; ms. BritLib Orient. 667 [WrBriMus no. 230], 152; ColSyn VIII, 246–49; GuiSyn I, 697f.; STANISLAS KUR (ed., tr.), *Actes de Marḥa Krestos*, Louvain 1972 (CSCO 330, 331 [SAe 62, 63]), 98f. (text) = 89f. (tr.); PerrEsk 319–66; PerrZarY 15.

Lit.: DerDom 194, 270f., 311; GETATCHEW HAILE, "*Ras* ᶜAmdu: his and his Ancestors' Role in Ethiopian History", in: *PICES* 15, 251–59; SERGEW HABLE-SELASSIE, "The Geᶜez Letters of Queen Eleni and Libne Dingil to John, King of Portugal", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 547–66, here 547–50; TadTChurch 247, 286-92, 294f.; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "The Abbots of Däbrä-Hayq 1248–1535", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 87–117; ID., "Problems of Royal Succession in the Fifteenth Century Ethiopia: A Presentation of the Documents", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 501–46.

Getatchew Haile

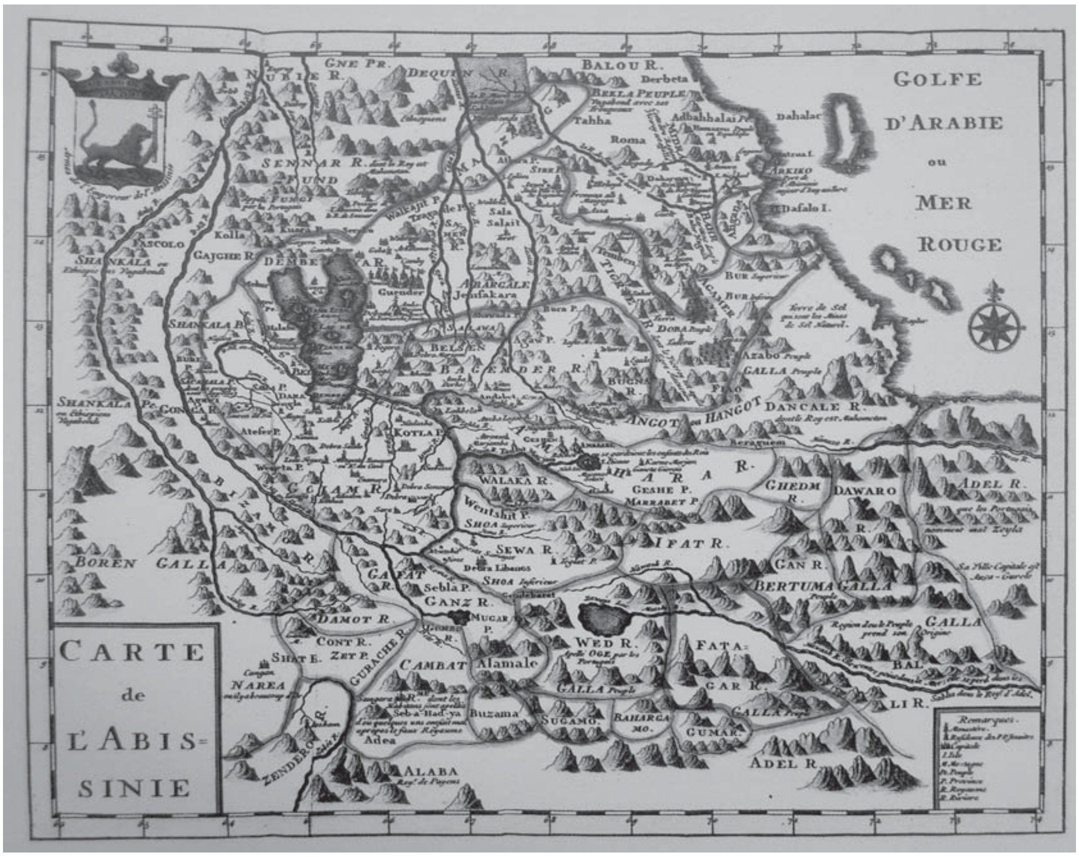
Amhara

A. (in Ethiopic sources mostly **አምሐራ** *Amḥara*, sometimes **አምኀራ** *Amḫara*, also **አማራ** *Amara*) is the name of a historical province located in Central Ethiopia; for several centuries it has also served as an ethnonym (for the ethnic group s. ↗Amhara, EAE vol. 1). The name for one of the most important languages of Ethiopia, *Amarəñña* (↗Amharic), derives from A.

The place-name A. is missing in the sources of the Aksumite period (↗Aksum). The famous ↗lion of ↗Kombolča standing in the valley of the Borkänna River (on the western margin of an area that later became the historical A.) might be a witness of early local history, but its exact meaning is still undeciphered (cp. Fauvelle-Aymar et al. 2011). Probably the earliest mention of the name A. is to be found in a manuscript of the "Golden Gospel" of ↗Däbrä Libanos dating to 1322 (CRDLib 204 [doc. no. 20]). Numerous references to A. appear only in the Ethiopic medieval sources, starting from the allegedly earliest accounts such as the History of the Campaign of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I (MarAmdS; KrAmdS) and 15th-cent. Vitae of saints; they proliferate in later texts of different genres.

Evangelization of A. is believed to have started in the late Aksumite period, as may be hinted by the traditions about King ↗Dəgnaǧan. The political importance of the A. region apparently increased after the fall of the ↗Zagʷe dynasty, with the (re-)establishment in the late 13th cent. of the so-called ↗Solomonic dynasty by ↗Yəkunno Amlak, commonly considered to be a native of A. The fall of the Zagʷe marked the transition of the political centre of the Ethiopian Christian state further inland, and southward (after Aksum in the north): from the Zagʷe's region of ↗Lasta to A. Significantly, in a few samples of correspondence between the early Solomonic rulers and the rulers of ↗Egypt, as well as in ↗Arabic historiography, the monarchs of Ethiopia are sometimes referred to as "A. king", *al-malik al-amḥarī* (possibly not only a question of style, but also reflecting the contemporary local usage, s. DerDom 31–35; cp. also al-↗Maqrīzī, al-↗ᶜUmarī). Chernetsov (1996: 25) proposed that the rulers of Yəkunno Amlak's dynasty might have been understood as "kings of A." due to the place of origin of its founder, and, therefore, their people and followers were called "Amhara", who brought this name with them wherever they took over new lands.

Medieval European maps (↗cartography) suggest that A. within the Ethiopian empire had a higher position as a "kingdom" among "provinces", as indicated, e.g., by the mention of a *Regno Hamara*, or 'Kingdom of A.', on ↗Fra Mauro's map of 1460 (CrawItin fig. 4, map 4, 199; cp. *Amara* of the earlier ↗*Egyptus Novelo*, figs. 1–2), and later maps, especially those based


CARTE de L'ABIS= SINIE
GOLFE D'ARABIE ou MER ROUGE
GNE PR.
DEQUIN R.
BALOU R.
BEKLA PEUPLE
Dahalac
Dafalo I.
SENNAR R.
FUNGI
Kolla
ASCOLO
GAJCHE R.
DEMBEA
SHANKALA
ABARGALE
BEGEMDER R.
ANGOT ou HANGOT
DANCALE R.
Azabo Peuple
GALLA Peuple
KOTLA P.
AMHARA R.
WALAKA R.
GESHE P.
MARRABET P.
GHEDM R.
DAWARO
ADEL R.
GOJAM R.
SHOA
SEWA R.
IFAT R.
GAN R.
BERTUMA GALLA
BOREN GALLA
DAMOT R.
GANZ R.
CONT R.
ZET P.
SHAT E.
NAREA
GURACHE R.
CAMBAT
Alamale
Buzama
WED R.
FATA
GAR R.
GALLA Peuple
SUGAMO
BAHARGA MO.
GUMAR
ADEL R.
LI R.
BAL
Seba-Had-ya
Adea
ZENDERO R.
ALABA Roy. de Payens
Remarques

The province Amhara (middle) on a French map of 1728 showing the approximate location of Ethiopian provinces of that period, Amhara bordering on "Sewa" and "Ifat" in its south, "Gojam" in its west, and "Bagemder" and "Angot" in its north, printed to illustrate a French version of Lobo's book on Ethiopia; from the collection of the Raccolta delle Stampe "Achille Bertarelli", Castello Sforzesco – Raccolte Artistiche e Raccolte Grafiche e Fotografiche, Milano

on Manuel d'↗Almeida and the one edited by ↗Ludolf (s. LudHist).

In 1520 Alvares travelled through A. from north to south. He entered the province south of ↗Angot, saw ↗Amba Gəšän, visited Lake ↗Ḥayq and ↗Mäkanä Śəllase, and left the province to the south by crossing the rivers of Wänčət and Ǧämma (BeckHuntAlvar 243f., 249–60). Zorzi's itineraries of 1524 mention a "regno" or "provintia Amara" as one of the parts of "Abbasia" (CrawItin 108, 178).

The role of A. in the Ethiopian Christian kingdom is best shown in ^{c}Arabfaqīḥ's ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* which refers to A. as the "centre of the Kingdom" (BassHist 76 [tr]) and, therefore, a region of strategic importance. It is not quite clear why ^{c}Arabfaqīḥ refers to A. as *bayt Amḥārā*, lit. 'house of Amhara' (only in a few cases A., BassHist 203, 316, 441; HuntGeogr 80f.). This rarely finds parallels in the Ethiopic sources (with a few exceptions; cp. the Chronicle of ↗Susənyos, ch. 41, a passage alluding to Bet Amḥara as a core area of the "bigger A."). Besides, he refers to the "five gates" leading into the interior of A. (BassHist 281f.; cp. DerDom 21ff.): Wäläqa, Ahəyya Fäğği (not a region, but a pass on the River Wänčət, leading from Šäwa to A., cp. also Spencer 1983), Mi^{ɔ}at (?) in Gədəm, and Wasäl (later ↗Ambassäl).

Important information on A. is provided by the work of Manuel d'Almeida (BeckHuntAlm map and XCVII, 11, 18f., 38 etc.), and, especially, through Ludolf's *Historia Aethiopica* in the 17th cent., the data for which were provided by *abba* ↗Gorgoryos, himself a native of ↗Sayənt in A. He gave 36 names of places and regions/districts of the "Kingdom of A.". Among these he mentions those which are historically known as localities of significance or important churches: Ambassäl (possibly Wasal/Vasal of the old ↗itineraries, s. CrawItin); ↗Atronsä Maryam; Badabağ, ↗Bärara (Morara of the old itineraries); ↗Efrata; Gəl (possibly Gol, i.e., Däbrä Gʷäl, or the monastery of *abunä* ↗Bäṣälotä Mikaʾel); ↗Gəše and Gəšän (i.e. Amba Gəšän); Mäkanä Śəllase; Šägla (possibly Sägla, the place of the famous author Giyorgis and his monastery ↗Däbrä Baḥrəy); ↗Tädbabä Maryam and ↗Wägda. On the map of *Historia Aethiopica*, A. appears situated between the rivers ↗Abbay in the west, ↗Bäšəlo in the north, Borkänna in the east and ↗Käsäm in the south; it also encompasses the region of Lake ↗Ḥayq, with the famous monastery of ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos.

The churches of Mäkanä Śəllase, as well as Atronsä Maryam and Tädbabä Maryam, were in Sayənt (also called Amhara Sayənt). The region of A. hosted also such sanctuaries as ↗Däbrä Nägʷädgʷad, and Gännätä Giyorgis (DerDom 263). The mountain massif of ↗Mäqdäla is located in the northern part of A., close to the gorge of the Bäšəlo. Many of the churches of A. were royal foundations, patronized by the monarchs. Different in A. were used as royal ↗*kätäma*-camps (DerDom 325ff.; cp. HuntGeogr 110); the relatively high place of A. in the Empire is demonstrated also by the ↗*Śərʿatä mängəśt* (s. Varenberg 1915–16; Guidi 1922).

In the pre-17th-cent. Ethiopian Christian state, A. can be described in the first instance as the "heart of the Empire and cradle of the monarchy" (DerDom 23), thanks to the intrinsic relations between the main churches of the region and royal power. Being a region of poor economic resources, A. was well protected and played a role as the royal "domain" (similar to ↗Dämbəya in the ↗Gondärine kingdom). At first glance, despite the similar function of the adjacent ↗Šäwa (cp. the notion of the "bicephalous" centre of the Kingdom, Pennec – Toubkis 2004: 7), the conditions in the latter were different: though possessing many more resources, Šäwa was ethnically and religiously heterogeneous, with more transparent and open borders, subjected to the danger of attacks from the Muslim sultanates. Strategically, Šäwa served as the bulwark for protecting A.

In 1531 the armies of *imām* ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī met *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl in battle near Waṣil, and later overran A., destroying and sacking some of its main churches (BassEt 246–50, 254ff., 307–16, 326–38; DombrChron 159). Two years later the ↗*ǧihād* forces invaded A. *Aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl was finally forced to look for refuge in the north of the country. Afterwards, despite the defeat of the *ǧihād* and temporal recovery of the Empire under Minas and especially *aṣe* ↗Śärṣä Dəngəl, the decline of A. was imminent. Moreover, its decrease in political importance gave way to the growing significance of the Lake ↗Ṭana region.

The first large invasion of the Oromo into A. probably took place around 1563 (as mentioned in ch. 11 of the ↗*Zenahu lägalla*), and happened again several times during the reign of Śärṣä Dəngəl. The Oromo groups crossed through A. many times, invading it or taking part in feuds. In the early 17th cent. during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Zädəngəl, part of the population of A. followed the "false messiah" ↗Zäkrəstos, and the region was subjected to repression (the movement, however, still had support in A. for a number of years). During the rise to power of ↗Susənyos, A. was the scene of the struggle between him and ↗Yaʿəqob, and so suffered a number of times (e.g., Chronicle of Susənyos, chs. 17–18).

Some areas, originally parts of A., populated by Amharic-speakers, were detached from it in the 18th–19th cent., e.g., Anṣokiya (conquered by *märəd azmač* ↗Asfa Wäsän of Šäwa in the late 18th cent.). Groups of Oromo (Yäǧǧu and Wällo) settled in parts of A. in the 17th–18th cents., cutting off the Lake Ḥayq area from A. (cp. ↗Täkʷəlädäre), and later creating in East A. the enclave of ↗Wärrä Himano. A core area of A., Sayənt remained safe from the incursions. In the first half of the 19th cent., it was governed by the local ruler Təkku Bərəlle, who was defeated by *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. The latter managed to bring under his sway parts of the historical A., including Mäqdäla, by 1855. In the 1870s, ↗Wärrä Illu, apparently one more fragment of historical A., became a stronghold and early capital of *nəguś* ↗Mənilək (II) of Šäwa; he encroached also into Amhara Sayənt, bringing it, eventually, under his control. The A. province disintegrated. During the following decades (A.) Sayənt was ruled by different appointed governors and did not play a significant role. In the 20th cent., under *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I, most of the A. territories were included into the province of ↗Wällo, while the name A. was never taken for any administrative entity, except in connection with Sayənt. Nor was the territorial concept of the historical A. re-utilized in ↗Africa Orientale

Italiana; remarkably, the areas of the region were given minimal attention in *Guida* (393f.).

The complex nature of medieval sources hardly facilitates understanding the precise geographic position of historical A. and its borders, as well as its role in the past. Many questions have been answered by recent historical research (DerDom); some attention was attracted to A. in connection with the origin of the Amharic language. However, in view of the fact that for centuries the area populated by the A. (or Amharic-speaking) people was several times larger than the historical A., a comprehensive study of the culture of the historical A. still remains a desideratum.

In today's Ethiopia, the area of historical A. is part of the North and South Wällo zones of A. regional state. The churches and monasteries of historical A. enjoy deep reverence from the Orthodox community throughout the country, though the area of historical A. is not considered anymore the only region of "pure" Amharic culture and language.

Src.: BassEt 246–50; BassHist s. index; BeckHuntAlm, map and xcvii, s. index; BeckHuntAlvar s. index; BTafA s. index; CrawItin s. index; CRDLib 204, no. 20; DomLib, s. index; *Guida* 393f., s. index; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Contributi alla storia letteraria di Abissinia", *RRALm* 31, 3–4, 1922, 65–89 ["Il «Ser^{c}ata Mangest»"]; HuntGeogr 80f., s. index; KrAmdS s. index; LudHist I, cap. III, §§ 8–10, 35; MarAmdS 51 (text) = 52 (tr.)., 62 (text) = 63 (tr.), 116 (text) = 117 (tr.), 134 (text) = 135 (tr.), esp. index 195; JOSEPH VARENBERGH, "Studien zur abessinischen Reichsordnung (*Šer^{c}ata Mangešt*)", *ZA* 30, 1915–16, 1–45, here 25, 28 (tex) = 42, 45 (tr.).

Lit.: SEVIR CHERNETSOV, "On the Problem of Ethnogenesis of the Amhara", in: ROLF GUNDLACH – MANFRED KROPP – ANNALIS LEIBUNDGUT (eds.), *Der Sudan in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, New York 1996 (Nordostafrikanisch-Westasiatische Studien 1), 17–35; CrumLand 31, 34, s. index; DerDom s. index; DerDomTh; FRANÇOIS-XAVIER FAUVELLE-AYMAR et al., "Le lion de Kombolcha et le léopard d'Aksum: des félins rupestres paléochrétiens?", *AE* 26, 2011, 286–89; GETATCHEW HAILE, "A History of the Tabot Atronesä Maryam in Amhara (Ethiopia)", *Paideuma* 34, 1988, 13–22; DONALD LEVINE, *Greater Ethiopia: the Evolution of a Multiethnic Society*, Chicago, IL – London ^{2}1999, 72–78, s. index; SIMON DAVID MESSING, *Highland-Plateau Amhara of Ethiopia*, University of Pennsylvania 1957 [repr. and ed. by MARVIN LIONEL BENDER, New Haven, CT 1985]; HERVÉ PENNEC – DIMITRI TOUBKIS, "Reflections on the Notions of 'Empire' and 'Kingdom' in Seventeenth-Century Ethiopia: Royal Power and Local Power", *Journal of Early Modern History* 8, 3–4, 2004, 229–58; ROGER SAUTER, "Où en est notre connaissance des églises rupestres d'Éthiopie?", *AE* 5, 1963, 235–92, here 274f.; DIANA SPENCER, "Monastery of Ahǝya Fäğğ Qusqwām in Wallo – its Illuminated Manuscripts and Other Treasures", in: PAUL HENZE (ed.), *Aspects of Ethiopian Art from Ancient Axum to the 20th Century*, London 1994, 73-82; TadTChurch, s. index; ZARGAW ASFARRA, *Some Aspects of Historical Development in 'Amhara/Wällo' (ca. 1700–1815)*, B.A. thesis, Haile Selassie I University 1973.

Denis Nosnitsin – Red.

Ammǝḫa Abärra Kaśa

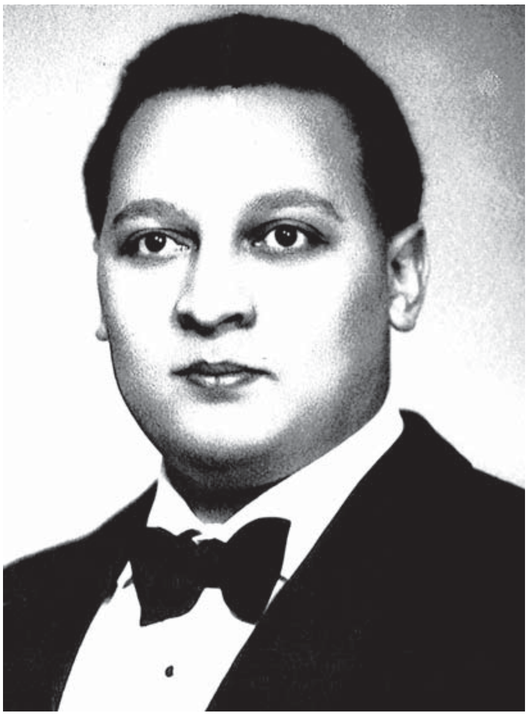
Däǧǧazmač A. (**አምኃ ፡ አበራ ፡ ካሣ**; b. 15 August 1928, Fǝčče, Sälale, d. 4 December 2003, New York) was a renowned Ethiopian diplomat and politician in the government of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śǝllase I.

A. was the son of the famous Ethiopian patriot leader *däǧǧazmač* ↗Abärra Kaśa Ḫaylu (s. EAE vol. 5) and of *wäyzärit hoy* ↗Käbbädäčč Śǝyyum, a daughter of *ras* ↗Śǝyyum Mängäša; he was also the nephew of ↗Asfa Wäsän Kaśa. He received his tuition in Gǝ^{c}ǝz and Amharic in his father's house and then went to the Swedish Missionary School in Addis Abäba, which he had to leave after the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1936. After the death of his father and uncle at the hands of General Tracchia, his mother, who was also actively involved in the ↗resistance, continued the struggle, until they finally managed to flee to Sudan. From there they (including his brother Tariku) went into exile in ↗Jerusalem via Egypt. There, A. attended the missionary school Collège de Frères.

After the Liberation of Ethiopia in 1941 and his return to his country, he was able to finish his secondary schooling at the Ḫaylä Śǝllase School in Kotäbe, Addis Abäba. After the end of World War II, A. was sent to England for further schooling, where he first went to Malvern College and later to Brasenose College in Oxford; here he received his M.A. in politics, philosophy and economics. In 1951 he returned to Ethiopia and was appointed governor of the Sälale district and advisor to the Ministry of the Interior with the rank of *däǧǧazmač*. In 1955 he was appointed chairman of Ethiopia's election board, where he supervised the first parliamentary elections.

Moving to foreign affairs, A. became ambassador to Yugoslavia. In 1957 he returned and, after the failed ↗Coup d'état in 1960 (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081f.), was appointed governor-general of Bägemdǝr and Sǝmen. In 1964 A. was appointed Ambassador to the Federal Republic of ↗Germany, where he served until 1968. Upon his return he was made a crown councilor (↗Crown Council), a post he held until the fall of the imperial government in 1974 (↗Revolution of 1974).

Under the ensuing *Därg* regime (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council), A. was imprisoned for eight years and was finally allowed to go into exile in 1982.



Ammǝḫa Abärra Kaśa; photo early 1950s, from the collection of the author

He spent the following years in Jerusalem and then went to the United States. During his exile in the U.S. he held several lectures at Howard University and in Afro-American circles, encouraging the interest of other scholars in the study of Ethiopian history and culture.

After his death he was buried in the Qǝddǝst Śǝllase Cathedral in Addis Abäba.

Src.: **ክቡር ፡ ደጃዝማች ፡ አምኃ ፡ አበራ ፡ ካሣ**, 1928–2003 (*Kǝbur däǧǧazmač Ammǝḫa Abärra Kaśa 1928–2003*, 'His Excellency *däǧǧazmač* Ammǝḫa Abärra Kaśa, 1928–2003'), Addis Abäba 2003 [booklet published by his family on the occasion of his funeral].

Lit.: RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia*: *a New Political History*, London 1965, 354f., 384f.; HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *The Politics of Empire. Ethiopia, Great Britain and the United States*: *1941–1974*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1995, 166.

Asfa-Wossen Asserate

Andom Täsfa Ṣǝyon

Däǧǧazmač A. (**አንዶም ፡ ተስፋ ፡ ጽዮን**, also Amdom, **አምዶም**; b. 1892, Däbri ^{c}Addi Ḥannis, d. 1939, Wälqayt) was a prominent Eritrean ↗*askari* who defected to the Ethiopian side during the ↗Italian war of 1935–36 and played an important and unique role in the ↗resistance against the Italian occupation.

A. had risen to the rank of ↗*šumbaš* in the Eritrean colonial army and was married to *wäyzäro* Sändäq Mängǝśtu with whom he had four children.

Two factors contributed to A.'s desertion as well as that of many thousands of Eritreans who had previously been in colonial employment: first, Eritreans joined the regional and international outcry against fascist Italy's invasion of Ethiopia and rallied in solidarity with the Ethiopian resistance; second, many Eritreans (*askari* and civilian) objected to Italian large-scale mistreatment of Ethiopians, and to the desecration of Orthodox Christian places of worship.

Shortly after A.'s defection with a few hundred Italian colonial troops that he commanded, *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śǝllase I bestowed upon him the rank of *qäññazmač* before he took part in the Emperor's last ditch defence at the battle of ↗May Č̣äw.

A.'s desertion from and fighting against the fascist forces is distinct in two important respects. First, unlike most of the *askari* who fought alongside the patriots inside Ethiopia, A. retained command over his forces, and remained autonomous in his operations. By contrast, Eritreans who joined *ras* ↗Dästa Damṭäw and *ras* ↗Ǝmmǝru Ḫaylä Śǝllase in the south were not allowed to carry weapons until late 1936 and early 1937, much less to wage autonomous resistance against Italian forces. Second, upon the Emperor's flight out of the country and the southward retreat of the bulk of the patriots' resistance, A. remained in the rugged terrain of the northern Ethiopian highlands and quickly reorganized his forces to wage guerrilla warfare that Ethiopian nobility openly disparaged. He marched northward to wreak havoc behind enemy lines and render its rear base in Eritrea insecure.

The Italian army rushed to crush A. and his forces because of the real threat that they posed and the example they were becoming to the rest of Eritrean *askari*. Shortly after the Battle of May Č̣äw, a punitive Italian unit tracked A.'s movements back into Eritrea, and encircled his forces, and A. was wounded. After about six months of recovery – hiding in the war zone and in Sudan – A. resumed resistance in the ↗Wälqayt region where he also started to mobilize the people. In April 1939, an Italian unit encircled A. and his forces once more. In the shootout that ensued, he was fatally wounded and died shortly afterwards.

Meanwhile, from his refuge in Bath, England, the Emperor promoted A. to *däǧǧazmač*, the news of which arrived around the latter's death. In 1960, he was awarded a posthumous Brigadier Generalship.

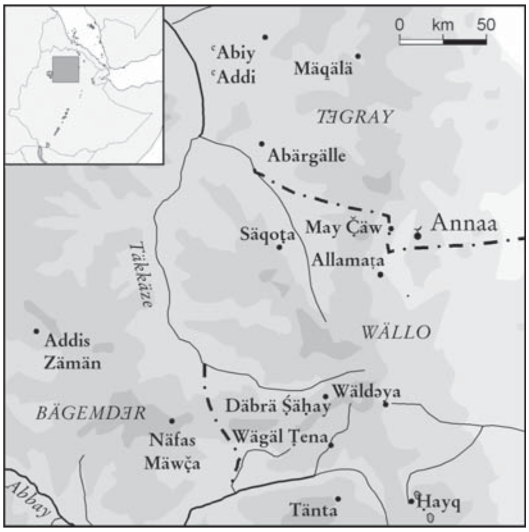
His remains were returned to his home village and a street was named after him in Asmära.

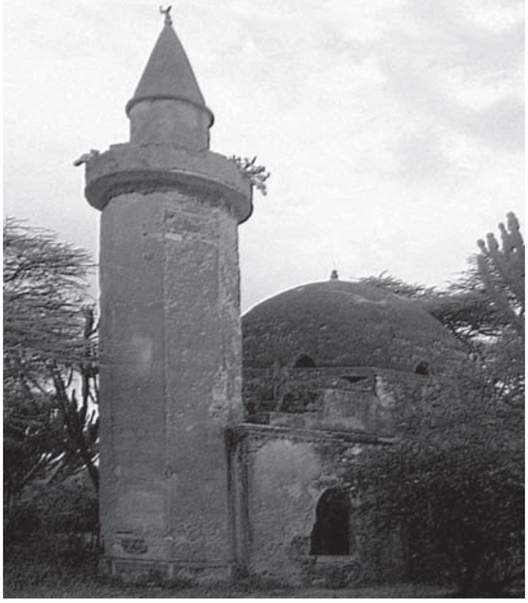
Lit.: Alᵓazar Täsfa Mikaᵓel, "Eritrean Heroes", *New Times and Ethiopia News* 631, 1948; Gärima Taffärä, **ጎንደሬ ፡ በጋሻው** (*Gondäre bägaššaw*, 'The Gondäre with his Shield'), Addis Abäba 1949 A.M. [1956/57 A.D.]; Richard Greenfield, *Ethiopia*: *a New Political History*, London 1965, 230ff.; Alberto Sbacchi, *The Legacy of Bitterness*, Trenton, NJ 1997, 173f.

Awet Tewelde Weldemichael

Annaa

A. (**አና**) is the name of an Islamic sanctuary in the small town of Huğra Wärrä Abbaye in today's South Təgray Zone, 40 km to the north-east of Allämäṭa. Originally, "A." designated a branch of the Marawa clan of the Oromo ↗Rayyaa group (BTafA 157) and, as traditions claim, this term was employed locally as a synonym of the territory known as ↗Rayya ᶜAzäbo. The place where the sanctuary was established was originally known as Funnan Dimo. It was renamed as Aman Amba in the first half of the 19th cent., by the founder of the sanctuary *šayḫ* Muḥammad Faqīh Zubayr, better known as Getaw Säyyid. He was the son of *šayḫ* Faqīh Zubayr of ↗Yäğğu, who had introduced the Qādirīya Ṣūfī order (↗Islamic brotherhoods) in ↗Wällo (HusIslam 69). He moved to the Rayyaa area in 1827 and during his seven year stay he taught ↗Islam to several students from the region.





The disused Italian minaret in Annaa; photo 2010, courtesy of Kemal Abdulwehab

At A., Getaw Säyyid was succeeded by one of his students, *šayḫ* Ğamāladdīn Muḥammad al-Annī (d. 1882), who attained the highest level of Islamic scholarship through five decades of intellectual effort. It is through him that A. developed into a multi-functional Islamic centre (↗*Zāwiya*). Ğamāladdīn Muḥammad composed an outstanding number of texts and very famous Islamic panegyrics (↗*Manzuma*). About 50 of his copied works are traceable today. Four of them are published, two in Cairo and two in Addis Abäba. Because of these and other legacies that he left behind at A., the term *Anniy* 'of Annaa [area]' is affixed to his and his descendants' names as a *nisba* ('surname'). Even today those who have a blood connection to *šayḫ* Ğamāladdīn are proud to affix the word *Anniy* to their name

In the late 1870s *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV led a series of campaigns to eradicate Islam from territories under his dominion. A.'s mosque was destroyed, all original manuscripts of *šayḫ* Ğamāladdīn were burnt, and students were persecuted and forced to disperse. After *šayḫ* Ğamāladdīn passed away in 1882 A.D., the role of A. as a centre of Islamic scholarship and Ṣūfī training for the Qādirīya brotherhood gradually declined and passed to Dana, in Yäğğu, when *šayḫ* Aḥmad Ādam (Dāniy al-Awal) was made the successor (*ḫālīfa)* of the *šayḫ*.

However, A. managed to survive as a shrine and a popular pilgrimage centre, even though

Compound of Annaa's main mosque surrounded by its wood and grass fences; photo 2012, courtesy of Eloi Ficquet

both of its founders were not buried there. Getaw Säyyid was buried at Nəguś, in South Wällo, and *šayḫ* Ǧamāladdīn was buried at Koräme, in Yäǧǧu. There is a *ḥuǧub* 'veils [i.e. sanctuary]' at A. within which are found five main *ḍarīḥ* ('mausoleum') of the son, grandsons and followers of *šayḫ* Ǧamāladdīn and the *ḍarīḥ* of ᶜAyša, the wife of Getaw Säyyid and daughter of *šayḫ* Muḥammad Šafī of Ǧama Nəguś. The first task of any visitor to A. is to visit the *ḥuǧub* and to pray for the pious founders in order to benefit from their *baraka* ('blessing'). The whole process of the annual ↗*mawlid* ceremony and the rituals performed at A. are more or less similar to those identified as common to Muslim Wällo by Hussein Ahmed (HusIslam 84). Though Abbink (2008: 122) observed that its relative remoteness had some negative impact, it still attracts thousands of people across different religious and linguistic boundaries. For both Muslims and Christians of Rayyaa, *šayḫ* Ǧamāladdīn is affectionately named as Abbuwwa (Orom., 'beloved father'), and his descendants are likewise called Abbona (Tgñ. 'our father').

By the end of the 1930s, the Italian authorities, in order to gain the sympathy of the Muslims of the area, constructed at A. a sturdy mosque which is alleged to resemble Catholic Church architecture. It was constructed on the site of the former ancient mosque demolished by *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV. *Šayḫ* ᶜAbdurraḥmān, the grandson of *šayḫ* Ǧamāladdīn Muḥammad al-Annī and the guardian of the shrine, refused to use this mosque for prayer. Because of his strong opposition, he was imprisoned along with his family on Nokra, one of the ↗Dahlak Islands, for about two and a half years. Nowadays, whenever the compound is used during the *mawlid* celebration, "the pilgrims rejoice within [it] but do not pray in it. [(…) they] consider it as a sign of victory" (Berhe Derbew 2010: 78). Many pilgrims scratch their names onto the walls of the sanctuary. Just outside the sanctuary compound are located the graves of those who defended and saved the sanctuary from *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's forces led by ↗Abbäbä Arägay and ↗Abbäbä Damṭäw. They were led by a certain Muḥammad Bača.

Src.: Ǧamāladdīn Muḥammad al-Annī, *Kifāyat aṭ-ṭālibīn fī maᶜarifat muhimmat ad-dīn* ('Adequate Amount of Information for Students in the Significant Knowledge of Religion'), al-Qāhira 1959; Id. *Rawḍat al-asrār fī ṣalāt ᶜalā an-Nabī al-muḫtār* ('The Garden of Secrets of the Prayer of the Chosen Prophet'), al-Qāhira n.d.; Id. *Ǧāmiᶜ al-fatāwā* ('Book of Legal Responsa'), Addis Ababa 1424 H. [2004 A.D.]; Id. *An-Najm Mūnīr fī Irshād man yurīd as-safar ilā al-Akhīrah wa yassir* ('A Shining Star for the Orientation of Those Who Travel to the Hereafter and Felicity'), Addis Ababa 1433 H. [2012 A.D.]; ᶜAbd al-Ǧali, *al-Mawāhib al-ᶜalīya wat-tuḥfa as-sanīya waz-zakīya wa-l-aḥwal al-mardīya min baḥr at-tarǧama al-annīya* ('The Talents and the Magnificent and Selected Gifts and the Accepted Conditions from the Sea of the Biography of Anna') [ms. found in Annaa].

Lit.: Jon Abbink, "Muslim Monasteries? Some Aspects of Religious Culture in Northern Ethiopia", *Aethiopica* 8, 2008, 117–33; Abera Gesese, *A Tentative History of the Oromo of Raya Azebo*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History 1983; Agezew Hidaru, *The Political History of Raya-Qobo: 1872–1943*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History 2000; BTafA 157; Berhe Derbew, *Cultural and Natural Heritage of Raya and its Potential: a Survey with a View to Establish* [*a*] *Museum in* [*a*] *Selected Area of Southern Tigray Zone*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University, Institute of Ethiopian Studies 2010; Feysal Hussein, *Analysis of Law and Legal History /Fiqh/ of Jemal al-Din al-Anni Manuscript: with Philological Description and Partial Translation*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of Linguistics 2009; HusIslam 69, 84; Hussein Muhammed, *Sufism According to Sheykh Jamaludin al-Anni Based on his Manuscript al-Khulasat al-Naqiyya fi ariqat al-Sufiyya al-Zakiyya al-Naqiyya*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of Linguistics 2007; Kemal Abdulwehab, *Critical Edition, Analysis and Annotated Translation of Kitāb al-Tārikh Al-Annī by Šaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Annī of Raya* c. *1796–1883*): *with the Study of his Life, Literature and Shrines*, Ph.D. thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of Linguistics and Philology 2012.

Kemal Abdulwehab – Eloi Ficquet

Antinori Expedition

The A.E., also known as the "grande spedizione" in Italy's colonial and geographical circles, was a commercial and scientific mission, commissioned by the ↗Società Geografica Italiana (SGI) active in Ethiopia between 1876 and 1882.

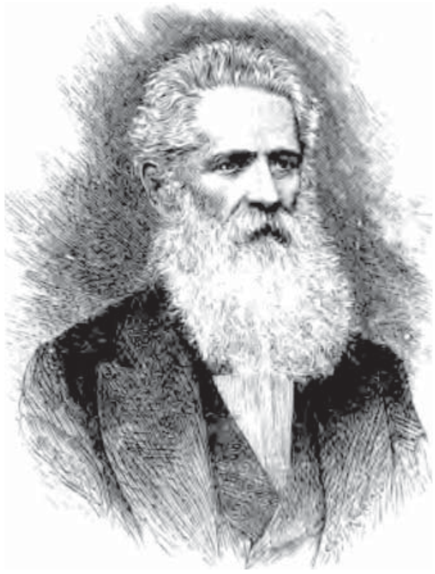
The A.E. was led by Orazio ↗Antinori. Its principal objectives were the creation of a supply and relief station in ↗Šäwa and the exploration of the territories south of the Ethiopian highlands: its ultimate purpose was to locate a gateway to the Great Lakes region – an area then still little known to European explorers.

The original members of the expedition, who left Naples for ↗Zayla^{c} on 25 March 1876, besides Antinori, were the engineer and geologist Giovanni ↗Chiarini, the Italian nobleman and financier of the expedition Sebastiano Martini Bernardi, and Lorenzo Landini, Antinori's assistant. Antonio ↗Cecchi, a navy captain, joined the party on 30 September 1877 in ↗Lǝčče, together with Martini Bernardi, who had been sent back to Italy to improve the expedition's poor supplies.

In the ensuing months, Antinori and Chiarini were allowed to travel throughout Šäwa to survey the territory and collect zoological specimens. *Aṣe* ↗Mǝnilǝk II perceived the A.E. as an opportunity to strengthen his commercial and political ties with Italy and granted Antinori a parcel of land in ↗Lǝṭ Maräfiya, where the party could build the first Italian scientific station in Ethiopia. In exchange for the land grant, Antinori agreed to provide Mǝnilǝk with ↗firearms. To this purpose Martini returned to Italy for a second time and obtained a supply of rifles from the Rubattino Shipping Company (↗Rubattino, Raffaele).

In May 1878 Antinori instructed Chiarini and Cecchi to continue the exploratory effort and to travel south to locate a path to Lake Victoria. In ↗Käfa the two were imprisoned, together with the missionary Léon des ↗Avanchers, by the Queen of ↗Geeraa, *genne* Gummiti. Chiarini and des Avanchers died in captivity, while Cecchi was freed in 1880 thanks to *nǝguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot's intercession. Responsible for soliciting the *nǝguś* to take action was Gustavo ↗Bianchi, explorer of the Società di Esplorazione Commerciale di Milano, who negotiated the release by promising technical help for the construction of a bridge on the River Tämč̣a (↗Salimbeni expedition).

Chiarini's death and the failure of the expedition shattered the A.E.'s hopes of reaching further south: upon Cecchi's return to Šäwa, the SGI's President Onorato Caetani acknowledged the A.E.'s failure and ordered its return. However, Antinori himself never returned to Italy but died on 22 August 1882 in Lǝṭ Maräfiya.


Orazio Antinori, head of the Antinori Expedition; from Bompiani 1891:54

The A.E.'s accomplishments were limited: the establishment of the station – which remained operational until the Battle of ↗^{c}Adwa; Antinori's zoological collections – primarily housed in the Museo di Storia Naturale of Genoa; and the publication of the members' memoirs that contributed to the production and diffusion of knowledge about Ethiopia.

The A.E. was the SGI's last official expedition to Africa. In 1887 the Battle of ↗Dog^{c}ali marked the end of an era: the surreptitious expansion of Italian interests on the Ethiopian plateau through commercial and scientific expeditions made way for policies of direct military penetration.

Src.: CecZeila; *Bollettino della Società geografica italiana* 6–13, 1875–82 Roma; LORENZO LANDINI, *Due anni in Africa col Marchese Orazio Antinori*, Citta di Castello 1884; SEBASTIANO MARTINI, *Ricordi di escursioni in Africa dal 1878 al 1881*, Firenze 1886; LEOPOLDO TRAVERSI, *Let-Marefià*, Milano 1931.

Lit.: SILVANO AMBROGI, *Un arabo perugino*: *Vita e viaggi di Orazio Antinori in Egitto e nell'Etiopia di Menelik*, Torino 1992; ROBERTO BATTAGLIA, *La prima guerra d'Africa*, Torino 1958, 113–34; SOFIA BOMPIANI, *Italian Explorers in Africa*, Oxford 1891 (The Leisure Hour Library. New Series III), 54–71, here 54 (ill.); MARIA CARAZZI, *La Società geografica italiana e l'esplorazione coloniale in Africa* (*1867–1900*), Firenze 1972, 66–93; ROBERT HESS, "Italian Imperialism in its Ethiopian Context", *IJAHS* 6, 1973, 94–109.

Matteo Salvadore

Archives and libraries

I. Archives
  a. Introduction
  b. Medieval and modern archives in Ethiopia and Eritrea
  c. Contemporary archives in the Horn of Africa
  d. Foreign archives
II. Libraries

I. Archives

a. Introduction

The term A. (from Gr. ἀρχεῖον, *archeîon*, 'government house [for official records]', in pl. 'official documents', via Lat. *archivum*), serving also as a singular, designates both one or more collections of documents or public records that because of their historical or cultural value have been either casually stored or carefully selected for permanent or long-term preservation and the physical place(s) they are kept. Meant for the sake of "evidence", their qualities include in principle, but not necessarily, authenticity, reliability, integrity, and usability – copies, fakes and fragments being, however, not any less important to scholars.

A. are different from libraries (s. below) – chiefly, collections of literary texts – as to their functions and organization, although the distinction is not always easy to draw, esp. for ancient and medieval times. If works of literature can be ranged among documentary papers or vice versa, A. are equally often found within library premises or vice versa, as is the case for ecclesiastic material in the early Middle Ages; e.g., for the famous archiepiscopal A. of Ravenna (s. Montanari 1992: 274ff., 281; for modern and contemporary times cp. De Pasquale 2008).

Within this framework, "archival science" (actually, a technique subsidiary to administration and history) encompasses the study not only of material technologies, organizing principles and geographic locations, but also of traditional and electronic storage and catalogue storage methods, digital preservation and the long range impact of storage programs, as well as of the past efforts to keep documents and items and to hand them over, as valuable holders of memories, to future generations. Records are indeed the focus of archival tradition, and can be defined as data or information presented in fixed forms created or received during the course of a tenure or activity and set apart to yield precise data in case of legal controversy.

Evolving from mankind's need to preserve and classify the surrounding world, the use of keeping official documents is very old. Archaeology has revealed A. of hundreds or thousands of clay tablets going back to the 3rd and 2nd millennia B.C. in such sites of the Near East and Greece as Ebla, Mari, Amarna, Ḫattusas, Pylos and Ugarit. These discoveries proved to be instrumental in the knowledge of ancient civilisations as to their writings, languages, literatures, politics and economics. Other A. that existed in ancient China, Greece and Rome have been mainly lost, for their documents were produced in perishable material like wax tablets, paper, parchment (s. ↗manuscripts) and ↗papyrus (s. EAE vol. 5). The latter is preserved almost exclusively, yet abundantly, in Egypt, thanks to the local climate. Here, an important tradition of public and private A. formed from ancient times down to the Islamic conquest and well into the Middle Ages and beyond.

Both the material and typological complexity of papyrus documents and the frequent lack of information on their findings have given rise to an interesting debate among field specialists about the definition of *A.* vs. *dossier*, the latter being, in principle, an arbitrary collection, i.e. "a group of texts brought together today concerning a particular person or family, or a particular subject", that "may include a person's archive, if available, as well as other texts that do not belong to the original archive but provide additional information on the archive holder" (Vandorpe 2009: 217ff.). Several A. founded since the early Middle Ages in the service of states, cities and ↗churches or other institutions have survived for quite a long time, often keeping their official function more or less uninterruptedly until now and becoming thereby a basic tool for historical research.

Lit.: ANDREA DE PASQUALE, *Gli archivi in biblioteca. Storia, gestione e descrizione*, Savigliano, CN 2008 (Anthropos. Storia, civiltà e paesi) (Lit.); ADAM J. KOSTO – ANDERS WINROTH, *Charters, Cartularies, and Archives. The Preservation and Transmission of Documents in the Medieval West*: *Proceedings of a Colloquium of the Commission Internationale de Diplomatique* (*Princeton and New York, 16–18 September 1999*), Toronto 2002 (Papers in Medieval Studies 17); GIOVANNI MONTANARI, "Culto e liturgia a Ravenna dal IV al IX secolo", in: ANTONIO CARILE (ed.), *Storia di Ravenna*, vol. 2, part 2: *Dall'età bizantina all'età ottoniana. Ecclesiologia, cultura e arte*, Venezia 1992, 241–81, here 274ff., 281; CLELIA MORA – PATRIZIA PIACENTINI (eds.), *L'ufficio e il documento*: *I luoghi, i modi, gli strumenti dell'amministrazione in Egitto e nel Vicino Oriente antico*, Milano 2006 (Quaderni di Acme 83) (Lit.); GIOVANNI PUGLIESE CARRATELLI (ed.), *La città e la parola scritta*, Milano 1998 (Civitas Europaea 5) (Lit.); KATELIJN VANDORPE, "Archives and Dossiers", in: ROGER S. BAGNALL (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, Oxford 2009, 216–55, here 217ff.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

b. Medieval and modern archives in Ethiopia and Eritrea

The considerations above also apply, to a certain extent, to Ethiopia, against the widely diffused opinion that royal A. have not been in existence there before the late 17th cent., when *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannes I had his administrative office, the so called "Chancellery", built at ↗Gondär (next to his "Library"), with a room in the upper store "for the preservation of documents and registers on juridical and fiscal matters" (Monti della Corte 1938: 28f. and pl. IX, cp. Ghiorghis Mellessa 1969: 169; in general, s. Metikou Ourgay 1991 and Wion 2006: 15ff.).

In accordance with the Late Antique "Mediterranean" mould of Ethiopian civilization as it appears from a number of other elements, first and foremost its still operating manuscript production (Bausi, in preparation), it is instead likely that the "city-state" of ↗Aksum was already provided, since its very beginnings, with A. The latter's models are to be sought not so much in the most organized royal A. of the Near East – with South ↗Arabia, where the existence of such A. is proved by the concluding formulae of legal documents on stone (meant for public display) referring to a wooden original signed by the king – as in the diffused archival practice of Graeco-Roman Egypt, which was plausibly also imported or made known by the Alexandrian merchants (*negotiatores*) soon established at ↗Adulis, the "port of trade" of the Aksumite empire.

In this connection, both the detailed booty registration in ↗ᶜEzana's ↗inscriptions and the title of *ᶜaqqabe ḥəgg zäwəʾətu* [or *ᶜa. ḥ. wä*]*ṣäḥafe Aksum* ('guardian of the Law, that is [*or* and] secretary [lit. scribe] of Aksum') bestowed , according to reliable sources, by the king on Frumentius or ↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan, the apostle and first bishop of Ethiopia in the first half of the 4th cent., could be significant, for they seem to imply the existence of Aksumite royal A. Again, the perishability of the writing material used in the ↗Red Sea area, along with other circumstances difficult to assess, has prevented that any document came down to us from those A. (Fiaccadori, in preparation). Likewise, however, no Aksumite books are extant, with the disputed exception of the ↗Ǝnda Abba Gärima Gospels (s. Bausi 2010). Thus, it should be but natural to think that, as a practice, like manuscripts and inscriptions, A. did not vanish altogether after the decline of Aksum, since the mid of the 7th cent.

The way documents and A. were physically and institutionally created in Ethiopia and the relevant stages of development remain substantially obscure (s. Crummey 2011: 1ff.). Yet, the surviving evidence – of the utmost importance, from prosopography to economic, social and political history – encompasses several kinds of deeds: "acts granting donations, rights of inheritance and exploitation, land prerogatives and benefits (indicated with the technical terms of ↗*gʷəlt*, ↗*rəst*, ↗*rim*, etc.), usually in favour of the book's owner, foundation charters, inventories of goods and books, any other such document concerning the institution (chiefly a ↗monastery or a church), the place or the region the codex is preserved, or its owner dwells, as historical records, ↗genealogies, ↗monastic rules (e.g., in ms. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Or. 148), prayers, correspondence, etc." (Bausi, in preparation).

Such a variety of documents has been transmitted either in the form of *additiones* or *marginalia*, 'additional' or 'marginal notes' (cp. LusStud 110ff. and Lusini 1998: 13f. and nn. 32–33), or rather "guest texts", filling in the blanks and guard leaves of special manuscripts. These notes are composed almost exclusively in Gəᶜəz, but (seldom) also in Arabic and Coptic, although with different linguistic impact, Coptic being chiefly reserved for headings, datings and signatures. At least four "bilingual" or "trilingual" pieces of the kind are known, resp. from the 14th (I), 15th (II), 17th (III) – the latter in two copies of the shorter and one of the longer version – and 19th (IV) cent. (s. Schneider 1970 [I and II]; Bosc-Tiessé – Derat 2011: 89f. and nn. 14-16 [107f.: II = EMML no. 6907]; Wion 2012: 105–10 and n. 15 [III]; and Nosnitsin 2007 [IV]).

Most frequently, important church service books, esp. the Golden Gospel (↗*Wängelä wärq*) were chosen to preserve such "guest text" collections, often included on separate leaves or quires that were subsequently appended and eventually bound together within one single volume. Copies were sometimes made and inserted, too, along with their antigraphs. No matter the number of documents or their way of transmission, the "host" manuscripts (a few of them dispersed to European libraries) form a downright A., in keeping with the classical definition provided by ↗Guidi on publishing the wealthy 17th-cent. "cartulary" (146 pieces) of ↗Ḥamarä Noḫ (Gondär), preserved in the ms. BritLib Orient. 508, fols. 277v–287 (Guidi 1906: 651f.).

Guidi's definition, indeed very clear, has been recently misunderstood as considering each single document as an A. (Wion 2006: 16f. and Ead. – Bertrand 2011: ixf.). This actually stems from a terminological discussion that, over the past few years, has been focusing on A. in Ethiopia – mainly the official and ecclesiastical ones, private and secular A., such as collections of letters (e.g., of the 19th-cent. *däbtära* ↗Assäggak̲äñ) and records left behind by lay families (e.g., *ras* Wäldä Giyorgis and his heirs in early 18th- to mid 19th-cent. Gondär, s. CrumLand 114–43, 292–96), so common in the European tradition, being rather exceptional there (*ibid.* 15, also for the interlinked research limitations). A further consequence of the same discussion is the proposal, no less astray, to label Ethiopian archival documents as *condaghi* (sg. *-ghe*). This term (from Byzantine Gr. κοντάκιον, *kontákion*, 'pole around which a scroll is wound', suggesting the shape of the first *condaghi*) was used in Sardinia, between the 11th and the 13th cent., for somehow similar classes of deeds (Kropp 2005a: 618f. and 2005b: 193–97, but s. Wion 2006: 16f.). As a matter of fact, Ethiopic terms are also known for the "codicological units" resulting from the "expansion" of manuscripts with "guest texts" or entire series of them, and deserve more attention: e.g., *däbdabbe*, 'letter, register, document' (also 'packet, bundle'), pointing to a 'superimposed script'; *mäzgäb*, 'notebook, record(s), (land) register' (lit. 'treasure'); *gäbäz*, 'register, repository'; *tarik*, 'history'; *mädbäl*, 'collection', etc.

The most ancient published Ethiopic documents, dating from the beginnings of the 13th cent., under King ↗Lalibäla, are found in the Golden Gospel of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Ham, an A. in itself, including also later as well as earlier acts, the latter being apocryphal and in quite recent garb (CRDLib, cp. now Derat 2010: 24–34). The only older collection hitherto known is the mostly unpublished, yet problematic, "cartulary" of King Ṭänṭäwəddəm, the second ↗Zagʷe ruler (ca. 1145/50), which was copied within a single 18th-cent. quire, with land grants for the church of ᶜUra/ᶜOra (Betä) Mäsqäl of Qəfrəya, in ↗Gulo Mäk̲äda (Derat 2010: 25f. and n. 35, cp. Nosnitsin 2010: 2f.). Similar separate parchment ms. registers (of lands) are known but for the much later churches of ↗Däbrä Ṣ́äḥay Qʷəsqʷam and Bäᵓata (Däbrä Ṭəbab) in Gondär and of Fänǧa Maryam in nearby ↗Dämbəya (CrumLand 15, 145ff., 169–77f.).

Other worth mentioning cases of the A. category best represented in Ethiopia are, at least, the Golden Gospel of ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos (the "Gospels of ↗Iyäsus Moᵓa", ms. EMML no. 1832, with 13th–14th cent. documents, cf. Taddesse Tamrat 1970); the second part of the so-called *Liber Aksumae* (*Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Aksum*, s. CRAxum and HuntLand); the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*ṭefut* of ↗Amba Gəšän and his late 17th-/early 18th-cent. "mirror copy", BritLib Orient. 481 (cp. Heldman in AfrZion 246f., no. 107), around which the *condaghi* notion developed (s. also Kropp 1989–90; 2004 and in VarAeth); ms. BritLib Orient. 650, with land charters by Emperors ↗Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl and ↗Iyasu I (Merid Wolde Aregay 1985); the Golden Gospel of Däbrä Maᶜ(ə)so Qəddus Yoḥannəs Məṭmaq (Gulo Mäk̲äda), with 17th- to 19th-cent. deeds and the unique commemoration, written under *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, of "*abba* ᵓAstona, the patriarch [*liqä p̣ap̣pasat*] of the land of *Rome*", martyred there by "pagans" (*ᵓarämawiyan*) in obscure circumstances (Nosnitsin 2012), most likely, though, after the re-establishment of the ↗Solomonic dynasty; and ms. EMML no. 9092, with acts by Emperors ↗Bäᵓədä Maryam and ↗Ǝskəndər for the church of ↗Bərbər Maryam (Gamo) that bear witness to the keen interest of the Christian kingdom in the south-west of Ethiopia (Deresse Ayenachew 2011). A few manuscripts, likewise, yield documents on the Ethiopian community of ↗Jerusalem, among them, Paris, BN éth. 32 (with a bilingual piece, too, in Ethiopic and Arabic), 35 and 46 (cp. CerPal II, 382–432).

The presence, in these collections, of acts issued, if not by Aksumite, certainly by Zagʷe and Solomonic kings, poses a major question as to the relationships with the royal A., in terms of contemporary copies or duplicates given to the institution concerned vs. originals kept in the "public record office" (Lusini 1998: 13f. and nn. 32–33, but s. Bausi in StudAeth 22 n. 65 and 2008: 47 and n. 138; Fiaccadori 2011: 201 and nn. 4–5, 204). The term "cartulary" would particularly apply here with reference to a register or book with duplicates of the charters or title deeds relating, e.g., to a monastery or a church (such as ᶜUra Mäsqäl or Ḥamarä Noḫ). In the "Middle Ages", the Ethiopian state seems to have lost a permanent centre, its capitals being, with few exceptions, in a continual motion. These roving capitals, coinciding more often with the royal itinerant military camp (↗*kätäma*), could have been definitely equipped with A. following (with a few useful books) the movements of the court according to the pattern, well-known to 9th–12th cent. Europe, of "viatory

A." – attended by a few administrative units who brought with them the collections of official documents essential for routine matters.

The existence of such A., as a depository of the originals of acts that have come down to us in the exemplars made for their beneficiary or in further copies, can be reasonably inferred from a passage in the 17th-cent. Vita of ↗Märqorewos of Däbrä Dəmaḥ (d. 1419/20), which avowedly embeds earlier sources and traditions (ed. Conti Rossini 1904: 43f.). The text has it that Märqorewos met *aṣe* ↗Dawit II in ↗Ḥamasen, while the king was returning from "the land of ↗Sinnār" (the town on the Blue Nile, ca. 270 km south of ↗Khartoum), where he had received a ↗relic of the True Cross "from the envoys of the patriarch" of Alexandria (cp. Raineri 1999: 382f. and n. 77). On that occasion, Dawit would have given to the saint "villages and lands" (*aḫgurä wabäḥawərtä*): "[…] The king said to Ǧawhar, the prefect of his house [↗*mäggabe betu*]: 'Bring me the [parchment] leaf [*kərtas*] I have given to you'. And he brought the leaf as [the king] had told him". Then the latter summoned the *śəyyum* of Särawe (↗Säraye) and read before him the name of those villages, "in the number of 85", which "he gave to our father Märqorewos […]" (cp. Lusini 1998: 13f. and nn. 32–33).

The existence of royal archives like those overseen by Ǧawhar – most probably an Egyptian – is further confirmed, for the 15th and 16th cent., by a neglected episode attested to in western sources, namely two 1524 letters of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl to Pope Clement VII, which he entrusted to Francisco ↗Alvares. As an ambassador of the Ethiopian emperor, Alvares would have delivered them to their addressee, in Paolo ↗Giovio's Latin translation, only nine years later at Bologna. Among other things, Ləbnä Dəngəl was thereby returning to Clement VII, as a mark of affection, the exemplar of the Bull of Union *Cantate Domino* promulgated in 1442 at the Council of ↗Florence that had been sent by Pope Eugene IV to *aṣe* Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, in whose A. (*in nostris archivis proavi nostri*, 'in the archives of ours, of our great-grandfather') it had been kept "unchanged" (*incorruptum*) until then (Raineri 2005: 65f., cp. 59; s. Fiaccadori, in preparation).

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Donazioni reali alla cattedrale di Aksum", *L'Oriente* 2, 1895, 35–45; CRDLib; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Gli archivî in Abissinia", in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche* (*Roma, 1–9 aprile 1903*), Roma 1906, vol. 3, 651–98; CRAxum; CrumLand 15, 114–43, 145ff., 169–78, 292–96 (Lit.); TADDESSE TAMRAT, "The Abbots of Däbrä-Hayq 1248–1535", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 87–117; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Scritture documentarie etiopiche (Dabra Deḫuḫān e Dabra Ṣegē, Sarāᵓē, Eritrea)", *RSE* 42, 1998 [1999, but 2000], 5–55, here 13f. and nn. 32–33; ID., "Per una storia delle tradizioni monastiche eritree: le genealogie spirituali dell'ordine di Ēwosṭātēwos di Dabra Ṣarābi", in: ENZO LUCCHESI – UGO ZANETTI (eds.), *Ægyptus Christiana. Mélanges d'hagiographie égyptienne et orientale dédiés à la mémoire du P. Paul Devos bollandiste*, Genève 2004 (Cahiers d'Orientalisme 25), 249–72; ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Su alcuni manoscritti presso comunità monastiche dell'Eritrea" [I], *RSE* 28, 1994 [1996, but 1997], 13–69; [II] *ibid*. 29, 1995 [1997, but 1998], 25–48; [III] *ibid*. 41, 1997 [1998, but 1999], 13–56; MARIE-LAURE DERAT, "Les donations du roi Lālibalā. Éléments pour une géographie du royaume chrétien d'Éthiopie au tournant du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle", *AE* 25, 2010, 19–42, here 24–34; DERESSE AYENACHEW, "The Southern Interests of the Royal Court of Ethiopia in the Light of Bərbər Maryam's Ge'ez and Amharic Manuscripts", *NEASt* 11, 2, 2011, 43–58; MANFRED KROPP, "'Dann senke das Haupt und gib ihr nicht im Zorn!' Eine testamentarische Verfügung des Königs ᶜAmdä-Ṣeyon aus dem Archiv der Hs. London, BM, Or 481", *Orientalia Suecana* 38–39, 1989–90 [1991], 92–104; ID., "Four Gʷelt documents of ᶜAmdä Ṣeyon from the Archive of the church of Däbrä Egziabeher-Ab on Amba Geshe (with an additional note on the name Bätärgelä Maryam)", *Afrique & histoire* 2, 2004, 213–34; ID., "«Antiquae restitutio legis». Zur Alimentation des Hofklerus und einer Zeugenliste als imago imperii und notitia dignitatum in einer Urkunde des Kaisers Zärᵓa Yaᶜqob im Condaghe der Hs. BM Or. 481, fol. 154", in: *VarAeth* 115–47; ID., "Diözesen und Missionsauftrag: Ein Edikt Kaiser Zärᵓa-Yaᶜqobs über zwei Klostersprengel in Eriträa aus dem Condaghe der Hs. British Museum Or 481 alias *Mäṣḥafä Ṭefut* von Amba Gəše", in: ANNE-MARIE EDDÉ – EMMA GANNAGÉ (eds.), *Régards croisés sur le Moyen Âge arabe. Mélanges à la mémoire de Louis Pouzet s.j. (1928–2002)*, Beirut 2005a (= *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 58), 609–26; ID., "Asylrecht und Pfründe für die zukünftige Residenz: Die Zeugenfassung der Privilegurkunde des Ras Wube für die Marienkirche von Däräsge aus dem Condaghe der Hs. BL Or 481, fol. 3v", in: *Studia Semitica. Journal of Semitic Studies Jubilee Volume*, Manchester 2005b (JSS Bk. Suppl. Ser. 16), 193–206; MERID WOLDE AREGAY, "Some Inedited Land Charters of Emperor Särsä Dengel (r. 1563–1597)", *AE* 13, 1985, 87–101; STUART [C.] MUNRO-HAY, *Ethiopia Unveiled: Interaction between Two Worlds*, Hollywood, CA 2006, 24–28 (257); ANAÏS WION, *Paradis pour une reine. Le monastère de Qoma Fasilädäs, Éthiopie, XVIIe siècle*, Paris 2012 (Histoire ancienne et médiévale 112), 101–44, 433–40; DENIS NOSNITSIN, "Historical Records from Ethiopia: a Trilingual Document From Aṣbi Däbrä Gännät Səllase, Təgray", in: STANISŁAW PIŁASEWICZ (ed.), *Proceedings of the Workshop "European Schools of Ethiopian Studies; Poland & Germany", October 18–20, 2006*, Warsaw 2007 (Studies of the Department of African Languages and Cultures 41), 17–47; ID., "The Four Gospel Book of Däbrä Maᶜṣo and its Marginal Notes, Part 1: Note on the Commemoration of Patriarch ᵓAstona", *COMSt Newsletter* 4, 2012, 24–21; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed., tr.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum*, I. *Acta Marqorēwos*, Parisiis 1904 (CSCO 33, 34 [SAe 16, 17]), 43f. (text) = 56f. (tr.); OSVALDO RAINERI, *Lettere tra i pontefici romani e i principi etiopici* (*sec. XII–XX*). *Versioni e integrazioni*, Città del Vaticano 2005 (Collectanea Archivi Vaticani 55), 59, 65f.

Lit.: Alessandro Bausi, “Il testo, il supporto e la funzione. Alcune osservazioni sul caso dell’Etiopia”, in: *StudAeth* 7–22, here 22 n. 65; Id., “Un indice dell’*Evangelo d’oro* di Dabra Libānos (Šemazānā, Akkala Guzāy, Eritrea)”, *Aethiopica* 10, 2007, 81–91; Id., “La tradizione scrittoria etiopica”, *Segno e testo* 6, 2008, 3–53, here 47 and n. 138; Id., “Intorno ai Vangeli etiopici di ’Endā ’Abbā Garimā”, *La Parola del Passato* 65, 2010, 460–71; Id., “‘One-Volume Libraries’: Composite Manuscripts and Multiple Text Manuscripts” (in preparation); Claire Bosc-Tiessé, “Sainteté et intervention royale au monastère Saint-Étienne de Ḥayq au tournant du XIIIe et du XIVe siècle. L’image de Iyasus Moʾa dans son Évangile”, *OrChr* 94, 2010, 199–27; Ead. – Marie-Laure Derat, “Acts of Writing and Authority in Bəgwəna-Lasta between the Fifteenth Century and the Eighteenth Century: a Regional Administration Comes to Light”, *NEASt* 11, 2, 2011, 85–110, here 89f. and nn. 14–16 (107f.); Donald Crummey, “Gondar Land Documents: Multiple Copies, Multiple Recensions”, *ibid.*, 1–42; Marie-Laure Derat, “Du Begʷenā au Lāstā. Centre et périphérie dans le royaume d’Éthiopie du XIIIe au XVIe siècle”, in: *AE* 24, 2009, 65–86; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, “Per la cronologia di un atto «feudale» del neguś Lālibalā”, *Crisopoli. Bollettino del Museo Bodoniano di Parma* 14, nuova ser. 2, 2011 [2012], pp. 201–04, here 201 and nn. 4–5 (204); Id., “Nota sugli archivî in Abissinia” (in preparation); Ghiorghis Mellessa, “Gondar Yesterday and Today”, *EthObs* 12, 1969, 164–76, here 169; Marilyn Heldman, in *AfrZion* 246f., no. 107 (Lit.); LusStud 110ff.; Metikou Ourgay, “Libraries in Ethiopia before 1900”, *International Library Review* 23, 1991, 391–99; Alessandro Augusto Monti della Corte, *I castelli di Gondar*, Roma 1938, 28f. and pl. IX; Denis Nosnitsin, *Ethio-SPARE. Cultural Heritage of Christian Ethiopia*: *Salvation, Preservation and Research. First Mission* (*April–May 2010*) *Report*, Hamburg 2010, 2f.; Osvaldo Raineri, “I doni della Serenissima al re Davide I d’Etiopia (ms. Raineri 43 della Vaticana)”, *OrChrP* 65, 1999, 363–448, here 382f. and n. 77; Anaïs Wion, “Aux frontières de la codicologie et de la diplomatique. Structure et transmission des recueils documentaires éthiopiens”, *Gazette du livre médiéval* 48, 2006, 14–25, here 15ff.; Ead., “Le *Liber Aksumae* selon le manuscrit Bodleian Bruce 93: le plus ancien témoin d’un projet historiographique sans cesse réactivé”, *OrChr* 93, 2009, 135–71; Ead., “Ethiopian Manuscript Archives: Rencontre entre la diplomatique, les archives du royaume chrétien d’Ethiopie et les humanités numériques”, *La lettre de l’INSH* 11, 2011, 16–18; Ead., “Promulgation and Registration of Royal Ethiopian Acts in Behalf of Political and Religious Institutions (Northern Ethiopia, Sixteenth Century)”, *NEASt* 11, 2, 2011, 59–84; Ead. – Paul Bertrand, “Production, Preservation, and Use of Ethiopian Archives (Fourteenth–Eighteenth Centuries)”, *ibid.* vii–xvi.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

c. Contemporary archives in the Horn of Africa

In modern times, the maintenance of A. in the Horn of Africa is becoming a professional enterprise, even though older patterns continue to persist. Older A. of rulers or office-holders are often kept in private hands or get lost; more modern A. are kept in the institutions were they were created, being often highly endangered and in many cases inaccessible; only very recently this started to change especially in the case of higher-ranking state institutions. Libraries (s. below) have become widely institutionalized, and ↗museums – focusing on an attractive presentation of objects for a wider audience in a suitable spatial framework rather than pure preservation of information – have been established.

Archives in Ethiopia

Since the 19th cent., we have reliable knowledge of the state or royal archives kept by Ethiopian rulers (s. esp. letters in RubActa I–III; Smidt 2009). The ↗Mäqdäla treasury, besides assembling a huge collection of manuscripts looted from Gondär, preserved *aṣe* Tewodros II’s state registers (such as tax records; Pankhurst 1978/79). The *mäzgäb* of *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu’s state correspondence, comprising several hundreds of pages, was hidden following the abortive coup d’état of 1916 and is now in private hands.

Of relevance since the 19th cent. at least are also extensive private non-royal A. Later, statesmen and ministers would keep their own *mäzgäb* (e.g., ↗Bäyyänä Yəmär in EAE vol. 5; Smidt 2010; ↗Täsämma Ǝšäte; ↗Zännäb). Regional rulers too had their own A., as is illustrated by the early 20th-cent. *mäzgäb* of an Oromo governor in Wälläga, containing letters exchanged by him (Triulzi – Tesemma Taʾa 2003). Otherwise, while rich manuscript collections are known to exist in South Ethiopian Muslim regions (esp. the collection of ʿAbdallāh Šarīf in ↗Harär, but also ↗Arsi), no systematic documentary A. seem to have been kept, ↗oral tradition as remembered by the elders apparently fully replacing the “archiving” function of written documents.

The ↗Italian war of 1935–36 and the looting of Addis Abäba contributed to the loss of a large number of pre-war A. Many state letters and acts were used until well into the 1950s as packing or firing material. It is only from 1941 that one can speak of the establishment of state A. in the proper sense, i.e. of a systematic collection and filing of documents in ministries and, following this, the establishment of national A.

Today, every state office, including those on the regional state (*kəlləl*) level, keep their own A. some of them being accessible to researchers. One of the A. which are the most important for the study of contemporary history of Ethiopia are the ↗Tigray People’s Liberation Front’s A.

in Mäq̱älä, of which important parts are currently prepared to be opened to researchers through Mäq̱älä University. The publically accessible National Archives division of the ↗National Archives and Library of Ethiopia (NALE, founded as a library in 1943) was only created in 1977. The *Ethiopian National Archives and Library Proclamation* (No. 179/1999) set a new legal and organisational framework for the NALE, applying to the federal government offices and enterprises and the administrations of Addis Abäba and Dərre Dawa (but excluding the Regional States' administration, who shall have their own A. regulations). Recently, NALE has received the complete A. of the Ministry of Interior before 1991; previously NALE had incorporated former private A. of pre-1974 high ranking state personnel and nobles.

Also NGOs, some of them active since the 1960s, keep A., as do commercial companies (such as, e.g., the St. George Brewery). Due to a lack of legal regulations and incentives, such A. are frequently not transferred to NALE and get subsequently lost. A rise of awareness of the importance of A. can be observed, even private people having started to set up their own A., starting from documenting their personal memories (e.g., by notables of the ↗government of Ḫaylä Śəllase) until the elaboration of specialized collections (e.g., the transfer of the personal library of ↗Bərhanu Abbäbä, containing photos from a one-century-old A. of Armenian photographers, to the French Centre of Ethiopian Studies [CFEE], Addis Abäba, is being discussed).

Archives in Eritrea

Most colonial A., set up by the Italians starting from the late 19th cent., seem to be lost. However, some A. of local *residenze* (administrative posts) seem to have been preserved, such as the one in ↗ᶜAddi Q̱äyyəḥ in Akkälä Guzay. The rich A. of the *residenza* of ↗Naqfa have been preserved by chance, as a British officer took care of these A. after the British took over the territory in 1941; the officer published the full material later (d'Avray 1996), thus making the A. which provide detail information on local ethnic subgroups, thoroughly collected by Italian officers at the beginning of colonisation, fully accessible.

In ↗Massawa, the centuries-old presence of an Islamic court, at times under the Ottoman, later under Egyptian administration, is documented in its A. from the 19th cent., in Arabic (basis for important research work on Massawa and Red Sea history; Miran 2009). There are also important private A. of dignitary's families, such as the family of ↗Ibrāhīm al-Muḫtār, the former *mufti* of Eritrea; the ↗Mirġanīya family (↗Islamic brotherhoods); the ↗*nāʾib* family; former office holders of the ↗Ethiopian-Eritrean Federation, etc.

The A. of the Municipality and the High Court of ↗Asmära have been recently studied as a unique source of social history (Locatelli 2004; 2007).

A very peculiar form of traditional archiving is the keeping of written local legal regulations (↗Law: law books), which are known from Eritrean highland communities. These local laws are kept (often in secret) by "law villages", which traditionally are not the seats of governors, and where a governor has to go in order to consult the law before decisions. In addition, as in other regions of north-eastern Africa, elders and urbanized families have started to document their oral traditions, and especially genealogies.

The A. of the Catholic church of Asmära are usually only accessible for internal researchers. It seems to preserve important collections, including letters and diaries of some of the first Catholic missionaries established in northern Abyssinia (i.e. the highlands) starting from the 19th cent. (↗Lazarists; ↗Capuchins). Other Catholic records are stored in the Catholic Pavoni Social Centre (s. under Libraries).

Today, the most important archival institution is the Research and Documentation Centre (RDC) in Asmära, a research institution set up in the course of the Eritrean struggle for independence and based also on older collections, regularly enriched by donations, e.g., by researchers. The RDC possesses rare publications and rich collections of unpublished material especially on the former Eritrean and Ethiopian administrations in Asmära. During the 1st International Conference of Eritrean Studies in 2001, the establishment of the National Archives of Eritrea was discussed by state officials, linked with the idea that local institutions, both state-owned and private, shall transfer their collections to these new A. The idea was, however, not realized, which further strengthened the importance of the RDC.

Archives in Djibouti

The general situation of A. is comparable with that of the neighbours: partially well kept, partially in a critical state of preservation. During the colonial period A. had been partially transferred to France, where they are kept in the Archives nationales de France (ANF). The A. of the Chambre de commerce, of the Préfecture de Dikhil and of the Électricité de Djibouti are well preserved, different from numerous others.

A part of the A. of the Chemins de fer djibouti-éthiopiens (↗Railways) is kept in Djibouti. According to the preservation survey conducted by the CFEE (2009), a bulk of the documentary heritage is kept in sacks, but also in cupboards in the administrative buildings or hangar, often without inventories. Only a smaller part has been accessible to researchers.

Src.: RubActa I–III.

Lit.: Abebaw Ejigu Mekonnen, *The Evolution of Museums and Future Oriented Approaches of their Status*: *a Case Study of the National Museum of Ethiopia*, M.A. thesis, Reinwardt Academy of the Amsterdam School of Arts 2006; Francesca Locatelli, "The Archives of the Municipality and the High Court of Asmara: Discovering the Eritrea Hidden from History", *History in Africa* 31, 2004, 469–78; Ead., "'Oziosi, vagabondi e pregiudicati': Labour, Law and Crime in Colonial Asmara, 1890–1941", *IJAHS* 40, 2007, 225–50; Jonathan Miran, *Red Sea Citizens, Cosmopolitan Society and Cultural Change in Massawa*, Bloomington, IN – Indianapolis, IN 2009; Richard Pankhurst (ed., tr.), *Tax Records and Inventories of Emperor Téwodros of Ethiopia* (*1855–1868*), London 1978/79 (Fontes Historiae Africanae, Series Aethiopica 1); RubInd; Wolbert G.C. Smidt, "The Foreign Politics of lej Iyasu in 1915/16 According to Newly Discovered Government Papers", in: *PICES* 16, 62–70; Alessandro Triulzi – Tesema Taʾa, *Documents for Wallaga History* (*1880s–1920s E.C.*), vol. I: *Amharic Texts*, Napoli – Addis Abäba 2003; Anaïs Wion, "The National Archives and Library of Ethiopia: Six Years of Ethio-French Cooperation (2001–2006)", in: Steffen Wenig – Wolbert G.C. Smidt (eds.), *Proceedings of the Second International Littmann Conference, Aksum 7 to 11 January 2006*, Wiesbaden (in preparation) (Meroitica. Schriften zur altsudanesischen Geschichte und Archäologie).

Wolbert G.C. Smidt

d. Foreign archives

Interactions of foreign powers with Ethiopia and Eritrea are documented in the relevant A. kept abroad.

The A. of the ministries of foreign affairs of the ↗United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, ↗France, ↗Italy, ↗Germany, ↗Austria and ↗Russia possess particularly rich collections due to their early involvement in diplomatic contacts with Christian Ethiopia, and, partially, neighbouring Muslim kingdoms such as ↗Awsa or the Somali sultanates (in the case of France, Great Britain and at times Austria there were vice-consuls in Massawa, who starting from the mid-19th cent. had to send regular reports on local developments; s. Bairu Tafla 1994; s. the quite comprehensive overview in RubInd and especially RubActa I–III). In particular, ↗colonialism (especially Italian, French and British) left behind a rich documentary record kept in various governmental and non-governmental archives.

Due to the Ottoman territories at the coast, there are rich collections in today's ↗Turkey (s. Orhonlu 1974), and, similarly, in the State A. of ↗Egypt, *Dār al-Kutub*, in Cairo, due to the involvement of Egypt in the Horn of Africa in the 19th cent. Especially around the Egyptian–Ethiopian War 1875–76 many documents were produced, which are well-kept in the State A. (DouinIsm III). Most scientific reports of geographers and ethnographers, such as a unpublished ethnographic book manuscript by Werner ↗Munzinger, written in the 1870s about the northern Sudan and today's Eritrean territories, were kept at the Société khédivale de géographie at Cairo, but were destroyed in ca. 2002 after they were identified as "insignificant" for Egyptian history. Usually, however, A. are well-kept in most countries who had been involved in north-eastern Africa.

In most Western countries one can find explorer's reports on north-eastern African territories in A.; especially rich seem to be the collections in Gotha, a 19th-cent. centre of cartographic and ethnographic interest esp. in north-eastern Africa, which have not yet been made accessible to the public. Such reports – and sometimes rich cartographic material – can also be found in museums and occasionally state A. (e.g., the Ziegler Map Collection at the Basle State Archives). Rich material produced by social anthropologists is usually preserved in ethnological institutes (e.g., ↗Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt am Main).

As missionary involvement was a great factor in the modernization of Ethiopia, numerous missionary institutions are or were in possession of important A. relevant for the region. For the early Protestant mission, this is especially the A. of the ↗St. Chrischona-Pilgermission (most of which is now kept in the Spittler private A. in the Basle State Archives), and the A. of the Swedish mission in Uppsala; for the Catholic mission, the A. of the ↗Lazarists, Paris, are particularly rich, and those of the ↗Capuchins in Rome, not to mention the ↗Vatican A.

Private A. left by foreigners who were involved in the region are usually in the hands of their descendants. They can be of greatest importance, even if they often contain few documents only (cp. the case of a single 1913 photo of *nəguś* ↗Mikaʾel,

s. Smidt 2008). Unfortunately, these A. are often undervalued and can easily perish; a comprehensive study and inventory remains a desideratum.

Also the centuries-old migrations of Yemenites to the Horn of Africa and inverse are reflected in the existence of A., which, however, are virtually unknown yet to researchers. A special case are the private collections of the "al-Aḥbūš" communities in the Yemen, especially in Bayt al-Ḥabšī and in the capital city of Ḥadramawt, Asay^{c}un, possessing important manuscript collections allegedly containing reports on their history.

In best cases, private A. are transferred to public repositories or are officially declared publicly accessible (e.g., the A. of Indian merchants and companies, such as ↗Mohamedally & Company, in his descendants' hands in Gujarat, India). State A. and museums receiving private collections are often not closely linked with ↗Ethiopian studies (e.g., the collection of the former teacher at the Addis Ababa School of Fine Arts, Ebba Dettenberg-Weddig, went to the Gottorf Museum, Schleswig; or the early 20th cent. Melchers collection to the Bremen Übersee-Museum; the Saska Laszlo papers in the Ethnographic Museum of Hungary; cp. Szélinger 2011).

A recent project documented virtually all A. in France, even very remote and quite unknown ones such as the Château Antoine d'Abbadie in Hendaye, which possess documents related with Djibouti and the wider Ethiopian region (Prijac 2011).

Film and photo A. are a special category so far often overlooked by researchers, even if nowadays hardly underestimated in their importance (cp. ↗Photography). There is no institution, which explicitly collects film material from north-eastern Africa (↗Films in EAE vol. 5), but in recent years film A. in metropolitan centres such as Paris and Berlin started to catalogue old film material and partially restore them, with the effect that some films produced by early film makers in north-eastern Africa started to be accessible to researchers. One of the most important film A. with ethnographic films from north-eastern Africa is the Institut für den Wissenschaftlichen Film, Göttingen.

In addition to visual records, sound records documenting interviews, music and songs of north-eastern Africa have been kept in specialized collections since the early 20th cent., but are generally even more incomplete. Mainz University possesses a collection of music cassettes from Africa, with some focus on Ethiopia starting from popular music in the 1980s. The most pioneering work is the CD publications by Francis Falceto (label: Buda Productions), with the serial title *éthiopiques*, which document music from the early 20th cent. to the 1990s found in most diverse collections, thus now by themselves forming a "virtual" music A. Early 20th-cent. recordings of instrumental music and songs are found in the ↗phonogram collections, especially in the musicology department of the Ethnographic Museum of Berlin-Dahlem and in the Akademie der Wissenschaften of Vienna. Huge recordings of interviews by social anthropologists have been donated in recent years to the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies.

Main foreign archives (examples):

Germany: Koblenz, Bundesarchiv (German Federal Archives); Berlin, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Hamburg, Staatsarchiv der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg.

France: Paris, Congrégation de la Mission; Paris, Ministère des Affaires étrangères.

Italy: Rome, Archivio centrale dello Stato (including funds of the Ministero dell'Africa Italiana, Fondo Graziani, Archivio storico diplomatico Ministero degli Affari Esteri); Rome, Archivio Ufficio storico dello Stato maggiore dell'Esercito; Rome, Archivio Generale dei Cappuccini; Rome, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu; Rome, Food and Agriculture Organization; Florence, Istituto Geografico Militare.

Portugal: Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo; Coimbra, Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra.

Switzerland: Basel, Staatsarchiv Kanton Basel-Stadt.

UK: London, London-Kew, Public Record Office (including the funds of the Foreign Office, India Office Archives); Birmingham, Church Missionary Society Archives; Cambridge, British and Foreign Bible Society Archives.

Src.: Richard Pankhurst – Denis Gérard, *Ethiopia Photographed*: *Historic Photographs of the Country and its People taken between 1867 and 1935*, London 1996; Richard Pankhurst – Leila Ingrams, *Ethiopia Engraved, an Illustrated Catalogue of Engravings of Foreign Travellers' from 1681 to 1900*, London 1988; Lukian Prijac, *Guide des sources de l'histoire de Djibouti et de l'Ethiopie dans les archives et bibliothèques de France, Premier inventaire*, Lorient 2011, ms.

Lit.: Bairu Tafla, *Ethiopia and Austria*: *a History of their Relations*, Wiesbaden 1994 (AeF 35); Youen Bernard, "Le record du monde cinématographique, L'Abyssinie au temps de Ménélick (1910)", in: Thierry Lefebvre (ed.), *Images du réel, la non-fiction en France* (*1890–1930*), Paris 1995 (1895, Association française de recherche sur l'histoire du cinéma no. 18), 216–21; DouinIsm III; Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Güney Siyaseti*: *Habeş Eyaleti*, İstanbul 1974 (İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları 1856); Id., "Turkish Archival Sources on Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 455–62;

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Wolbert G.C. Smidt

II. Libraries

Unlike A., L. are organized collections of written materials (printed books, ↗manuscripts, but also maps as well as other formats, including ↗photographs and microforms) that serve preservation and research, not primarily aimed at preserving documentary historical records. L. can be broadly accessible (public) or meant for personal or family use (private).

In Ethiopia, L. traditionally had their roots in the “treasure houses” (↗*əqa bet*) of the churches and monasteries and of the nobility. These treasuries usually included manuscripts, but made no distinction between them and other precious objects. This is a consequence of the institutional role the Ethiopian Orthodox Church has played as the main keeper of the written and literary culture. (cf. Too 2010). In tourist areas these houses are now often locally called “[↗]museums”.

The majority of well over 20,000 churches and monasteries in Ethiopia and Eritrea preserve anything between a few and several hundred books and documents. Some of them fulfil the function of an A. (s. above), but most are concerned with the practice of religious devotion. Several projects have attempted to document these collections, but probably less than ten percent have been microfilmed and/or digitized so far, and even much less researched or translated (Lusini 2007). Earlier travellers collected, copied or had manuscripts copied by local copyists, from ecclesiastical collections, and in some cases even from private ones. Though thousands of books were thus taken out of the country, the greatest bulk of manuscripts remained in the possession of church institutions, either monasteries or churches, to a very limited extent also in private houses. The investigation of church and monastic libraries is at its very beginning, very often basing only upon monastic inventories (cp. Sergew Hable Selassie in OrbAethChoj; BauEr I, 15f.; Pankhurst in PICES 12; Wion in PICES 16; Bosc-Tiessé 2009).

Due to difficult conditions of preservation and, even more, economic pressure, a number of these collections are endangered and were dispersed or even destroyed only in recent years. An example is the destruction by fire of the A. of the late Aksumite ↗Däbrä Damo monastery less than a decade ago (s. also ↗Manuscripts: Ethiopic manuscripts).

In the Muslim areas of Ethiopia and Eritrea, manuscript collections are also known to have existed for centuries; especially ancient Muslim kingdoms or entities such as ↗Harär. Many Arabic and *ağamī* manuscripts survive in private collections – the best known being the one of *šayḫ* ᶜAbdallāh Šarīf (s. Gori, in preparation). Also the religious centres of Islamic brotherhoods and other centres of learning (↗Mosques) preserve documents, e.g., *ağamī* manuscripts in Oromiffaa in the surroundings of Harär, in ↗Wällo or in ↗Arsi (s. also ↗Manuscripts: Arabic manuscripts).

In many regions of Ethiopia and Eritrea, L., according to recent research, are in popular imagination restricted to very few powerful scholars, lords or spiritual leaders, who, through these documents, have access to hidden knowledge and power. There are also legends of lost ancient L., which are still kept by neighbouring communities who refuse any access to them, according to popular belief; such narratives are linked with the idea that “true knowledge” exists, but in the hands of few, and not generally accessible.

Besides church and monastic L., royal and private manuscript collections have been known to exist since early times. Tradition has it that a small building erected by *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I in ↗Gondär was intended as a L., though it may have stored only the imperial A., or indeed may have had other uses (Ghiorgis Mellessa 1969: 369). Tradition maintains that the Emperor was a studious person who “greatly loved books” (DonMurad 180) and also maintains that it was a L.; the L. designation was accepted without question by Monti della Corte (1938: 27).

The first major Ethiopian L. of which reliable evidence exists was the extensive collection of manuscripts assembled by *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II at his mountain fortress and capital of ↗Mäqdäla, which became the storehouse of his treasures. A significant part of these treasures were fine manuscripts, many seized from Gondär and transported to Tewodros’s capital at ↗Däbrä Tabor before being taken to Mäqdäla. As a result of the ↗Napier Expedition of 1867–68 and the consequent suicide of Tewodros, 400 of the over 1,000 manuscripts looted from Mäqdäla were transported to England. Of these 350 were acquired by the ↗British Library.

It was not until the early 1930s that the idea of a public L. emerged, in response to the spread of modern education and the establishment of printing presses producing literature in ↗Gəʿəz and ↗Amharic. The first public L. was organized for the Ministry of Education by Georges Pecoul, a Frenchman who became an advisor to the Ministry in 1932, but died two years later. It had several hundred Gəʿəz manuscripts and Amharic printed books, as well as books in French, English, German and Russian, some of which had been received at the Palace and had been turned over by the Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase to the Ministry. By 1935 the L. contained more than 1,000 volumes.

Further Ethiopian library development was interrupted by the Italian occupation of 1936–41. In the period immediately preceding the occupation, the Emperor's L. was looted and was only partially recovered. During the Italian Occupation, the Ministry of the Pen archives and many manuscripts were taken to Rome, some being returned after the War. The Italians established a central L. for ↗Africa Orientale Italiana in Addis Abäba, for the use of Italian civil servants. It contained some 15,000 volumes, mainly in Italian. These later formed the nucleus of the Research Division of the National Library (later ↗National Archives and Library of Ethiopia, NALE; now officially National Archives and Library Agency, NALA). A strong collection on Eritrea was also built up in ↗Asmära.

L. as a public service developed in the post-war period of reconstruction. On 5 May 1944, the National Library was inaugurated by Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase, with the aim of preservation and cataloguing of material concerning Ethiopia (s. also EAE vol. 3, 1153a). In 1952, the Institut Éthiopien d'Études et de Recherche came into existence, as an attachment to the National Library. It was devoted largely to archaeological research. In the 1950s and 1960s the collection of foreign language books increased considerably, particularly in the social sciences, thanks to a vigorous engagement with embassies and cultural centres in the capital. A programme of monthly public lectures was launched in 1958 in the Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase Reading Hall, and proved an immediate success. Lectures about the newly emerging states of Africa, some by African leaders attending conferences in Addis Abäba, drew large audiences and were relayed by loudspeaker to listeners outside. The programme has been recently reactivated.

The organization of the National Library into "Research Division" and "Public Division" was confirmed by the Proclamation 50/68 of 1975/76. The National Library was brought together with the National Archives in 1999 as NALE, following Proclamation 179/91. The two respective Directors report to a single Director-General in the Ministry of Information and Culture. In 2005, NALE, by Proclamation 471/98, was re-named NALA, the National Archives and Library Agency. A new four-floor building was inaugurated in the same grounds in 2008; it houses the National Archives as well as reading rooms and offices. The *Ethiopica* collection remains in the old library building. There are over 620 parchment manuscripts, including early illuminated ones, some 400 paper manuscripts, almost 500 rare books, archive letters, relevant publications in foreign languages, thousands of microfilms, and early newspapers printed in the country. A spacious periodicals room is well attended, as are the general Amharic and foreign language collections in the Reading Hall, visited by 60,000 readers a year.

In 2009 NALA received gratis the entire L. of the British Council in Ethiopia, at first under partnership with NALA, but in 2011 as a gift. It comprises 15,000 books relevant to Ethiopia, in areas such as management, and development, education and culture, and 2,000 CDs and videos, many for English language teaching and learning. In addition NALA received software for library automation of the catalogues, membership records and circulation.

The first separate public L. in Ethiopia, the Addis Ababa City Council Library, was established in the Municipality building during the Revolutionary period, and continues to serve the public. Because of the high demand, readers are limited to four hours at a time.

A public L. in Gondär was for a time situated in *ətege* Məntəwwab's (↗Bərhan Mogäsa) castle, but later acquired its own building. During the 1974 Revolution L were established at district level in urban areas. With the administrative division of the country into Regions in the early 1990s L. provision became a regional responsibility.

The L. of ↗Addis Ababa University is Ethiopia's largest L. resource, with a collection of half a million catalogued volumes, well over 600 microform formats, and more than 3,000 serial titles. Founded in 1961, it took over the collections of the University College of Addis Ababa in 1964, when Rita Pankhurst was appointed the first University Librarian. L. on the main campus and other campuses, as well as those outside the capital, were gradually incorporated into a single University Library system. The main L., named after J.F. Kennedy, opened in 1965 and was inaugurated in 1970 by the Emperor and Rose Kennedy. Built with aid from the ↗United States of America on two floors and a basement (put to use later), it provided a total area of 7,500 m². Together with the building, a grant of US-$ 345,000 from the Ford Foundation helped to provide a basic book stock, essential periodicals, and three expatriate professional staff to catalogue new books. As pressure on the L. increased, its use was restricted first to students above the first year, the latter being provided for in faculty L.; more recently it has opened its doors to all students, faculty and staff, though access to some material is severely rationed.

The first sudden increase in student numbers after the 1974 Revolution, and the growth of post-graduate studies, placed a heavy strain on library resources. Despite some recognition of the plight of educational L., these strains have increased as undergraduate student numbers, and postgraduate studies in many fields, have inexorably grown, while budgets have not increased proportionately. In response to pressure on space and reading materials from a student population of over 40,000 and a teaching staff of over 2,000, the Kennedy L. and some branch libraries in the University system have, since 2004, been open daily for 24 hours. The main L. activities have been automated. Through the internet, available in all nine L., continuous access to the full text of 10,000 electronic journals and leading bibliographic data bases has been made available online since 2004, in collaboration with the International Network for the Availability of Scientific Publication (INASP). The University plays a major role in the Consortium of Ethiopian Academic and Research Libraries, and in an international Program for the Enhancement of Research Information, as well as participating in the Africa-wide Database of African Theses and Dissertations.

The L. of the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES; founded in 1963) plays a unique role in the University and the country as its leading research resource on Ethiopia. It developed under the leadership of its first Librarian, Stanislaw ↗Chojnacki, from the *Ethiopica* collection of the University College of Addis Ababa. The IES L. aimed to collect not only books and periodicals about Ethiopia or printed in Ethiopia, but also rare manuscripts, archives, theses, maps, photographs, slides, and, later, microfilms, films and computer-generated materials connected with the country, and with Eritrea and the Horn of Africa.

During the Revolution, Däggäfä Gäbrä Ṣadəq, the first Ethiopian Librarian of the Institute, saved many endangered books and archives from wanton destruction. The L. pioneered the publication of an annual national ↗bibliography, *Ethiopian Publications 1965–79,* later produced as a series of indexes by NALA. In its first 40 years the L. grew to become the world's largest collection under one roof of information on Ethiopia, with over 100,000 books (3,000 in Ethiopian languages) 2000 M.A. theses, 38,000 photographs and 10,000 reels of microfilm. In 2010–11 the 14,000 archival records were digitized. Retrospective conversion of the card catalogue is in progress. The growth in library holdings has necessitated the search for more space, and an adjacent 5,800 m², three-floor purpose-built library is nearing completion.

The University of Asmära, granted university status in 1967, had to establish a new L. in English, as the institution, previously run by Italian nuns, comprised mainly books in Italian. An insufficiency of relevant stock hampered the ability of the L. to support teaching. With the independence of Eritrea in 1991 L. links across the frontier were severed. In 1993 the faculties were accommodated in buildings in different parts of the city and the University was subsequently closed.

Also in Asmära, the Catholic Pavoni Social Centre has built up one of the most important regional research centres with books and unpublished material since the 1960s, under the guidance of Fr. Ezio Tonini. Additionally, the Research and Documentation Centre has an increasing collection of books and manuscripts (s. under Archives above).

As faculties and colleges in Ethiopia developed into universities and research institutes there was little change in the ability of their libraries to provide adequate budgetary support for teaching and learning. It was difficult to obtain foreign exchange for books and journals published abroad. In the early 21st cent. determined efforts to automate L. processes improved the organization of academic L. and, through the Internet, access to the resources of the wider world, but overcrowding and a paucity of books still handicapped the learning process.

The British Council Library, which opened in the early post-Liberation period, acted as a popular free, later fee-paying, public L., which kept up with the times, being the first in the capital to offer internet café facilities. It also concentrated on Africa and development literature, in the form of reports generated by ministries and international agencies, and trained specialist reference librarians. In 2009 the library was transferred to NALA. The French, German and Italian Cultural Institutes and, on a more modest scale the Russian one, also provide L., stocking periodicals and books mainly in their respective languages. These libraries are much appreciated by students and citizens wanting to improve their language skills.

Addis Abäba has benefited from the presence of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA 1958), with its innovative information systems and specialization in African economies. Though not publicly available, the UNECA L. is accessible to scholars.

A well-organized, digitized L. belongs to the International Livestock Research Institute (ILRI, headquarters in Nairobi) that developed in 1995 from the International Livestock Center for Africa, established in 1974. In 2010–11 the L. converted most of its stock to electronic media. Most of its 40,000 printed volumes and 250 printed journal holdings were donated to universities and agricultural institutes. The L.'s facilities, including subscriptions to 46 electronic journals, shared with Nairobi Headquarters, are used not only by its staff but also by numerous external research workers and students of agriculture.

Several Government research institutes, such as the Health and Nutrition Research Institute (formerly the Pasteur Institute) and some other government-related special L., receive foreign assistance or free periodical and report literature. Many others suffer from lack of adequate budgets.

Among private libraries mention should be made of Ḫaylä Śəllase's L. containing works donated by Ethiopian authors, both in manuscript and in printed form.

A L. was also assembled in the ↗Jubilee Palace, at first intended for important visitors, comprising books in English on contemporary affairs, economics and politics.

Sustained Library and Information Science education began in the mid-1960s at Addis Ababa University with a one-year full-time, or two and a half year part-time, undergraduate Diploma in Library Science designed for junior librarians. Until it was discontinued in 1976 some 425 students had graduated with this diploma. Intended for para-professionals, it was revised, and extended over two years in regular classes and three in extension. In this guise it was reinstated in 1978. By 2005 about 900 students had graduated. In response to a proliferation of educational and other public institutions, and consequently of L., in the period 1977-86, a Bachelor of Library and Information Science four-year degree programme was introduced. It graduated some 650 students until it was phased out and replaced in 2000 by a four-year Bachelor of Science in Information Systems degree course to take into account the shift of mission of the University towards more postgraduate education and research. As a result of these initiatives a pool of professional and para-professional information workers have begun to provide well managed library and information services.

The Ethiopian Library Association (ELA) was founded in 1967 and achieved official status in 1969. It published biannually in 1969–78 an *ELA Bulletin*, as well as, in 1968, *a Directory of Ethiopian Libraries* and in 1976, a *Directory of Special Libraries*. The ELA was re-constituted as the Ethiopian Library and Information Association, and published the first number of an *ELIA Newsletter*, in 1995.

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Rita Pankhurst

Arras, Victor

A. (born Hendrik Lodewijk A.; b. 8 July 1901, Lier, d. 2 April 1996, Antwerp) was a Belgian Catholic priest and prominent scholar of Eastern Christianity, who made an important contribution to ↗Ethiopian studies.

A. entered the Franciscan Order (Order of Friars Minor, ↗Franciscans) in 1920 and was ordained priest in 1926. Between 1936 and 1940 he worked for his Order in Rome. He obtained the degree ("licence") in oriental philology and history from the Oriental Institute of the Catholic University of Louvain in 1946. In 1950, after the death of his Ethiopic teacher Henri De Vis (d. 1949), A. was appointed "lector" for Ethiopic (↗Gəᶜəz) language and literature at the University of Louvain, a position which, following the division of the university in 1968, he continued in both the French- (Louvain-la-Neuve) and Dutch-speaking (Leuven) sister institutions until 1975.

Alongside his teaching, he produced a great number of text editions, always accompanied by Latin translations and succinct Latin introductions. These editions were typically based on personal inspection of the ↗manuscripts, which led him to travels and extended work visits all over Europe. His first edition dealt with the *Miracles* of ↗George of Lydda (1953). He then turned to the publication of the large collections of ascetic-monastic texts, for which he introduced the titles that have remained in use until the present day (↗Monastic literature): *Collectio monastica* (1963), *Patericon* (1967), *Asceticon* (1984), *Geronticon* (1986), and *Quadraginta historiae* (1988). A third area of interest was constituted by the texts related to the death of the Virgin Mary (↗*ᶜƎrräfta lämaryam*): his two-volume edition (1973–74) includes the important "Liber requiei", a full version of which exists only in Gəᶜəz, and nine shorter treatises.

Although A. defined his editorial task rather narrowly and mostly refrained from providing annotation or contextualization of the texts that he edited and translated, his knowledge of the language was profound, and the quality of his work excellent. Several of his publications proved to be instrumental in subsequent research by other scholars on related texts in Arabic and other Eastern Christian languages, in particular by Joseph-Marie Sauget, van ↗Esbroeck, Lucien Regnault, and Stephen Shoemaker.

A. easily ranks as the most productive and authoritative Ethiopic scholar in Belgium in the 20th cent.

Src.: Victor Arras (ed., tr.), *Miraculorum S. Georgii Megalomartyris collectio altera*, Louvain 1953 (CSCO 138, 139 [SAe 31, 32]); Id. (ed., tr.), *Collectio monastica*, Louvain 1963 (CSCO 238, 239 [SAe 45, 46]); Id. (ed., tr.), *Patericon aethiopice*, Louvain 1967 (CSCO 277, 278 [SAe 53, 54]); Id. (ed., tr.), *De transitu Mariae apocrypha aethiopice*, part I and II, Louvain 1973-74 (CSCO 342, 343, 351, 352 [SAe 66, 67, 68, 69]); Id. (ed., tr.), *Asceticon*, Louvain 1984 (CSCO 458, 459 [SAe 77, 78]); Id. (ed., tr.), *Geronticon*, Louvain 1986 (CSCO 476, 477 [SAe 79, 80]); Id. (ed., tr.), *Quadraginta historiae monachorum*, Louvain 1988 (CSCO 505, 506 [SAe 85, 86]); Michel van Esbroeck, *Aux origines de la Dormition de la Vierge*, Aldershot 1995, passim; Lucien Regnault, "Des apophtegmes des Pères redécouverts", in: Enzo Lucchesi – Ugo Zanetti (eds.), *Ægyptus Christiana. Mélanges d'hagiographie égyptienne et orientale dédiés à la mémoire du P. Paul Devos Bollandiste*, Genève 2004 (Cahiers d'Orientalisme 25), 149–62 (Asceticon; Geronticon); Joseph-Marie Sauget, "Une nouvelle collection éthiopienne d'Apophthegmata Patrum", *OrChrP* 31, 1965, 177–88 (Collectio monastica); Id., "Un exemple typique des relations culturelles entre l'arabe-chrétien et l'éthiopien: un Patericon récemment publié", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 321–88; Stephen J. Shoemaker, *Ancient Traditions of the Virgin Mary's Dormition and Assumption*, Oxford 2002, passim.

Lucas Van Rompay

Art

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I. Introduction

An extremely rich variety of artistic traditions is found among the ethnic groups and religious cultures in the Horn of Africa. A high level of creativity and diversity in modes of cultural expression is to be observed. Such traditions of creativity include academic fine A., graphic design and ↗photography, traditional church and manuscript ↗painting (s. also ↗Colours), ↗architecture, mural A., ↗rock A. and sculpture (s. also ↗Stelae; ↗Megalithic culture; ↗*Waakaa*), but also folk A., artistic craftsmanship and decorative A. ("useful A.", s. also ↗Handicrafts, ↗Jewellery, ↗Pottery, ↗Wood and Woodwork, ↗Basketry) as well as body A. (↗Henna; ↗Body ornamentation, ↗Body modification, s. EAE vol. 5), ↗clothing and fashion (s. also ↗Weavers and weaving) or performing A. such as ↗Cinema and ↗Theatre.

This article is concerned with the visual A. (Amh. **ሥነ ፡ ጥበብ**, *śənä ṭəbäb* 'art') and artistic traditions as far as they are not treated elsewhere in this Encyclopaedia.

The collections of the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies, the National Museum and the National Library (↗Archives and libraries, s. EAE vol. 5), all in ↗Addis Abäba, as well as those of several ↗museums (s. EAE vol. 5) in other parts of the country include prominent examples of A. However, their collections are not comprehensive. The documentation and interpretation of many of the forms of visual A. remain in an embryonic state and some artistic traditions have not yet been studied in depth.

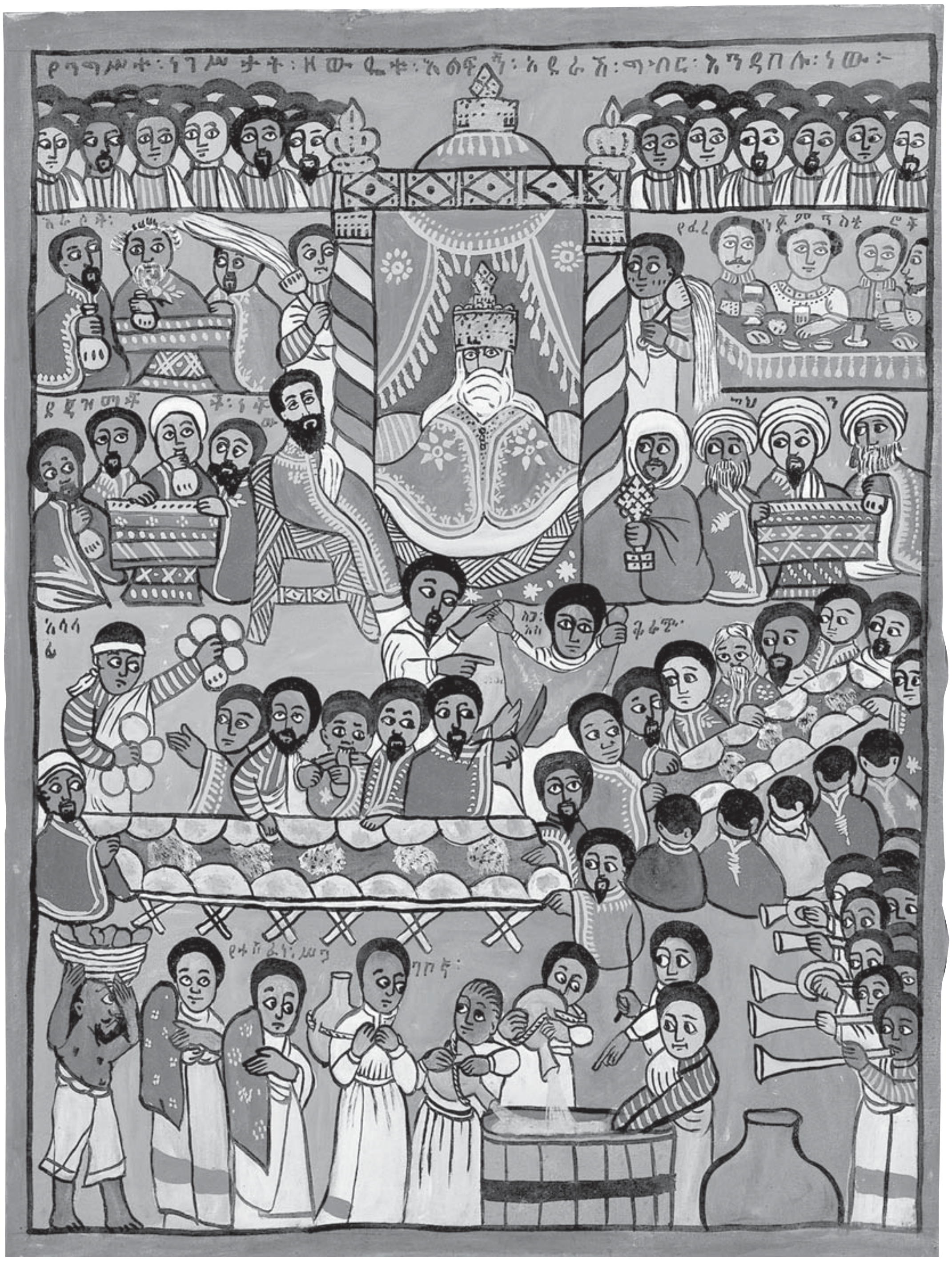
II. Modern and contemporary art

With the exception of a few internationally renowned artists, such as ↗Ǝskəndər (Alexander Boghossian), ↗Gäbrä Krəstos Dästa, ↗Afäwärq Täkle (s. EAE vol. 5) and Wäsäne Wärqe Kosrof (Wosene Worke Kosrof, b. 1950), the broader A. world has paid relatively little attention to modern and contemporary Ethiopian artists, even though Addis Abäba has twice been home to active fine A. communities, once in the 1960s (Heran Sereke-Brhan — Shiferaw Bekele 2007: 18–29) and again in the post-*Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) environment starting from the 1990s (Nagy – Achamyeleh Debela 2007: 36–41; Klemm – Niederstadt 2009: 9f.). Today, Ethiopian artists produce work that references their cultural heritage while utilizing new materials and technology. Many now focus on mixed media, photography, or site-specific installations.

Innovation is not a new phenomenon among Ethiopian artists. Near the end of the 19th cent., foreign visitors began purchasing objects, particularly paintings, as mementos of their time in Ethiopia and church painters responded to this demand, giving rise to a genre known as "contemporary painting in traditional style" (s. part III below; Biasio 2006; 2009). By the 1920s, young artists, including ↗Agäññähu Ǝngəda, were training abroad in Europe and North America. Once home, several of them established A. schools in the 1940s and 1950s (Nagy – Achamyeleh Debela 2007: 10). With the support of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I and with funds from an exhibition, Allä Fällägä Sälam Ḫəruy (Ale Felege Selam, b. 1929) founded the ↗Fine Arts School in 1957/58. The school trained students to teach and work as professional artists. While early faculty were foreign expatriates (e.g., Karl-Heinz ↗Hansen-Bahia), Ethiopians were soon recruited as instructors (e.g., Gäbrä Krəstos Dästa). Initially, students focused on graphic design, painting, or sculpture, but during the *Därg* regime, greater attention was paid to mural A. and sculpture due to their use for propagandistic purposes.

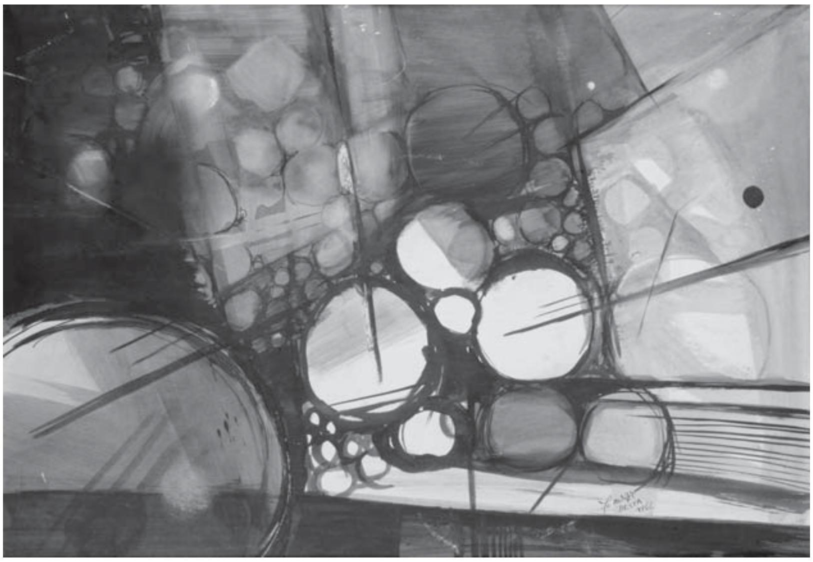
By the mid-20th cent., galleries and shops dedicated to the sale of A. were established in Addis Abäba. These exhibited works by artists working in the modern fine A. tradition as well as by church-trained painters such as *qes* Addamu Täsfaw (b. 1929). The city's foreign cultural institutions, such as the Alliance Française and the Goethe Institut (today German Cultural Institute/Gäbrä Krəstos Dästa Centre), maintained active ↗art exhibition schedules and continue to do so.

The Ethiopian contemporary A. community has grown strong in the post-Socialist period. More women are participating in the A. world as artists, including Məḥrät Käbbädä (b. 1979), and as curators and gallery owners, and the number of students applying to A. schools is increasing. Artists have greater opportunities for education and better access to resources, including exhibition and studio space, materials and patrons. Ethi-



"Banquet of Empress Zäwditu", by an unknown painter, oil on canvas, 81 cm x 61 cm; Charles-Henri Steiner collection, 1927–29; Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zurich (Invt. No. 16864)

opian-born and foreign expatriates have returned to Addis Abäba with an interest in supporting the A. Several senior artists, including Yoḥannəs Gädamu (b. 1947, d. 2010), also returned from



Gäbrä Krəstos Dästa “Tam Tam”, 1966, oil on canvas, 77 cm x 102 cm; Stanislaw Chojnacki 1994; Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zurich (Invt. No. 21681)

the ↗Diaspora, providing advice and encouragement to younger generations. The Fine Arts School has been incorporated into ↗Addis Ababa University as the School of Fine Arts and Design, and private A. schools have been founded, including the Enlightenment Art Academy, opened by Ǝšätu Tərunäh (b. 1952) and Asnake Kəflä (Asnake Kifle) in 2006. Important contemporary A. institutions include the Asni Art Gallery, founded by Qonğit Səyyum (b. 1963), the Atelier, established by French expatriate Leo Lefort, and the Zoma Contemporary Art Center, a non-profit organization founded by Mäskäräm Assägʷäd (Meskerem Assegued). A number of young artists have moved to Europe and North America but few have found significant success when compared to the older generation who left during the *Därg* regime or to a large group of fellow artists who travel abroad but remain based in Ethiopia.

The success of contemporary Ethiopian artists can be seen in the recent exhibitions that explore their work and in their being selected to exhibit at prestigious biennales. Key international shows include, e.g., *Ethiopian Passages*: *Dialogues in the Diaspora* (2003), *Continuity and Change*: *Three Generations of Ethiopian Artists* (2007), and *Painting Ethiopia*: *the Life and Work of Qes Adamu Tesfaw* (2005). Since 2000, Assäfa Gäbräkidan (Assefa Gebrekidan, b. 1973), Elyas Səme (Elias Simé, b. 1968), Mulugeta Gäbrä Kidan (Mulugeta Gebrekidan, b. 1970), Mulugeta Taffäsä (Mulugeta Tafesse, b. 1960), and Zäryəhun Yätəmgeta (Zerihun Yetmgeta, b. 1941) were selected to participate in the world renowned *Dak'Art Biennale* in Dakar, Senegal. Ethiopian artists of all generations continue to exhibit at home and abroad and to accept international residencies and many now use the internet as a means of reaching an audience beyond Ethiopia.

Contemporary sculpture and other fields

Painting is the genre most associated with contemporary Ethiopian A. However, a number of artists have long focused on sculpture and other fields, including digital compositions such as those created by Aččamyälläh Däbbäla (Achamyeleh Debele, b. 1947), photography, and installation and performance A. More than 50 years ago, Maitre Artiste Afäwärq Täkle designed Africa Hall's stained glass windows. With the founding of the Fine Arts School, students were offered training in graphic design, mural arts, and sculpture. Early graduates experimented with a variety of media, for example, the woodcut prints created by Tulu Guya (b. 1946). Austrian Herbert Seiler taught sculpture at the school and produced numerous works for the government and private collectors; many of these remain extant today.

During the *Därg*, artists were encouraged to create work in support of the Socialist regime; in this way mural A. and sculpture were promoted due to their potential as a means of propaganda. Throughout the late 1970s and the 1980s, a number of Ethiopian sculptors were sent abroad for further study, particularly to the former Soviet Union. Prominent among these is Bäqqälä Mäkʷännən (b. 1964), the most internationally renowned of the contemporary Ethiopian artists creating three-dimensional works and site-specific installations. *Black Box* (2002) at Asni Gallery and *Chance and Choice* (2008) at Lela Gallery are among his exhibitions in Addis Abäba, but he also exhibits widely abroad. Other well-known sculptors include Getaččäw Yosef (Getachew Yosef), who created the Bole Road sculptures (2003) commemorating the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation, and Mikaᵓel Betä Śəllase (Mickaël Bethe-Selassié, b. 1951), who works with papier-mâché. Several artists better known as painters also experiment with non-traditional media and found objects. Among these, Bäḫaylu Bäzzäbbəh (Behailu Bezabih, b. 1960) creates collage paintings and wooden sculptures reminiscent of Konso ↗*waakaa*, while Ǝngədaget Läggäsä Amäde's (Engdaget Legesse, b. 1971) pillar-like sculptures utilize ↗magic scroll motifs (s. part IV below).

Due to the paucity of fine A. materials, especially in the Socialist period, contemporary Ethiopian sculpture usually incorporates recycled goods and found objects, rather than more traditional sculptural materials such as clay and marble. Assäffa Gäbräkidan and Elyas Səme are receiving international attention for their installations and mixed media projects that make use of buttons, cardboard, household containers and utensils, plastic bags, and thread, among others. Their work has been featured in solo exhibitions including *Assefa Gebrekidan*: *a Glimmer of Hope* (2005) and *Elias Simé*: *Eye of the Needle, Eye of the Heart* (2009). Another young artist, Täsfahun Kəbru (Tesfahun Kibru, b. 1977), creates three dimensional "paintings" and large sculptural forms using a range of materials including baskets, cast-off metal, gourds, and pencils.

Although photography has been practiced in Ethiopia since the second half of the 19th cent., contemporary Ethiopian artists have only recently begun to focus on the medium, as resources were often lacking, as was interest in photography as a fine A. Among younger artists, Mikaᵓel Ṣäggaye (Michael Tsegaye, b. 1975) has been active as a photographer for much of the last decade. Award-winning photographer Ayda Mulunäh (Aida Muluneh, b. 1974), who returned to Ethiopia after years abroad, recently published her work *Ethiopia*: *Past/Forward* (2009). She is active in training young Ethiopian photographers.

Site-specific installations and performance A. are a challenge for Ethiopian artists, few of whom can afford to focus solely on these A. forms. Yet, a number of artists actively experiment with the genres. Mulugeta Gäbräkidan's *Boundaries Bound*, which combined a mixed media installation with performance, was exhibited at the 2010 *Dak'Art Biennale*. A major proponent of such experimental work is curator and gallery owner Qonǧit Səyyum who enables artists to produce such installations and who does so within her own artistic work. In the last decade, murals, a related form of installation art, have enjoyed a revival, particularly as part of the efforts to "beautify" and "clean up" Addis Abäba and other major urban centres. Graphic design remains an interest for young Ethiopian artists, many of whom make a living as graphic designers, allowing them to support their creative work as painters and sculptors.

Lit.: HERAN SEREKE-BRHAN — SHIFERAW BEKELE, "Fluorescence of the Arts in the 'New Flower' (Addis Ababa) before 1974", in: REBECCA M. NAGY — ACHAMYELEH DEBELA (eds.), *Continuity and Change*: *Three Generations of Ethiopian Artists*, Gainesville, FL 2007, 10, 18-29, 36-41; PERI M. KLEMM – LEA NIEDERSTADT, "Beyond Wide-Eyed Angels: Contemporary Expressive Culture in Ethiopia", *African Arts* 42, 1, 2009, 6–13, here 9f.; ELISABETH BIASIO, *Heilige und Helden – Äthiopiens zeitgenössische Malerei im traditionellen Stil*, Zürich 2006; EAD., "Contemporary Ethiopian Painting in Traditional Style: From Church-based to Tourist Art", *African Arts* 42, 1, 2009, 14–25.

Leah Niederstadt

III. Contemporary painting in traditional style

With the founding of Addis Abäba in 1886, and the arrival of foreigners and legations, demand for Ethiopian "souvenirs" increased. Church painters started to produce artwork for this new clientele, and paintings became available to patrons outside of the church and nobility. This new category of painting is known as "secular painting" (Pankhurst 1966), "folk painting" (Girma Fisseha – Raunig (1985), "traditional painting" (Ricci 1989), "popular painting" (Pollig et al. 1993) or "contemporary painting in traditional style" (Biasio 2006; 2009).

The traditional themes of church paintings – religious subjects, portraits of rulers, or hunting and battle scenes – were still reproduced, but new themes emerged, such as daily life, church rituals, and legends, above all the story of the Queen of Sheba (↗Makədda). These innovations were driven by the requests of foreign patrons and by the creativity of painters, who experimented with and then included successful new themes in their repertoire.

Through the early 20th cent., paintings were still somewhat difficult to acquire commercially. As demand increased, especially during the tourist boom

(↗Tourism) of the 1950s and 1960s, paintings began to be mass-produced in artists' workshops and in government established schools. Autodidacts also began producing for the commercial market, which led to a loss in quality when compared to works produced by church-trained painters. During the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) regime, the market for paintings and other souvenirs fell as tourism decreased.

Today, church-trained painters (e.g., *qes* Addamu Täsfaw [b. 1929], *liqä bərhanat* Bərhane Gäbrä Iyäsus [b. 1958]) still produce large, high quality canvases and a few, especially in and near Aksum, educate their children, including their daughters, to follow in their footsteps. Some academically trained painters (e.g., Taddäsä Wäldä Arägay, b. 1953), also create work in the traditional style, as do some younger artists, who produce such paintings to help support their work as full-time studio artists.

Contemporary tourists prefer small paintings on parchment or canvas which are easy to transport. Foreign and Ethiopian collectors usually purchase large works on canvas.

Well-known painters in the traditional style include: ↗Bälaččäw Yəmär, his son Sälomon Bälaččäw (b. ca. 1919/20, d. 1997), ↗Fəre Ḥəywät (s. EAE vol. 5, active around 1910), ↗Bäḫaylu Gäbrä Maryam and Wäldä Mikaʾel (active in the 1920s), Śahlä Ḫaylu (active in the 1930s), ↗Yoḥannəs Täsämma, ↗Bərhanu Yəmänu, *qäññ geta* ↗Ǧämbäre Ḫaylu, ↗Wändəmmu Wänd, ↗ʿAlämu Ḫaylä Maryam, ↗Qanna Sambata. Still active are Bərhanu's son, Getaččäw Bərhanu (b. 1971), *qes* Addamu Täsfaw, Bərhanämäsqäl Fəśśəḥa (b. 1947), and *liq bərhanat* Bərhane Gäbrä Iyäsus. Although the number of church-trained artists has declined, painters continue to create for the church and for commercial clients; Aksum and its surrounds are particularly active in this regard.

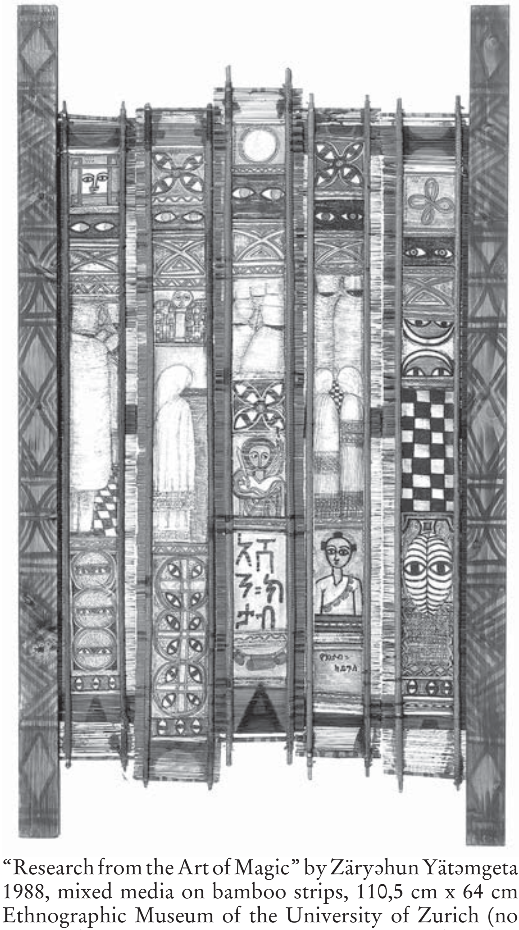
Lit.: Elisabeth Biasio, *Heilige und Helden – Äthiopiens zeitgenössische Malerei im traditionellen Stil*, Zürich 2006; Girma Fisseha – Walter Raunig, *Mensch und Geschichte in Äthiopiens Volksmalerei*, Innsbruck – Frankfurt a.M. 1985; Marilyn Heldman, “Creating Sacred Space: Orthodox Churches of the Ethiopian American Diaspora”, *Diaspora*: *a Journal of Transnational Studies* 15, 2/3 2006 [2011], 285–302; Richard Pankhurst, “Some Notes for a History of Ethiopian Secular Art”, *EthObs* 10, 1, 1966, 5–80; Hermann Pollig et al. (eds.), *Äthiopien in der volkstümlichen Malerei*, Stuttgart 1993; Lanfranco Ricci, *Pittura etiopica tradizionale*, Roma 1989; Raymond A. Silverman, *Painting Ethiopia – The Live and Work of Qes Adamu Tesfaw*, Los Angeles, CA 2005.

Elisabeth Biasio

IV. Magic scrolls as a motif in contemporary art

↗Magic scrolls have been a popular theme of modern painting since they were introduced by Alexander Boghossian (↗Ǝskəndər) after he returned from Paris to Addis Abäba in the late 1960s. He was keenly interested in symbolism and religion and gained inspiration from the ↗paintings found in Ethiopian Orthodox churches and illuminated ↗manuscripts. By the 1970s, the influence of magic scrolls became widespread in contemporary Ethiopian A.

One of the painters who followed Ǝskəndər to Washington, DC was Wäsäne Wärqe Kosrof. Throughout his career, the Ethiopic script and magic scrolls have played a dominant role, especially in his last series *The Colour of Words* (since 1996). Wäsäne feels that he is a kind of a 20th-cent. ↗*däbtära*, and believes that his paintings have a ↗healing influence on the beholder.



“Research from the Art of Magic” by Zäryəhun Yätəmgeta, 1988, mixed media on bamboo strips, 110,5 cm x 64 cm; Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zurich (no. 20999); from Biasio 1989:117, photo courtesy of Kathrin Leuenberger

Aččamyälläh Däbbäla (b. 1949), who has lived in the USA since 1972, depicts magic scrolls in his work because of their aesthetic value and philosophical and spiritual meanings. Magic scrolls also figure prominently in the paintings of Zäryəhun Yätəmgeta who was impressed by Boghossian's work, although he never ventured abroad for further studies. In 1968, Zäryəhun began to create canvas paintings featuring strip compositions inspired by magic scrolls. In ca. 1979, he started a series of bamboo-strip paintings formally modelled on magic scrolls. Today, he is arguably best known for these works, which he continues to create. Magic scroll motifs also appear in other media and techniques used by Zäryəhun. As a teacher at what is now the School of Fine Arts and Design, Zäryəhun has influenced many of his students.

Among these is Ayyälä Asäffa (b. 1960) who also produces artwork incorporating magic scroll motifs as well as paintings modelled on Zäryəhun's bamboo strip series. Ǝngədaget Läggäsä featured and emphasized magic scroll motifs in the 1990s and early 2000s on three-dimensional painted wooden artworks he calls "magic pillars".

While the expatriate artists transform the magic scroll motifs into ornamental designs, the artists in Addis Abäba express the motifs realistically, often using Jacques Mercier's book *Ethiopian Magic Scrolls* (1979) as a source of inspiration.

Lit.: ELISABETH BIASIO, *Die verborgene Wirklichkeit: Drei äthiopische Maler der Gegenwart/The Hidden Reality: Three Contemporary Ethiopian Artists*, Zürich 1989, 65–122; EAD., "Zerihun Yetmgeta and Ethiopian World Art", in: RAYMOND A. SILVERMAN (ed.), *Ethiopia: Traditions of Creativity*, Seattle — London 1999, 88–111; EAD., "Magic Scrolls in Modern Ethiopian Painting", *Africana Bulletin* 52, 2004, 31–42; JEAN KENNEDY, *New Currents, Ancient Rivers – Contemporary African Artists in a Generation of Change*, Washington, DC – London 1992, 125–39.

Elisabeth Biasio

V. Modern and contemporary art in Eritrea

In the course of the 20th cent. the rich A. production in Eritrea underwent a dynamic development, under European, Ethiopian, and other influences. Especially the capital ↗Asmära is marked by the presence of many forms of modern A.

In the Christian highlands, painted A. originally belonged exclusively to the domain of the Orthodox Church, where rich mural paintings, icons and illuminated manuscripts were produced until the contemporary period (↗Painting, traditional; also cp. ills. ↗Bəlen Sägädä, ↗Ḫaylu Täwäldä Mädḫən, ↗Mary, Apocalypse of). Much of the modern A. in Eritrea, however, went through a development quite independent of these predecessors.

The first activities in modern A. were linked with the Italian colonial presence. Several modern Italian painters resided in Colonia Eritrea at least for short periods of time. Some produced portraits of local Italians, others painted local, folkloristic scenes (such as ᶜAfar habitations in the desert). However this activity had little visible influence on indigenous A. production. In addition, the demand for the artwork of craftsmen rose especially from the 1920s when Eritrea went through a rapid process of ↗urbanization. For example, reliefs and wall paintings with classicist or pseudo-antique motifs were popular (s. for example a "Roman villa", s. Sallinen 2003: 55, cp. 63). Churches (such as the Catholic cathedral of Asmära), as well as the newly founded ↗cinemas and the ↗theatre (in Asmära) were painted and decorated inside, and in some cases also restaurants and bars (the theatre was designed by Odoardo Cavagnari, completed in 1920 with a ceiling painting, Sallinen 2003: 50f.; there are lion head sculptures and ornate stuccos in the Cinema Impero, ibid. 129; woodcarvings in the Bistro Alba show popular scenes).

Ornamental ↗ironwork decorates many fences around older buildings (such as the 1905-built synagogue). Sculptures and other artistic memorials can be found in the Italian cemeteries (e.g., ibid. 134). In architecture, Italian influence resulted in the well-documented "Asmara Style" (↗Asmära architecture). The role of locals in this kind of A. production has not been studied yet. As in Ethiopia around the same period, local A. production in "traditional style" slowly developed for the small market of foreign visitors, which is still alive (e.g., depicting scenes showing the Queen of Sheba and Solomon).

A totally different stream of A. production started to develop mainly during the Federation and subsequent union with Ethiopia: At the newly founded ↗Fine Arts School in Addis Abäba there were also Eritrean students; other Eritreans visited A. schools in other countries such as India, which led to the creation of modern A. in Eritrea (with some earlier attempts already during the ↗British Military Administration in the 1940s, cp. ill. for *MaTäDä* under "Theatre in Eritrea", EAE vol. 4).

During the armed struggle, the ↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) formed a fighters' A. group in ca. 1978 led by Bərhane Adonay following an idea of "Art for the Masses". The group included female fighters. Some of its members remained as active artists after the struggle (cp. Matzke 2001: 20f.). Breaking with previous traditions, a Socialist Realism style was developed, glorifying the struggle; folkloric scenes were also prominent, serving to underline the popular character of the armed struggle (for an underground exhibition of paintings and sculptures, s. Marando 1987: 86f.; cp. also the catalogue of another A. exhibition during the armed struggle, National Guidance Department 1990).

Post-1991 Eritrea witnessed a further rise in the production and appreciation of diverse forms of modern A. Free groups of artists, partially made up of former fighters, now organized exhibitions especially in Asmära, but also in the countryside, answering a rising public interest especially in the urban context, such as the Mərara Art Association (Smidt 2001: 18, paintings, ibid. 2f., 6f., 18f., 39f., 43). With such associations, Eritrean artists continued to develop their own artistic "language", partially leaving the traditional motifs and allowing for more artistic freedom; the presence of foreign art teachers (e.g., from China and India) also nourished this process. Part of the production shows the influence of Socialist Realism, similar to the developments in Ethiopia. Scenes from the liberation struggle continued to be painted, but, as a contrast a sort of ethnographical realism (displaying often idyllic scenes from the countryside) became more prominent (cp. ill. EAE vol. 4, 335). Some of the scenes carry indirect messages, e.g., when women are depicted carrying water up a mountain in a painting by Abrəham Mogäs of 1989 (exhibited repeatedly in independent Eritrea, Smidt 2001: 39; cp. National Guidance Department 1990: 28), symbolizing the difficult path of Eritrea towards a more promising future.

A. associations started to teach – mainly Realist – painting to interested students. Artists found diverse fields of activities and demand, e.g., as cinema painters in Asmära, portraitists, illustrators for books, newspapers, brochures and postcards, designers for the theatre and culture festivals, and wall-painters for shops, restaurants, and the government, e.g., depicting harmonious scenes from the period of the liberation struggle, such as dancing fighters (s. Abdulkader Saleh et al. 2008: 343), collective meals in the bush, and other communal activities.

The politics of memory also created a demand for sculptures; e.g., Asmära has several sculptures showing plastic sandals (*kongo* or *šədda*), worn in the past by fighters, which stand for the successful struggle with very limited means (cp. Tedros Abraham 1999). Especially after the 1998–2000 war with Ethiopia, militant scenes, usually painted by former soldiers of the Eritrean army, became prominent once again, much more than the "peaceful" development issues or cultural scenes popular in the pre-war years (Matzke 2001: 21). However, A. also continued to develop independently of the needs of political expression, e.g., combining abstract forms and folkloristic motifs with human figures (with such painters represented at first, in smaller, international exhibitions, such as the exhibition *Art from Eritrea – Roots and Diaspora* of 2002 in Caldogno, Vicenza). For example the productive Mikaʾel Adonay (b. 1962) integrates modern decorative elements and traditions of church painting into his very colourful oeuvre, marked to a great extent by themes of the struggle.

Relief on a colonial house, Asmära; photo 1997, courtesy of the author

Lit.: ABDULKADER SALEH et al. (eds.), *Friedensräume in Eritrea und Tigray unter Druck*, Münster 2008, 343; AMANUEL SAHLE, "Fine Arts for the Common People", *Eritrea Profile*, 28 February 1998, 7; HENOK NERAYO, "A Means of Portraying Cultural Heritage", *Eritrea Profile*, 6 November 1999, 3; ID., "National Museum for Preserving Eritrean Identity", *Eritrea Profile*, 15 August 1998, 9; JOSEPH MARANDO, *Life in Liberated Eritrea. La vie en Erythrée libérée. La vida en Eritrea liberada*, Roma 1987; CHRISTINE MATZKE, "Pinsel, Palette und Palmblätter, ein Kurzporträt Elsa Yakobs", *Selam Eritrea* 15/16, 2001, 20–21; EAD., "Comrades in Arts and Arms: Stories of Wars and Watercolors from Eritrea", in: TOBIAS DÖRING (ed.), *African Cultures, Visual Arts, and the Museums*: *Sights/Sites of Creativity and Conflict*, Amsterdam – New York 2002 (*Matatu* 25/26), 21–54 (Lit.); NATIONAL GUIDANCE DEPARTMENT, ERITREAN PEOPLE'S LIBERATION

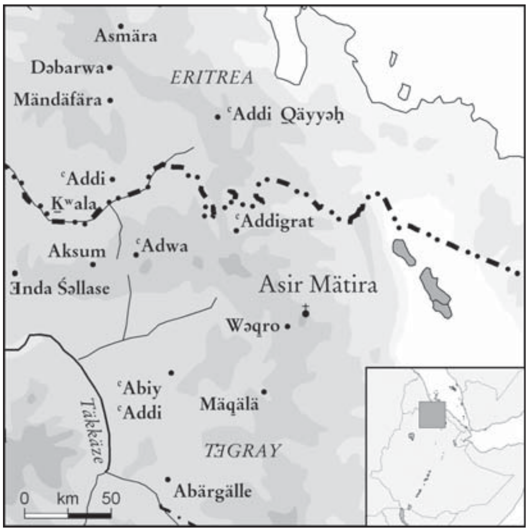
FRONT, *An Exhibition of Art Works by Eritrean Fighters*, s.l. 1990; SAMI SALLINEN, *Asmara Beloved*, Harare 2003; WOLBERT SMIDT, "Mrara Art Association, Eine Künstlergruppe in Asmara", *Selam Eritrea* 15/16, 2001, 18–19; TEDROS ABRAHAM, "Sculpture: Eritrea's Evolving Art", *Eritrea Profile,* 20 November 1999, 7; FREIDA HIGH W. TESFAGIORGIS, "In Search of a Discourse and Critique/s that Center the Art of Black Women Artists", in: SAHAL M. HASSAN (ed.), *Gendered Visions*: *the Art of Contemporary Africana Women Artists*, Trenton, NJ 1997, 73–96.

Wolbert G.C. Smidt

Asir Mätira

A.M. (**አሲር ፡ መቲራ**, also known as Däbrä ᶜAlima or Däbrä ᶜAlama; variants Asira Mätira, Asər Mätira, Ašər Mätira etc.) is a monastery situated in East Təgray, Aṣbi Wämbärta *wäräda* (previously Aṣbidära *awrağğa*), at the foot of the mount Zəban Hoṣᵓa, near the spring called May Ṣadəqan. The local tradition (collected in Mitiku Gebre Hiwot 2006) claims that Däbrä ᶜAlima was founded by King ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl. It also preserves a folk etymology of the name A.M.: the monastery was once attacked by Muslims (probably the ↗ᶜAfar), who looted its treasures, but, while dividing the booty, quarrelled and fought each other to death. The only survivor, the head of the brigands, exclaimed: *Asira mätira*! (Tgn.: '[this place] has bound and chopped [us]!'; a different etymology is recorded in Gigar Tesfaye 1979: 97). The tradition recounts that the monastery flourished in the 15th cent. under *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, but later was frequently endangered by the Muslims. It was re-established by a certain *abunä* Yəsḥaq in the 17th cent. and favoured by *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV. A.M. was closely associated with ↗Gundä Gunde (perhaps as a ↗*gʷəlt* of the latter), which is vividly remembered by A.M.'s tradition. In 1997 the monastery was re-opened as ↗nunnery by *abba* Gäbrä Mädḫən, an energetic monk and native of ↗Wäğğärat, and became very successful in different development projects.

A.M. does not feature in the known sources (it does not appear identical with "Asira" of CRDLib 184, no. 1 and 211, no. 24 or CRAxum no. 39). The little available tangible evidence on the monastery hints at A.M. as an old foundation and remarkable monastic centre of East Təgray. The fine medieval church of the monastery was briefly recorded in the 1970s (Plant 1973: 38f.; Gigar Tesfaye 1979, fig. 1); unfortunately, it was destroyed in late 1990s, reportedly by lightning, and a new massive church was constructed on the slope of Zəban Hoṣᵓa. The reference to A.M. as a "↗Stephanite" community (Gigar Tesfaye 1979: 97; Heldman in PICES 1, 11f.) is confirmed by the documents preserved in the monastic library that has recently come to light. The monastery probably marked the south-eastern border of the influence of Gundä Gunde. A foundation record (entitled **ሥርዓተ ፡ አበው**, *Śərᶜatä abäw*, 'The Order of the Fathers'), preserved as a marginal note in the fragment of an old *Sənkəssar*, tells that the monastery was destroyed by an unnamed king-transgressor (*nəguś ᶜalawi*), and reestablished by *abunä* Gäbrä Mäsiḥ (of Mäzba) and *abunä* Abäkärazun of Däbrä Qaᶜat with the assistance of ↗*təgre mäkʷännən* Akkälom (otherwise unknown), through the permission of *aṣe* Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob who sent to the foundation ceremony *pappas abunä* ↗Yoḥannəs. Another note in a ↗*Senodos* manuscript confirms this information, adding that the abbot was a certain *abba* Yəsḥaq, and the event took place during the tenure of Metropolitans ↗Gäbrəᵓel and Mikaᵓel (who indeed came to Ethiopia with adjunct bishop Yoḥannəs who had the title of ↗*eppisqoppos*). Further notes report of the "seven *gʷəlt*-lands" given to A.M. by *təgre mäkʷännən* Akkälom (according to a 18th-cent. record, they were located in Mänbärta, Deśᵓa and Sänᶜafe). Though we know of the prominent Stephanite monks ↗Gäbrä Mäsiḥ and ↗Abäkärazun, the identity of the founders of A.M. remains somewhat uncertain. The known Vitae of the Stephanites (including the published *Gädlä Abäkärazun*, Conti Rossini 1910) do not contain any mention of their activities in Aṣbidära/Mänbärta. Still, the historical link of A.M. to the Stephanites is well



attested in A.M.'s library, which possesses an old (at least 16th-cent.) copy of the Vita of *abunä* Ǝsṭifanos (not used in any scholarly edition, but printed, with Amharic translation, by the community of A.M.), and an old (severely damaged) manuscript with the Vita of *abunä* Abäkärazun (in a version different from Conti Rossini 1910).

Src.: Asir Mätira, mss. *Arbaʾəttu Wängel* [fragments], 15th cent.; *Gädlä Abäkärazun*, 16th cent.; *Senodos*, 15th cent.; *Sənkəssar* [fragments], 15th cent.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI (ed., tr.), *Vitae sanctorum indigenarum* I. *Acta sancti Abakerazun*, Louvain 1910 [repr. 1962] (CSCO 56, 57 [SAe 24, 25]); CRAxum 36 (text) = 42 (tr.) [no. 39]; CRDLib 184, 211, nos. 1, 24; **ገድለ ፡ አቡነ ፡ እስጢፋኖስ ፡ ዘአሲራ ፡ መቲራ ፡ ገዳም** (*Gädlä abunä Ǝsṭifanos zä-Asira Mätira gädam*, 'Vita of our Father Ǝsṭifanos of the Monastery of Asira Mätira'), n.p. [Addis Abäba] 1996 A.M. [2003/04 A.D.]; MITIKU GEBRE HIWOT, "An Overview of the History of the Monastery of Debre Alima Asira Matira St. Mary Andenet Gedam", paper read at the 2nd International Littmann Conference, Aksum, 6–12 January 2006.

Lit.: GIGAR TESFAYE, "Notes sur Gunda-Gundie et d'autres couvents stéphanites dans le Tigray", *Abbay* 10, 1979 [1981], 93–100, here 97, figs. 1–4; MARYLIN HELDMAN, "An Ēwosṭāthian Style and the Gundā Gundē Style in Fifteenth-Century Ethiopian Manuscript Illumination", in: *PICEA* 1, 5–24, 135–39, here 11f.; DENIS NOSNITSIN, "New Branches of the Stephanite Monastic Network? Cases of Some Under-Explored Sites in East Təgray", in: DENIS NOSNITSIN (ed.). *Ecclesiastic Landscape of North Ethiopia: History, Change and Cultural Heritage. Proceedings of the First Workshop of Ethio-SPaRe Project, Hamburg, 15–16 July 2011*, Wiesbaden 2013 (Aethiopica Supplement 2), 61–88; RUTH PLANT, "Notes on Seventeen Newly-Discovered Rock-hewn Churches of Tigre", *EthObs* 16, 1, 1973, 36–53, here 38f.; EAD., *Architecture of the Tigre, Ethiopia*, Worcester 1985, map.

Denis Nosnitsin

Asnaqäčč Wärqu

A.W. (**አስናቀች ፡ ወርቁ**; b. 18 April 1935, Addis Abäba, d. 14 September 2011, Addis Abäba) was a prominent musician, actress and dancer.

A.W.'s mother died when she was three years old. She was raised by her godmother and successively lived with her sister and her aunt. While she was still a teenager, she married an Italian businessman from Addis Abäba.

In 1952 at the age of 17, A.W. was cast for a role in the play *Yäfəqər ç̣orra*, staged at the Municipality Theatre in Addis Abäba. Until that time there were no female actors in Ethiopian theatres and A.W. was probably the first actress on a public theatre stage in Ethiopia (although other sources claim that Sälamawit Gäbrä Śəllase was the first; ↗Theatre).

When the Ḫaylä Śəllase I Theatre (later National Theatre) was opened in 1955, A.W. joined its cast as an actress and singer. She took vocal and musical training with the Austrian director of the theatre, Franz Zelwecker. His training helped her to gain a sense of professionalism in theatre. Her professional performance in *David and Uriah* (probably combined with her fair complexion) let many in the audience believe that she was a foreigner. This success launched her fulltime acting career. In the following years she played many roles, including *Desdemona* in the 1963 production of Shakespeare's *Othello*.

ASNAKETCH WORKU
PHILIPS

Cover of the 1974 record of Asnaqäčč Wärqu by Philips-Ethiopia; courtesy of *Éthiopiques* CD series

At that time A.W. started her musical career outside theatre and established her own cabaret in Wəbe Bäräha (in Arat Kilo, Addis Abäba), where she entertained a growing fan base. Many years before she had taught herself to play *krar* (↗*kərar*), of which she mastered the two *krar* playing techniques, *gərf* and *dərdər*, which she applied to her songs accordingly. This instrument became her trademark. A.W.'s music, mostly love songs, is reminiscent of the ↗*azmari*-music of central and northern Ethiopia, using the four scales (↗*qəññöət*), *təzzəta*, *ambassäl*, *bati* and *ančihoy*. Over the years she developed her own unique singing style. She even used to call herself *angʷäragʷari* ('mutterer') instead of singer, referring to her melancholic muttering vocal performance. Usually she performed alone. The only time A.W. performed with an accompanying band she did not receive a good reception among her fans.

In the 1970s A.W. extended her creative work to professional music when her first recordings appeared on Philips-Ethiopia (a recording studio established in the 1970s by Kassahun Ǝšäte) in 1974. Her second album was published on Kaifa Records in 1976. Both albums were consecutively banned by the new *Därg* regime (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council), since her music was considered to be of no use for the propaganda. She nevertheless continued publishing her music, now on cassette, in 1976.

In 1987 A.W. took part in the legendary *Həzb-lä-həzb* Tour (‘People to People Tour’) where she performed with over 50 of the greatest Ethiopian artists in a tour of 60 cities worldwide.

Although A.W. officially ended her career in 1988/89, she performed at several occasions in the 1990s, e.g., on a tour in Germany in 1996 together with ᶜAlämu Aga. She also performed in Sabine Prenczina’s *Farandj* (1990) which won an award during the Istanbul International Film Festival. In 1998 and 2001 she appeared in the French-Ethiopian theatre productions *Michel Leiris à Gondar* and *Oncle Vania* (Chekhov), both directed by Geneviève Rosset in Addis Abäba.

In 1998 A.W. also won an award for her lifetime achievements by the *Ethiopian Fine Arts and Mass Media Prize Trust*.

A.W. died in Addis Abäba and was buried on the cemetery of the Qəddəst Śəllase cathedral on 16 September 2011.

All recordings of A.W. were compiled by Francis Falceto in 2004 in the series *Éthiopiques*, recalling A.W.’s connection to her instrument under the name *The Lady with the Krar*.

Src.: GETAČČÄW DÄBALQE, **አስናቀች ፡ ወርቁ** (*Asnaqäčč Wärqu*), Addis Abäba 1997 A.M. [2004 A.D.]; FRANCIS FALCETO, *Asnaqètch Wèrqu. The Lady with the Krar*, Buda Musique 2004, (Éthiopiques 16) [Booklet].

Lit.: “The First Lady of Ethiopian Music”, *Addis Journal Weblog*, 28 April 2011, *http://arefe.wordpress.com/2011/04/28/first-lady-of-ethiopian-music-part-two/#more-4085* (last access 23 May 2012); MEAZA WORKU, “Women and Ethiopian Theatre”, *Seasons. The Periodic Journal of the International Center of Women Playwrights*, May 2011, *http://seasons.womenplaywrights.org/2011/05/25/women-and-ethiopian-theatre-meaza-worku-ethiopia* (last access 23 May 2012).

Timkehet Teffera – Andreas Wetter

Atnatewos

Abunä A. (**አትናቴዎስ**; b. 1896, Kurbarya, Akkälä Guzay, d. 1961?) was an Ethiopian Orthodox Täwahədo bishop of Eritrea.

Formerly called Gərma Gäbrä Ewosṭatewos, A. attended the first and second stages of traditional church education (↗*nəbab bet* and ↗*zema bet*) in ᶜAddi Ḵʷala under *mämhər* Gäbrä Ḥəywät. He then joined the monastery of Ṣaᶜəda Ǝmba Śəllase where he studied ↗*andəmta* for ca. ten years. He was subsequently ordained and elected abbot of the monastery, a task he carried out for 45 years.

A.’s tenure as abbot is particularly remembered for his efforts in sustainable development. On his orders, dams were constructed at Maᶜədaway and Dängiya Wärq. A.’s missionary activities were primarily directed at the neighbouring Muslim-dominated areas. He established monastic communities in ᶜAqordät, Om Ḥağär and Kärän.

A. was also among the founders of the ↗*Maḫbärä Ḥawaryat* and an active promoter of the ↗Eritrean-Ethiopian Federation.

On 20 April 1961, A. was appointed bishop of Eritrea. He died shortly thereafter and was buried at Däbrä Abunä Bəṣuᶜa Amlak (↗Kodadu).

Lit.: MÄRŠA ALLÄḴÄÑÑ, **ዜና ፡ ጳጳሳት ፡ ኢትዮጵያውያን** (*Zena p̣ap̣p̣asat ityop̣yawəyan*, ‘History of the Ethiopian Patriarchs’), Addis Abäba 1997 A.M. [2004 A.D.], 104f.

Mersha Alehegne

Aymällal

A. (**አይመለል**) is a historical area in the northern Gurage region and today designates a hill west of Bui. “A.” also serves as an alternative ethnonym of the Kəstane, or ↗Soddo ↗Gurage and as name of one of their sub-units (Soddo: *agar*). Moreover, it is sometimes used to designate the Soddo Gurage language. The area of A. is known as an ancient Christian centre in southern Ethiopia (cp. also ↗Galila, ↗Mədrä Käbd and ↗Zəqʷala).

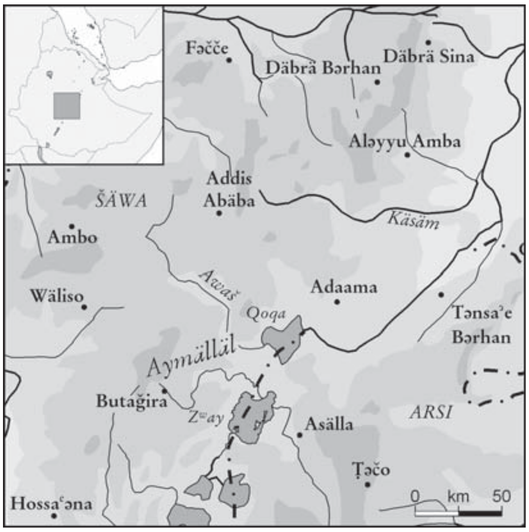
A. (“Alamale”) is mentioned in the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I (14th cent.) as one of the provinces governed by a *mäkʷännən* or *mäsfən* (MarAmdS 53 [tr.]. In the 15th-cent., during one of his southern journeys, *aṣe* ↗Bäᵓədä Maryam visited a country called “Ǝlamale” or “Ǝlamalali” which might be tentatively identified with A. Ǝlamale included such sub-districts as Sädäqäbäba and Dägu Dägumañ. In Dägu Dägumañ, the Emperor once rested during the fasting season and planted wine, lemon trees and sugar cane (PerrZarY 157, 159f. [tr.]; cp. HuntGeogr 107). In the 17th cent., ↗Almeida (BeckHuntAlm 10f.), following ↗Paez (BecRASO II, 15), mentions A. among a list of territories belonging to the realm of the ↗Prester John and locates it south of “Ganz” (↗Gänäzo) between “Hadeá” (↗Hadiyya sultanate) and “Ogge” (↗Wäǧ).

According to the historical traditions of many – but by far not all – clans and sub-groups of the

Gurage, A. was the first settlement in the region of *azmač* Səbḥat who is said to have led their ancestors from ↗Guraᶜ in today's ↗Akkälä Guzay (ShGurage 14f.; Ullendorff 1950: 337), or from "Təgray" or "Gondär", into the area. From A. these groups claim to have spread over the entire Gurage region. *Azmač* Səbḥat is said to have been a general, or even a "son", of ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I, and a Solomonic descent is often ascribed to him (for a genealogical example from the Gamio clan of ↗Ǝndägañ s. Bustorf 2002: 47f., 108). According to a tradition mentioned by Chiarini (in CecZeila vol. 2, 89), Səbḥat became "king" of the Gurage and had his seat on an island of Lake ↗Zʷay, his descendants ruling until the reign of ↗Śahlä Śəllase of Šäwa. Chiarini's legend about a king of all the Gurage finds no evidence in other oral or written sources. However, all these traditions may well have some historical core in that the migrants from the north were probably Ethio-Semitic-speaking military colonists (cp. ↗*č̣äwa*) who were sent by ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I in order to secure the boundaries of the Christian kingdom against the Muslim principalities in the south. The legends establish Christian and royal northern origin as core elements of historical consciousness of many Gurage sub-units.

The area of A. was conquered by the troops of *gärad* ↗ᶜAbdannāṣir during his campaign in Wäğ and Gurage in 1532 (BassHist II, 392). It is difficult to estimate the degree, up to which the ancient population of A. could actually have preserved its ethnic integrity and Christian identity after this, and the subsequent migration of the ↗Mäč̣č̣a Oromo through the area. Cut off from the Christian centres they, like other Gurage groups, could preserve at least some Christian traces, but also developed a local form of the Gurage religion (cp. Terrefe Woldesadik 1967: 4ff.).

In any case, at the time of the southward expansion of the influence of Šäwa under *nəguś* Śahlä Śəllase, A. was still known as a Christian enclave beyond the Awaš. ↗Krapf, who met priests from A., mentions it as a Christian village with a "degenerated" Church (Krapf 1858: 72, 108). Śahlä Śəllase subdued a great part of the Soddo area south of the Awaš probably during the first half of the 19th cent. He controlled A. from his outpost of Čole (Harris's notes cited in Darkwah 1975: 29; cp. HarAeth vol. 3, 38). According to oral tradition, he also established marriage relations with the chief of A. As the chief had no unmarried daughter himself, he gave into marriage a girl from ↗Səlṭi whom he had originally planned to marry himself (BrHad 186; for alternative versions of the legend cp. Bustorf 2011: 208–11).



In the 1870s *nəguś* Mənilək of Šäwa (later *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II) subdued A., and Soddo in general, an action interpreted at the court as a re-conquest of originally Christian territories.

Src.: BassHist II, 392; BeckHuntAlm lxix, 10f., 227; JOHANN LUDWIG KRAPF, *Reisen in Ostafrika ausgeführt in den Jahren 1837–1855*, Kornthal 1858, 72, 108; MarrAmdS 53 (tr.); PerrZarY 157, 159f. (tr.); TERREFE WOLDESADIK, *The Cult of Dämwamwit and the Mwäyät Organization*, paper submitted to the meeting of social research fieldworkers in Ethiopia, April 1967 (ms.), 4ff.

Lit.: BAHRU ZEWDE, "The Aymallal Gurage in the Nineteenth Century: a Political History", in: ID., *Society, State and History*: *Selected Essays*, Addis Ababa 2009; BecRASO II, 15; BrHad 186, 192; BTafA 209; DIRK BUSTORF, *Leemo-Hadiyya und Indagayn-Gurage*: *Zur Geschichte und Gegenwart ihrer interethnischen Beziehungen*, M.A. thesis, Georg August-Universität Göttingen 2002, 47f., 108; ID., *Lebendige Überlieferung. Geschichte und Erinnerung der muslimischen Silt'e Äthiopiens*, Wiesbaden 2011 (AeF 74), 208–11; R.H. KOFI DARKWAH, *Shewa, Menilek and the Ethiopian Empire 1813–1889*, London 1975, 29; HarAeth vol. 3, 38; HuntGeogr 107; ShGurage 14f.; TÄSFA GÄBRÄYÄS, **አይመለል** (*Aymällät*), Addis Abäba 1987 A.M. [1994 A.D.]; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, "Gurage Notes", *Africa* (London) 20, 4, 1950, 335–44, here 337.

Dirk Bustorf

Ayyälä Täklä Haymanot

Abba A. (**አየለ ፡ ተክለ ፡ ሃይማኖት**, also known as Mario da Abiy Addiʾ; b. 25 March 1926, ᶜAbbi ᶜAddi, Tämben, d. 21 December 2001, Addis Abäba) was a ↗Capuchin priest and scholar. He joined the Capuchin Order in 1943, and pursued his philosophical and theological studies in

Asmära (Gaǧərät), where he was ordained priest on 21 December 1950. After this, A. was sent to Rome for higher studies. In 1956, he obtained a doctorate in dogmatic theology from the Gregorian University. Upon his return to Ethiopia, between 1957 and 1962, he was appointed Director of Capuchin students of Philosophy and Theology and Professor of Dogmatic Theology at Gaǧərät. Later, he was transferred to ↗Kärän, where he served as the Rector of the Diocesan Minor Seminary between 1962 and 1973.

A. was Director of the Ecumenical Centre of ʿAddi Wəgri (↗Mändäfära) between 1972 and 1978, and at the same time he taught Ethiopian History and General Ethics at the University of ↗Asmära. In 1975, he was elected Provincial Minister of the first African Capuchin Province of St. Francis in Ethiopia. At the end of his service as Provincial Minister, he was appointed Vicar Delegate of the Apostolic Vicariate of Harär between 1979 and 1984.

A. was imprisoned by the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) for a month and a half between February and March 1978, suspected of collaboration with the ↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front. In his articles and public speeches he had strongly supported a federal system of government, calling upon the historical fact that in Ethiopia the rule of the nation was shared among several regional kings, submitted to the central authority of the emperor.

In July 1988, A. was elected the first African General Definitor of the Capuchin Order in Rome, an office that he held until 1994. He organized the historic Pan-African Capuchin Congress of Nairobi at the beginning of August 1992. Back in Ethiopia, he served as Director of the Capuchin students of Philosophy and Theology in Addis Abäba, and Professor of Dogmatic Theology at the Capuchin-Franciscan Institute of Philosophy and Theology between 1994 and 1995.

A. was a prolific writer, his publications covering several aspects of Ethiopian history, religion and culture. He chiefly published *Ṣälotä Säʿatat*, a book of prayer according to the Ethiopian rite of liturgy and his doctoral thesis, *La dottrina della Chiesa etiopica dissidente* (1956). The latter work aroused controversy in Ethiopian Orthodox circles and was refuted by numerous texts from Christian Ethiopian Orthodox writers, the most important being ↗Admasu Ǧämbäre's apologetic treatise *Mädlotä amin* (1961/62). A.'s last publication was a book on Ethiopian Mariology. In the last ten years of his life, he travelled to more than 40 countries, disseminating the fruits of his scholarship.

Src.: AYELE TEKLEHAYMANOT [MARIO DA ABIY-ADDIʾ], *La dottrina della Chiesa etiopica dissidente sull'unione ipostatica*, Roma 1956 (OrChrA 147) (Amh. tr.: **የኢትዮጵያ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ስለ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ በሕርያት ፡ የምታምነው ፡ ትምህርት** [*Yäʾityoṗya betä krəstiyan səlä Krəstos baḥərəyat yämmətamnäw təmhərt*, 'The Doctrine on the Natures of Christ Believed by the Church of Ethiopia'], tr. by AGOSṬINOS TÄDLA DA ḤEBO, Asmara 1959 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.]; reed. with some minor changes as *La Chiesa Etiopica e la sua dottrina cristologica*, Roma 1973); ID., "Il culto mariano nella Chiesa etiopica", *Marianum* 19, 1957, 254–65; ID., *The Teaching of the Unity of Natures of Christ as Confessed by the Ethiopian Church*, Asmära 1959; ID., "La Chiesa Etiopica e il Concilio Ecumenico Vaticano Secondo", *Studia Christiana Orientalia* 6, 1959–60, 133–44; ID., "La dottrina della Chiesa Etiopica sulle nature di Cristo in alcuni documenti letterari", *ibid.* 8, 1962, 79–89; ID., "La seconda Anafora Mariana del Messale Etiopico", *Marianum* 30, 1968, 181–91; ID., *The Ethiopian Church and its Christological Doctrine*, Addis Ababa 1982; ID., *The Theological Terminology of the Haymanota Abaw used in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Asmara 1986; ID., "Miscellanea Aethiopica 1", *Ethiopian Review of Cultures* 2, 2000; ID., *Analecta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Cappuccinorum* (A mense Ianuarum ad mensem Maium 2002), 2002, 1, 253; *Miscellanea Aethiopica*, 3 vols.; ID., **ጸሎተ ፡ ሰዓታት** (*Ṣälotä säʿatat*, 'Prayers of the Hours'); ID., "L'Etiopia e gli etiopi nei piu' antichi documenti", *Sestante* 1, 1 [n.d.], 79–82; ID., "In Europa alla ricera di antichi manoscritti etiopici", *ibid.* 2, 2 [n.d.], 101–05; ID., "Storia e leggenda del monastero de Enda Sellasie di Zada Emba", *ibid.* 4, 2 [n.d.], 85–92.

Lit.: ADMASSU ǦÄMBÄRE (MÄLʾAKÄ BƏRHAN), **ሰው ፡ ሆይ ፡ መድሎተ ፡ አሚን ፡ የሃይማኖት ፡ ሚዛን** (*Säw hoy*! *Mädlotä amin, yähaymanot mizan*, 'Oh Man! The Scales of Faith'), Addis Abäba 1954 A.M. [1961/62 A.D.].

Antonios Alberto

Ayyukkoo

A. (also *bahe bahe*) is a bridal lament of the ↗Arsi. It is performed solo and without accompaniment by the bride on her ↗wedding day. The performance is referred to as *ayyukkoo ḍahaču* ('singing A.').

In A., the bride mourns her separation from her family; she also laments her having to enter an often pre-arranged and loveless marriage and calls to her family for consolation. As such, it is also a way of encouraging her family and friends to grant her support in form of bridewealth and wedding gifts.

↗Oromo oral literature

Lit.: HUSSEEN BADHAASOO, *Seera fuudhaa heeruma Oromoo Arsii* ('The Arsi Oromo Marriage Custom'), Finfinnee/Addis Ababa 2000; MICERE GITHAE MUGO, "The Women Artists in Africa Today: a Critical Commentary", *Africa Development* 19, 1, 1994, 59–60.

Jeylan Wolyie Hussein

B

Bakaree Godaana

B.G. (b.?, Waamaa Mokofa, Naqamtee, d. 1868) was a leader of the ↗Leeqaa during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros. He unified the Leeqaa around ↗Naqamtee town and founded the Warra Bakaree (or Leeqaa Naqamtee) dynasty (Terefe Woldetsadik 1968: 74; Abebe Ambachew et al. 1957: 9). A member of the Naᵓa lineage of the Waayyuu Leeqaa clan, B.G. was the only child of his parents. He lost his father during childhood and was brought up by his mother, Mugee.

B.G. was adopted by his paternal uncle, Bararti Ammo, the ↗*abbaa bokkuu* of the Naᵓa lineage. As an old man with no sons Bararti had been defeated by his enemies several times in defence of his lineage's land rights. B.G. together with Fido Bookkisaa, the *abbaa bokkuu* of the entire Waayyu clan, supported Bararti. Both had ancient claims on the position of *abbaa bokkuu* of all Waayyuu. B.G.'s help in the defeat of four of Bararti's archenemies boosted his rise to power and his election to the office of ↗*abbaa dulaa* by the local Naᵓa ↗*gadaa* assembly in 1851 (cp. ↗Leeqaa; Triulzi 1986: 51f., 60).

On the occasion of B.G.'s election and following the advice of Bararti, the *gadaa* assembly gave B.G. control over a stretch of land called Handaq. This was a huge wooded area between the rivers Angär and ↗Didessa rich in ivory, honey, cotton, wild animals etc. Gradually, he started to levy taxes from the people who grazed their cattle, collected wood, hunted animals or collected honey. Thus he gathered considerable wealth and annexed further territory elsewhere in Leeqaa for his family (Tesema Taᵓa 2006: 65; Bairu Tafla 1969: 11).

B.G. surrounded himself with armed followers and continued to consolidate his position by accumulating ever more wealth. He ignored the *gadaa* rules and refused to share the spoils of war. B.G.'s aim was to establish his authority beyond the Naᵓa lineage over the area between the Waamaa and Didessa rivers. He pushed his rival Fido Bookkisaa out of Naqamtee to Diggaa in the west and established his residence in the centre of Naqamtee town (Tesema Taᵓa 2006: 66).

Eventually, B.G. became ↗*mootii* and established a new government structure and judiciary system; he rewarded his followers by distributing land.

The basis of B.G.'s rule was military strength as well as an aggressive appropriation surplus of goods. He encouraged trade in Naqamtee town by attracting traders from outside. However, after consolidating his dynasty, he died fighting in battle. He was succeeded by his son ↗Moroda Bakaree (Tesema Taᵓa 1993: 63–66; 2006: 66f.).

Lit.: Abebe Ambachew et al., "Field Trip to Nakamte", *Ethnological Society Bulletin* (Addis Ababa) 6, 1957, 1–96; Bairu Tafla, "Four Ethiopian Biographies", *JES* 7, 2, 1969, 1–31; Terefe Woldetsadik, "The Unification of Ethiopia (1880–1935) Wälläga", *ibid.* 6, 1, 1968, 73–86; Tesema Taᵓa, "The Process of Urbanization in Wollega, Western Ethiopia: the Case of Neqemte," *ibid.* 26, 1, 1993, 59–72; Id., *The Political Economy of an African Society in Transformation*: *the Case of Macca Oromo* (*Ethiopia*), Wiesbaden 2006; Alessandro Triulzi, "Neḳempte and Addis Abeba: Dilemmas of Provincial Rule", in: Donald Donham – Wendy James (eds.), *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia*: *Essays in History and Social Anthropology*, Cambridge 1986, 49–68, here 51f., 60.

Tsega Endalew

Bakrī b. Ǧaᶜfar b. Bakrī b. Ǧaᶜfar aṣ-Ṣādiq b. Muḥammad ᶜUṯmān al-Mīrġanī

B.Ǧ. (بكري بن جعفر بن بكري بن جعفر الصادق بن محمد عثمان الميرغني; b. 1911, d. 1954, Asmära) was the son of *sīdī* Ǧaᶜfar al-Mīrġanī (b. 1871, d. 1943), leader of the Eritrean "branch" of the Ḫatmīya ↗Islamic brotherhood during Italian colonial rule. When he was seven years old he started learning the Qurᵓān under *šayḫ ḫalīfa* Ǧaᶜfar. B.Ǧ. was enrolled by his father, *sayyid* Ǧaᶜfar al-Mīrġanī, at the Salvago Raggi School in Kärän, the first colonial school in the country (founded in 1911), which was designed for the sons of local Muslim notables. At first several locals expressed their resistance to the enrolment of their sons to the Italian school, but later on they were persuaded to follow *sayyid* Ǧaᶜfar's example. At the Kärän School, *sayyid* B.Ǧ. studied the Italian language and, after that, pursued the study of Arabic and Islamic sciences with two teachers, *šayḫ* Muḥammad Ḥamīd and *šayḫ* al-Maḥǧūb.

From ca. 1924 B.Ǧ. began to attend colonial official occasions with his father. Despite his tender age, he began to assume a relevant political role in the colony as mediator in conflict resolution. According to *az-Zamān*, in 1925, at the request of the Italian authorities, B.Ǧ. successfully intervened in the local resistance against a settlement in the newly founded town of ↗Täsänäy.

At an unknown date, the Italian Government invited B.Ǧ. to Italy, where he was received with honours and visited "all the Italian cities" with *imām* Iyaya's son and other Muslim dignitaries. In Eritrea he visited several places whose population asked him to give Islamic instruction and reconcile controversies. He succeeded in local conflict resolution, providing "his righteous recommendations" (Bruzzi 2010: 106f.).

B.Ǧ. began his role as a Muslim religious leader in the western Eritrean lowlands already in the colonial period. In the crucial years following World War II he served as a mediator and was engaged in the political organization of the country. The British authorities sought his mediation role in the ↗*təgre*-↗*śəmagälle* conflict (Venosa 2011: 63f.).

Elected president of the ↗Muslim League in 1946, he ended up declaring his alignment with the ↗Unionist Party. The publication of this declaration contributed to the decline of his authority and to the break-up of the Muslim League (Tekeste Negash 2005: 110). Little detail is known about his role during the period of ↗Ethiopian-Eritrean Federation, but according to *az-Zamān* he accommodated to the new political setting and was on good terms with *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's government.

Src.: Roma, Archivo di Stato, Ministero dell'Africa Italiana, Direzione Africa Orientale, busta 1, Barbato to Ministero Africa Italiana, Asmara 31 October 1948; *Az-Zamān*, Asmara 10 July 1954; Asmara, Research and Documentation Center, BMA/DIS 260/kel/59-42-92; Asmara, Research and Documentation Center, FO 742/23.

Lit.: SILVIA BRUZZI, *Jihād, sufi e colonialismo in Africa Sub-Sahariana*: *il caso della Khatmiyya in Eritrea ed Etiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, Università degli Studi di Cagliari 2010; ALBRECHT HOFHEINZ, "Son of a Hidden Imam: the Genealogy of the Mirghani Family", *Sudanic Africa* 3, 1992, 9–27; JONATHAN MIRAN, "A Historical Overview of Islam in Eritrea", *Die Welt des Islams* 45, 2005, 177–215; TEKESTE NEGASH, "Educational Policy and Praxis in Eritrea", in: RUTH BEN-GHIAT – MIA FULLER (eds.), *Italian Colonialism*, York 2005, 109–19; JOSEPH L. VENOSA, *Paths toward the Nation*: *Islamic Identity, the Eritrean Muslim League and Nationalism in Eritrea, 1941–61*, Ph.D. thesis, Ohio University 2011.

Silvia Bruzzi

Bäyyänä Bäraḵi

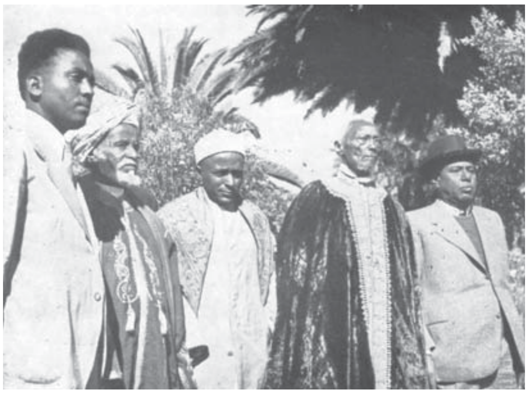
Däğğazmač B.B. (በየነ ፡ በራኺ; b. 1887, Əmba Dərho, Ḥamasen, d. early 1970s, Asmära) was an Eritrean politician and advocate of the union of Eritrea with Ethiopia.

B.B. was the first son of *raᵓəsi* ↗Bäraḵi Bəḵit, and thus a member of the local nobility of ↗Ṣäᶜazzäga in Ḥamasen; he was closely related to *raᵓəsi* ↗Ḫaylu Täwäldä Mädḫən. B.B. received elementary education at the Swedish Missionary School (↗Evangeliska Fosterland Stiftelsen) in Asmära.

Although one of the key members of the ruling families of the region, B.B. was not a significant player in Eritrean political affairs until 1946 when he became an active member of the "Unionist" wing of the ↗*Maḫbär fəqri hagär*, a political party which advocated the unconditional union of Eritrea with Ethiopia. On 5 December 1946, the ↗Unionist Party elected *raᵓəsi* Kidanä Maryam Gäbrä Mäsqäl, who was about 80 years of age at the time, as honorary president, while B.B. (at the time *däggyat*) was elected as president. B.B. took over presidency of the party in 1947 which he retained for the next years.

In 1950 B.B. and ↗Tädla Bayru ᶜOqbit, who was the secretary general of the party, were elected as representatives of the Unionist Party to the UN Assembly to present the party's case before the UN General Assembly (↗Ethiopian-Eritrean Federation; ↗United Nations).

However, as president of the Unionist Party, B.B. was not involved in many of its activities; most of his tasks as president were accomplished by Tädla Bayru.



Däğğäzmač Bäyyänä Bäraḵi (right) with Unionist leaders in ca. 1951: *ras* Kidanä Maryam, Kekkiya *paša*, N.N. and Tädla Bayru (left); from Pankhurst – Pankhurst 1953, pl. IX

B.B. continued to believe in the union of Eritrea with Ethiopia and retained his membership of the Unionist Party but remained inactive in Eritrean politics for most of the years until he died.

Lit.: ALÄMSÄGÄD TÄSFAY, **አይንፈላለ ፲፱፻፵፩–፲፱፻፶** (*Aynəffälalä 1941–1950*, 'Let Us Stay United 1941–1950'), Asmära 2001, 213ff.; ErDizBio 40; RUTH IYOB, *The Eritrean Struggle for Independence*: *Domination, Resistance, Nationalism* (*1941–1993*), Cambridge 1995, 70; ESTELLE SYLVIA PANKHURST – RICHARD PANKHURST, *Ethiopia and Eritrea*: *the Last Phase of the Reunion Struggle 1941–1952*, Woodford Green 1953, pl. IX (ill.).

Mussie Tesfagiorgis

Bäyyänä Yəmär

Qäññazmač B.Y. (**በየነ ፡ ይመር**, Fr. Beuyeneu Ymeur, Engl. Bayana Yimar; b. ca. 1865, d. after 1931) was the first Ethiopian Minister of Posts and Communications, and one of the first Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia under *ləğ* ↗Iyasu.

B.Y. was originally one of the courtiers of *ətege* ↗Ṭaytu. In 1901 he was nominated director of posts and telegraphs, in a time of rising correspondence and cable communications with the outside world (cp. ↗Postal System; ↗Stamps; ↗Telecommunications). He was thus the responsible Ethiopian contact person of the concession holders ↗Chefneux and ↗Ilg. In early 1907 B.Y. rose to the rank of administrator of posts and telegraphs (including telephones, s. Mersʾé Hazen Wolde Qirqos 2004:38), in succession to the Swiss Jean-Adolphe Michel (director of Ethiopian Posts 1904–07). Thus, he was in charge of an upcoming Ministry of Posts and Communications, to which he was appointed in 1907 during the establishment of a system of ministers (ibid.:42, but cp. TSTarik IV, 122).

During B.Y.'s tenure French specialists were employed to work under him and Ethiopia became a member of the Universal Postal Union (1 November 1908).

When *ətege* Ṭaytu assumed her regency in 1909 she appointed him Minister of Posts and Communications. However, he was soon imprisoned following an unknown conflict in 1910, according to some reports, or rather after May 1911, when B.Y. joined the party of *ras* ↗Abatä Bʷayaläw who wanted to nominate an ↗*əndärase* to run the state's affairs, in opposition to *ləğ* Iyasu's party (s. Mersʾé Hazen Wolde Qirqos 2004:98).

On 13 December 1914 B.Y. was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs by *ləʿul ləğ* Iyasu, according to B.Y.'s extant appointment letter (but "1912" according to lists of today's Ministry of Foreign Affairs; "1915" in Tornay – Sohier 2007:210; 6 December 1914 in Mersʾé Hazen Wolde Qirqos 2004:42, which is probably the date of the actual decision).

During the ↗Coup d'état of 1916 (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081) B.Y. allied with the opponents of *ləğ* Iyasu and was confirmed in his post by Empress ↗Zäwditu. However, in March 1917, *ras* Täfäri (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) himself assumed the direction of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. B.Y. was again nominated Minister of Posts and Communications or Posts, Telephone and Telegraphs, respectively (Marcus 1975:268; Eshetou Mengesha 1975:47), and seems to have been elevated to the rank of *däğğazmač* (KTMast mentions him with this title as one of the supporters of Zäwditu in conflicts with Täfäri). After Zäwditu's death, Ḫaylä Śəllase sacked B.Y. due to an increasing lack of confidence, confiscated his house and banned him from the capital. His house was given to the Emperor's daughter ↗Tänaññä Wärq and her husband *ras* ↗Dästa Dämṭaw (later Ǝtege Mänän Primary School, today Dəl Bätəgəl School).

The correspondence of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs between December 1914 and February 1916 (Smidt in PICES 16), contains detailed information on the daily proceedings of B.Y.'s Ministry in this crucial period, marked by changing relations with foreign powers during ↗World War I and a rapid modernization of Ethiopia. These documents also confirm that Iyasu continued to reign in the name of his grandfather Mənilək even after the Emperor's death which was not made officially known, and that his father *nəguś* ↗Mikaʾel assumed a de facto co-regency controlling a part of the state affairs (ibid.). The seal, which B.Y. used during his time as Minister of Foreign Affairs shows interesting innovations.

B.Y. is known under several different titles in the sources. The French minister Boucoiran calls him *qäññazmač* (ibid.:210f.; Mersʾé Hazen Wolde Qirqos 2004:183; Smidt in PICES 16); the official list of foreign ministers of today's Ministry of Foreign Affairs has him as *däğğazmač*, while he is also remembered as *fitawrari* by others. B.Y. is reported to have also carried the title *ligaba*. However, this may have its reason in a confusion of B.Y. and *ligaba* Bäyyänä Wändəmagäññähu who belonged to the fiercest opponents of *ləğ* Iyasu during the Coup d'état of 1916, and after that played a crucial role during the civil war between Iyasu and his opponents. He had been alienated because of an affair between Iyasu and his wife (GebMolIyas 360–65; Mersᵓé Hazen Wolde Qirqos 2004: 151).

Src.: Personal communication by Ken Doig; GebMolIyas 355, 360–65, 370, 376, 392; KTMast.

Lit.: DAWIT BEKELE, "The Ethiopian Telecommunications: Past, Present and Future", paper presented at the 1st ESS [Ethiopian Scientific Society] Conference on Ethiopian Telecommunications in the Information Age, Washington, DC, 2 July 1996; ESHETOU MENGESHA, *Die Außenpolitik der äthiopischen Regierung während der italo-äthiopischen Krise und das Versagen des Völkerbundes 1933–1936*, Ph.D. thesis, Bonn 1975, 47; HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *The Life and Times of Menelik II, Ethiopia, 1844–1913*, Oxford 1975, 268; MERSᵓÉ HAZEN WOLDE QIRQOS, *Of What I Saw and Heard*: *the Last Years of Emperor Menelik II & the Brief Rule of Iyassu*, Addis Abäba 2004, 38, 42, 98, 151; WOLBERT G.C. SMIDT, "The Foreign Politics of *Ləǧ* Iyasu in 1915/16 according to Newly Discovered Government Papers", in: *PICES* 16, 62–70; SERGE TORNAY – ESTELLE SOHIER, *Empreintes du temps*: *les sceaux des dignitaires éthiopiens du règne de Téwodros à la régence de Täfäri Mäkonnen*, Addis Abäba 2007, 210f.; TSTarik IV, 122.

Wolbert G.C. Smidt

Bäzzabbəh

Ato B. (**በዛብህ**, also known as B. Wäriq; d. November 1865) was a ruler of Šäwa from about 1863 until the return from imprisonment of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II in August 1865.

B.'s background is somewhat obscure. According to Soleillet (1886: 273), he was a slave of *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase. On the other hand, he was prominent enough to be mentioned among the notables who fought bravely against the army of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II in 1855. B. is generally depicted as a courageous warrior.

Tewodros appointed the half-brother of *nəguś* ↗Ḫaylä Mäläkot, ↗Ḫaylä Mikaᵓel Śahlä Śəllase, as ↗*märəd azmač*, while *ato* Andargaččäw was appointed ↗*abägaz*. However, the two appointees were unable to keep order, and in 1859 they were replaced by *ato* Abboyye as *märəd azmač* and B. as *abägaz*. This provoked the rebellion of *ato* ↗Säyfu Śahlä Śəllase, another brother of Ḫaylä Mäläkot, and Tewodros had to come to their assistance and made his second campaign in Šäwa. In 1863 Tewodros called the Šäwan notables to ↗Wällo, but B. either refused to go (GueCopMen 97) or stayed behind to govern Šäwa and then rebelled (AWTarik 141; BTafA 583). B. built up a considerable power base in central Šäwa, and in November 1864 he travelled to ↗Däbrä Bərhan and proclaimed himself king of Šäwa. He faced both local revolts and an invasion by Tewodros. B. had developed the mountain area of ↗Afqära in southern ↗Mänz into a virtually impregnable fortress and Tewodros had to return without gaining a decisive victory.

On 30 June 1865 Mənilək escaped from ↗Mäqdäla. He was generally well received as the legitimate ruler of Šäwa, although he had to fight the governor of Efrata. B. refused to submit, and on 22 August 1865 they met on the battlefield at Gädəllo in ↗Gədəm. B. was defeated, according to some sources because his soldiers refused to fight the son of their previous king (AWTarik 147). B. escaped and fled to his fortress at Afqära. From there he sent messengers to Mənilək asking for amnesty, which was granted. According to the sources, he did not give up his claim to the throne, was arrested for conspiracy and executed in November 1865.

Since all sources are closely linked to the Šäwan court, it cannot be ruled out that B. was in fact pardoned in order to lure him out of his stronghold at Afqära and then captured and put to death simply because he represented a serious challenge to Mənilək and his notables. The account of ↗Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase is critical and points out both the lack of concrete evidence of treason after he was pardoned and the unsatisfactory manner in which the trial was conducted (AWTarik 150f.). In any case, after the execution of B., Mənilək was firmly in control of Šäwa.

Src: AWTarik 134–51; BTafA 553–91; GueCopMen 82–106; PAUL SOLEILLET, *Voyages en Éthiopie* (*janvier 1882–octobre 1884*). *Notes, lettres et documents divers,* Rouen 1886 [Extract from *Bulletin de la Société normande de Géographie* 8, 1886, 17–52, 65–106], here 273.

Lit.: KOFI DARKWAH, *Shewa, Menilek and the Ethiopian Empire 1813–1889*, London 1975, 47–55, 167; MahHorse 299f.; HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *The Life and Times of Menelik II*: *Ethiopia 1844–1913*, Oxford 1975, 19–27.

Svein Ege

Bender, Marvin Lionel

B. (b. 18 August 1934, Mechanicsburg, PA, d. 19 February 2008, Carbondale, IL) was an American linguist who throughout his 40-year professional career was concerned with Ethiopian languages, especially little-known ones, particularly of the ↗Omotic and ↗Nilo-Saharan groups.

B. discovered an interest in Ethiopian linguistics while teaching mathematics in 1962–65 at the then Haile Sellassie I University (↗Addis Ababa University). After Ph.D. studies at the University of Texas (1968 thesis *Amharic Verb Morphology*: *a Generative Approach*), B. returned to Ethiopia as a member of the Ford Foundation-funded Language Survey of Ethiopia (other members were

Robert L. Cooper, J. Donald Bowen, and Charles A. Ferguson), and was the principal author of the Survey's 1976 report (BendLang).

Marvin Lionel Bender (second from left) with Nuer informants during research in Gambella; photo ca. 1969, courtesy of the family

In 1971 B. joined the Department of Anthropology at Southern Illinois University (Carbondale, IL), where he taught until retirement in 1996, except for visiting appointments at the University of Khartoum (1978–79) and Addis Ababa University (1980–81). In 1982–86 he was the head of the department.

B.'s work ranged across anthropological, descriptive, and historical topics, but regularly returned to broad surveys leading to the genetic classification and subclassification of Ethiopian language groups: Ethiopian languages generally (1971 – the first thorough inventory of Ethiopian speech varieties and attempt to identify these as languages or dialects of languages); Nilo-Saharan (1996); Omotic (1975; 2000; 2003; 2005b); East Sudanic (2005a); ↗Cushitic (2008). His language-group reconstruction-classifications were based on thoroughly presented comparative lexical and/or morphological data, much of it gathered first-hand during travels across Ethiopia; these works have become primary sources on the language groups (cp. Hayward 2009: 88 on Omotic). As a mathematician, B. often in his work assigned importance to quantification, particularly lexicostatistics, but also, e.g., in his frequency study of ↗Amharic phonemes (1974). Yet his work also employed traditional comparative methods of lexical comparison and phonological reconstruction, and avoided imaginative claims.

B. was particularly concerned to bring the Nilo-Saharan languages into the mainstream of Ethiopian and African linguistics. As first syntheses in broad fields, his conclusions were often controversial, as in his early argument (1975) for the Omotic hypothesis: that these languages constitute a sixth family within ↗Afro-Asiatic (B. preferred "Afrasian"). But he was not reluctant to revise his conclusions, as of his Omotic subclassification (Bender 1975; 2000; 2003).

B. edited and contributed to several volumes of papers of Ethiopian linguistics, which introduced and provided first descriptive works on some languages (esp. BendNonSLang and Bender 1983). He was the founder and first editor of the *Nilo-Saharan Newsletter*, author of numerous book reviews, a frequent presenter at conferences of Ethiopian and Afro-Asiatic linguistics, and a contributor of many articles to the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*.

Src.: BendLang; BendNonSLang; M. Lionel Bender, "The Languages of Ethiopia: a New Lexicostatistic Classification and Some Problems of Diffusion", *Anthropological Linguistics* 13, 5, 1971, 165–288; Id., "Phoneme Frequencies in Amharic", *JES* 12, 1, 1974, 19–24; Id., *Omotic: a New Afroasiatic Language Family,* Carbondale, IL 1975; Id. (ed.), *Nilo-Saharan Language Studies*, East Lansing, MI 1983; Id. (ed.), *Topics in Nilo-Saharan Linguistics,* Hamburg 1989 (Nilo-Saharan Linguistic Analyses and Documentation 3); Id., *The Nilo-Saharan Languages: a Comparative Essay,* Munich 1996 (Lincom Handbooks in Linguistics 6); Id., *Comparative Morphology of the Omotic Languages,* Munich 2000 (Lincom Studies in African Linguistics 19); Id., *Omotic Lexicon and Phonology*, Carbondale, IL 2003; Id., *The East Sudanic Languages,* Carbondale, IL 2005a; Id., *Omotic Lexicon and Phonology,* Carbondale, IL 2005b; Id., "Proto-Cushitic Lexical Innovations", in: Gábor Takács (ed.), *Semito-hamitic Festschrift for A.B. Dolgopolsky and H. Jungraithmayr*, Berlin 2008 (Sprache und Oralität in Afrika 24), 36–47.

Lit.: Harold C. Fleming, [review of Bender 2005b], *Aethiopica* 10, 2007, 255–58; Richard J. Hayward, "What's been Happening in Omotic?" *JES* 42, 2009, 85–106; Grover Hudson, "In memoriam: Marvin Lionel Bender (1934–2008)", *Aethiopica* 11, 2008, 223–34 (bibl. 224–34; Lit.).

Grover Hudson

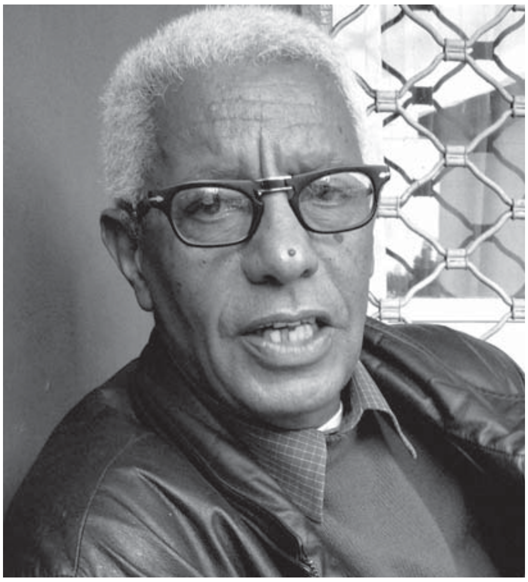
Bərhanu Abbäbä

B.A. (**ብርሃኑ ፡ አበበ**, Berhanou Abbebe; b. 14 October 1932, Addis Abäba, d. 1 July 2008, Harare, Zimbabwe) was a Francophone Ethiopian scholar and senior official. Born from a Catholic and Francophone family originating from Šäwa, he claimed ancestry from the ↗*Wag šum* dynasty. He started his education in traditional schools and completed his primary education at the Alliance Française of Addis Abäba. His secondary education he took at the Lycée Guebré-Mariam, being its first student to complete the baccalauréat in 1953. His examiners were Jean Leclant and André ↗Caquot (s. EAE, vol. 5), then in charge of the French Archaeological Mission in Ethiopia.

B.A. went to Paris to study law under the supervision of René David. Between 1959 and 1967, he was an Amharic teacher at the ↗Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales, Paris, and a Ph.D. candidate working on land tenure in Šäwa (dissertation published in 1971) under the supervision of Joseph ↗Tubiana.

In 1968 B.A. returned to Ethiopia. He joined the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies, where he was in charge of the manuscript section of the library. In 1968 he was appointed director of the Ḫaylä Śəllase I Prize Trust, a position through which he became acquainted with major Ethiopian intellectuals and artists as well as international Ethiopianists. Between 1972 and 1974 B.A. held the position of Deputy General Manager of the Chemin de fer Djibouti–Ethiopien (↗Railways).

Under the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) regime, B.A. occupied several positions in the Ministry of Telecommunications and the Ministry of Culture. In 1980, he joined the History Department of ↗Addis Ababa University (AAU) to become its External Relations Officer a year later.



Bərhanu Abbäbä in Addis Abäba; photo 2006, courtesy of the author

In 1997, after having retired from his AAU position, B.A. was employed as a researcher at the Centre français des études éthiopiennes, Addis Abäba, where he showed a special dedication to French-Ethiopian cultural exchange. B.A. published a general history of Ethiopia (1998) and contributed several papers to the ↗*Annales d'Éthiopie* (1970, 1987, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004). He orchestrated the French-Amharic and Amharic–French dictionaries (2003, 2004) and he translated masterpieces of French literature into Amharic such as ↗Rimbaud's *Bateau ivre* (2000) on the occasion of the opening of the Rimbaud cultural centre in Harär, as well as Saint-Exupéry's *Le Petit Prince* (published posthumously in 2010). Before his death, he was proof-reading his translation of Albert Camus's *La Peste*, yet to be published.

Beside his scholarly works, B.A. was involved in diplomatic activities for the ↗Organization of African Unity contributing to a study on the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, and taking part in electoral observation missions in Democratic Republic of Congo 2006 and in Zimbabwe in 2008. It was during this last mission that he passed away. The library of the Centre français des études éthiopiennes was named after him, to remember the significant and energetic role he played in strengthening Ethio-French friendship.

B.A. was survived by his wife Fəqərtä Śəyyum and left behind three children.

Src.: for a complete list of references, s. FRANÇOIS-XAVIER FAUVELLE (ed.), *Hommage à Berhanou Abebe* (*1933–2008*): *Souvenirs et témoignages*, Addis Abäba 2009; BERHANOU ABBEBE [BƎRHANU ABBÄBÄ], "La peinture éthiopienne: point de vue d'un Éthiopien", *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 2, 5, 1961, 160–65; ID., "Hamina – Distiques amhariques d'après une transcription d'Antoine d'Abbadie", *AE* 8, 1970, 89–10; ID., *Évolution de la propriété foncière au Choa* (*Éthiopie*) *du règne de Ménélik à la constitution de 1931*, Paris 1971 (Bibliothèque de l'École des Langue Orientales Vivantes 22); ID., *Haymanota Abaw Qadamt*: *la foi des pères anciens* […], Wiesbaden 1986 (Studien zur Kulturkunde 79); ID., "Distiques du Zamana Masafent", *AE* 14, 1987, 15–38; ID., *Histoire de l'Éthiopie d'Axoum à la Révolution. c. III^e siècle avant notre ère – 1974*, Paris 1998; ID., የሠከረ ፡ መርከብ (*Yäśäkkärä märkäb*, 'The Drunken Boat' [tr. of Arthur Rimbaud's *Le Bateau Ivre*]), Addis Abäba 2000; ID., "Le coup d'État du 26 septembre 1916 ou le dénouement d'une décennie de crise", *AE* 17, 2001, 309–359; ID., "L'expédition anglaise d'Abyssinie (1868) d'après les documents inédits de Louis Armand d'Heudecourt", *ibid*. 18, 2002, 73–142; ID., "Montages et truquages pho-

tographiques dans L'Éthiopie moderne (1915–1955)", *ibid*. 19, 2003, 19–41; ID. – ELOI FICQUET (eds.), *Dictionnaire Français–Amharique.* **ፈረንሣኛ ፡ አማርኛ ፡ መዝገበ ፡ ቃላት**, Addis Abäba 2003; ID., *Dictionnaire Amharique–Français*. **አማርኛ ፡ ፈረንሣኛ ፡ መዝገበ ፡ ቃላት**, Addis Abäba 2004; ID., "Les Flambeurs d'Hommes. Interrogations croisées sur une réalité devenue mythe", *AE* 20, 2004, 13–22; ID., **ታዳጊው ፡ ልዑል** (*Tadagiw ləᶜul*, 'The Growing Prince' [tr. of Antoine de Saint-Exupéry's *Le Petit Prince*]), Addis Abäba 2002 A.M. [2009/10 A.D.].
Lit.: ALAIN ROUAUD, "Berhanou Abebe", in: PIERRE LABROUSSE (ed.), *Deux siècles d'histoire de l'École des langues orientales*, Paris 1995, 369; ANAÏS WION, "In memoriam Berhanou Abebe (1932–2008)", *Aethiopica* 12, 2009, 218–221.

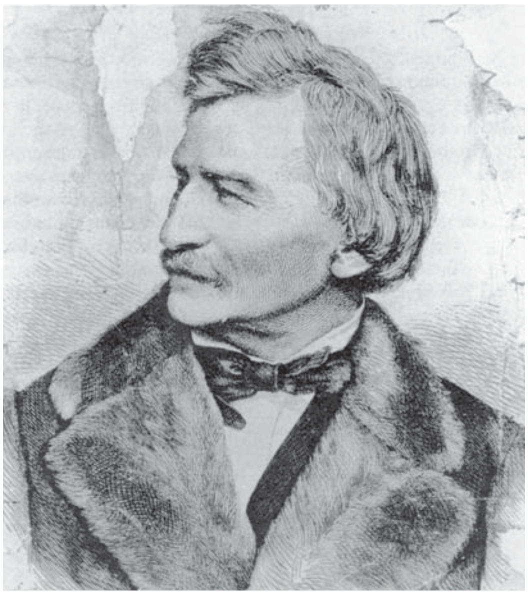
Eloi Ficquet

Bernatz, Johann Martin

B. (b. ca. 22 March 1802, Speyer, d. 19. Dezember 1878, Munich) was a German artist and illustrator, who accompanied the Harris Mission (↗Harris, William Cornwallis) of 1841 to ↗Šäwa. With his depictions he contributed greatly to the mid-19th cent. European image of Ethiopia.

B. was the son of a brick-layer, and began life as a chimney-sweep, but acquired an artistic education, after which he sketched antiquities in Bavaria. In 1836–37 he accompanied a party of German scholars travelling to Palestine, and duly published a volume of illustrations entitled *Bilder aus dem heiligen Lande* (Stuttgart 1836). B. wanted to undertake a similar artistic enterprise in India, but, facing major difficulties, joined the Harris Mission instead – and became its official artist, selected by the East India Company. Landing at the port of ↗Tağūra in 1841, he travelled through the ↗ᶜAfar countries, crossing the ↗Awaš River, and proceeded to ↗Alәyyu Amba and ↗Ankobär in the then independent kingdom of Šäwa.

During the journey, B. produced many fine, very realistic, sketches and paintings of considerable historical and ethnographic interest, showing settlements, locals with their traditional clothing, their houses, scenes from their life and a slave market, and also animals, botanic details, and hunting scenes.



Johann Martin Bernatz; from Haberland, 1986: 12

B. was responsible for virtually all the illustrations in Harris's memoirs *The Highlands of Aethiopia* (1844), and in a remarkable supplementary volume entitled *Illustrations to the Highlands of Aethiopia* (1845). He subsequently published a larger, lavishly illustrated volume of coloured lithographs, *Scenes in Ethiopia,* under his own name in English in 1852, and in German as *Bilder aus Aethiopien* (in 1854), which met enthusiasm among geographers and intellectuals like Alexander von Humboldt, Heinrich Barth and others. Due to this success he was asked to illustrate also a number of other travel accounts to the East-Sudan and Abyssinia (e.g., Heuglin 1874). He also illustrated Theodor von Heuglin's *Reise nach Abessinien* (Jena 1868) and Heinrich Barth's *Reisen und Entdeckungen in Nord- und Central-Afrika* (Gotha 1857–58). The originals of most of B.'s works are preserved in the Frobenius-Institut in Frankfurt (for ill. s. also: EAE vol. 3, 35; EAE vol. 4, 553).

Src.: JOHANN MARTIN BERNATZ, *Bilder aus dem heiligen Lande, nach der Natur gezeichnet*, Stuttgart 1839; ID., *Bilder aus Äthiopien. Nach der Natur gezeichnet und beschrieben. In zwei Abtheilungen*: I. *Aden und das heisse vulkanische Tiefland der Danakil*, II: *Das Hochland von Süd-Abyssinien oder Schoa*, Hamburg 1854; MARTIN THEODOR VON HEUGLIN, *Reise nach Abessinien, den Gala-Ländern, Ost-Sudan und Chartúm in den Jahren 1861 und 1862*, Jena 1874.
Lit.: EIKE HABERLAND, *Three Hundred Years of Ethiopian–German Academic Collaboration*, Frankfurt am Main 1986 (Sonderschriften des Frobenius-Instituts), 12 (ill.); HarAet; RICHARD PANKHURST – LEILA INGRAMS, *Ethiopia Engraved*, London 1988, 56–61.

Richard Pankhurst

Blemmyes

B. (Dem. *T-Brhmt*, 'the Blemmyan lady' [?]; *Blhmwt*; Copt. S. ⲂⲖϨⲘⲞⲨ, B. ⲂⲀⲖϨⲘⲰⲞⲨ and vars.; Gr. Βλέμ[μ]υαι/-μυες; Lat. *Ble*(*m*)*myae*/-*myi*/-*myes*) is the name of a nomadic tribe attested between the Upper Nile Valley and the Red Sea shores. It has been connected with either the ↗Beğa *balami*, 'desert inhabitant', or the Egyptian *Brhj/Brhw* (Takács 2001), a toponym to which a native ending *-m* would have been added. Besides a few mentions in Egyptian texts (FHN nos. 50.5, 513 B.C.; cp. *B-w-r3-h-3-y-w*, a toponym, in the stele of Antamani, FHN 34.16, late 7th cent. B.C.), the B. are often met with in Greek and Latin sources, both literary and documentary, as well as in Coptic ↗papyri (s. EAE vol. 5).

The earliest Greek reference is provided by Theocritus, with a "rock of the B. whence the Nile is no more seen" (*Idyll.* VII, 114 = FHN no. 116). In Ptolemaic times, the location of the B. is detailed by Eratosthenes: next to the Megabari, they inhabit Lower Nubia and are subjects (*hypakoúontes*) to the Ethiopians, i.e. Nubians, and neighbours (*hómoroi*) of the Egyptians (in ↗Strabo [s. EAE vol. 5], *Geogr.* XVII, 1, 2 p. 786C = FHN no. 109); featuring among "the Ethiopians who live above Syene [*hypèr Syḗnēs*]", i.e. Aswān, they are nomads, "not numerous, nor warlike, though they were thought to be so by the ancients, because often, like brigands (*lēistrikôs*), they would attack defenceless persons" (XVII, 1, 53 = FHN no. 190). In ↗Ptolemy's list of the East-African tribes, the B. range between *Molíbai* and *Dēkádai* (*Geogr.* IV, 7, 31), i.e. much further south than in Eratosthenes. ↗Pliny puts them among the monstrous races of the desert African areas, as "having no head, their mouth and eyes being attached to their chests" (*Nat. hist.* V, 44–46). The "curly-head[ed]" (*oulokárēnos*) Blémys, "chief [*prómos*] of the Erythrean Indians" and eponym of the B. in the 6th-cent. *Dionysiaca* by Nonnus of Panopolis (XVII, 385–97; s. Dostálová-Jeništová 1956), might be an invention of the poet or a derivation from ancient sagas (cp. Dionysius' *Bassariká* in Chuvin 1992: 277–81, but also the Egyptian graffito preserving the name Βλέμυς, *Blémys*, ed. Baillet 1926: 532f., no. 2054, possibly prior to Nonnus).

The assimilation of B. and Bougaîoi (↗Beğa) is commonly accepted. Yet, the two ethnonyms occur together in one single text: Epiphanius, *Ancor.* 113, 3, lists the B. before the *Axōmîtai* among the descendants of Ham, and in *Panar.* 66, 83, 7 he introduces the *Bougaîa* after the *Axōmîtis*, but in *De XII gemm.* 19ff. (Lat. vers.), he records *Bugaei* and *Blemyae* separatedly from each other (FHN no. 305). *Bougaeîtai* are found in Greek inscriptions concerning the of *nəguś* ↗ᶜEzana (RIÉ 270.7 and 270bis.6 = FHN nos. 298, 3 and 299, 8), and *Begá* feature in the 2nd/3rd-cent. ↗*Monumentum Adulitanum* (RIÉ 277.12 = FHN 234, 12); in a 6th-cent. scholium to it in the Florence ms. of ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes (*Top. Chr.* II, 60), however, the ethnonym *Atalmô*, not the following *Begá*, is glossed with *Blémmyai*, as the Aksumite usage (Wolska-Conus 1968: 353, s. Fiaccadori, in preparation, equating *Atalmô* to *Ḥadarmó*; cp. ↗Ḥədaräb, ↗Ḥadārém). Moreover, the interpretation of the name given in the LXX ("Septuaginta") to the Persian Haman, Βουγαῖος, *Bougaîos* (Esth 3, 1 and 9, 10: **ብግያዊ**, *Bəgəyawi* in the Eth. vers.) as "a gentilic denoting the Beja" as war-like and hostile (Wechsler 2001), is not convincing, that name calling rather for an Iranian etymology.

A sounder equivalence of the two ethnonyms is suggested by the Arabic and Coptic papyri found in 1972 at Qaṣr Ibrīm: the letter sent in 758 A.D. by the governor of Egypt Mūsā b. Kaᶜb to the *ṣāḥib Muqurra wa Nūba* ('lord of Muqurra and Nūba') refers to *al-Buğa*, who appear as B. in the corresponding (unpublished) Coptic document (Plumley 1975; Hinds – Sakkout 1996). This definitely prevents the identification of the B. with the *Baliyīn* (*-iyūn* or *-iyyin*) of Arab medieval geographers – actually the Bilin or ↗Bogos (s. Fiaccadori 2009–10: 199ff.)

The B. seem to have remained heathen until, if not beyond, Justinian's age (s. Dijkstra 2004). Procopius, informs on their pantheon, as well as on their human sacrifices to a solar deity (*Bell.* I, 19, 35f. = FHN no. 328). A clue to their conversion to Christianity in the 6th cent. A.D. can be seen, however, in the Graeco-Coptic royal ordinance from al-Ǧabalayn addressed to a woman called Amnas, "whose Christian name is Sophia" (P. Köln ägypt. 13 = FHN 339). A reference to the B. as "turning away from the despicable idols to know the eternal God" is in P. Cairo Masp. 67004.9. Interpreting the presumably B. text on a Saqqāra ostracon as a translation of Ps. 29, 3–4a (Browne 2003) would fit in with such traces of Christianization.

According to the *Historia Augusta*, of the second half of the 3rd cent. A.D., under Emperor Aurelianus the B. were associated with the wealthy Alexandrian merchant Firmus, who led a revolt in 272 A.D. Most likely, though, such association (*societas*) consisted more in trading relations, for he carried on business with India (XXIX, Fl. Vop., *Quadr. Tyr.* 3, 3–4 = FHN no. 283). The revolt of Firmus quickly quelled, the B. appear in Rome among the exotic captives and animals of Aurelian's triumph (*Hist. Aug.* XXVI, Fl. Vop., *Aurel.* 33 = FHN no. 283). Ten years later, Probus defeated the B., after they occupied Coptus and Ptolemais in Upper Egypt, and took some of them as captives to Rome (XXVIII, Fl. Vop., *Prob.* 17 = FHN no. 284). A different version occurs in Zosimus: Ptolemais, allied with the B., rose against the emperor and attacked Coptus, but the generals of Probus settled the revolt (*Hist.* A71 = FHN no. 323).

Describing the withdrawal of the southern Egyptian border from Hierà Sykáminos to Syene under Emperor Diocletian (298 A.D.), Procopius has it that the B. live in the interior of the inhospitable region between Aksum (*Auxômis*) and Elephantine, whilst the Nubians (*Nobátai*) dwell on the Nile's shores (a literary anachronism in his own time). To both of them the emperor had granted a yearly amount of gold, provided they no longer plunder the Roman territory. As a further precaution against incursions, Diocletian founded on the island of Philae shrines common to Romans and B. (*Bell.* I, 19, 27–33 = FHN no. 328).

Friendly relations with the Romans are still documented forty years later by the presence of B. envoys in Constantinople during the celebration of Constantine's *tricennalia*: Eusebius mentions them next to Indians (Aksumites?) and Ethiopians (*V. Const.* IV, 7 = FHN 293). Blemmyan embassies in Constantinople are further attested in the imperial petition of P. Abinn. 1 (= FHN no. 295).

Incursions of B. against the monastic communities on the southern fringes of Egypt are frequently recorded in hagiography: e.g., the *Paralipomena* to the biographical corpus of St. Pachomius (d. ca. 356 A.D.) recount the kidnapping of one of his monks by B., who forced him to worship their gods (§ 9 = FHN 296). Evagrius relates that ↗Nestorius (d. 451 A.D.) was taken "captive of the spear" (*doryálōtos*) by the Blemmyes, who then freed him (*Hist. eccl.* I, 7). Actual evidence of such unceasing raids is in the petition Appion, bishop of Syene, addressed to the emperors Theodosius II and Valentinian III in the 2nd quarter of 5th cent. (*SB* XX 14606 = FHN 314). Around the middle of the 5th cent., Priscus informs that the defeated B. and Noubades sent ambassadors to Maximinus, probably the *dux Thebaidis*, for a one-hundred-year peace treaty, and until his death refrained from plundering Roman expeditions (fr. 21 Bornmann = FHN no. 318, cp. also Iordanes, *Rom.* 333 = FHN no. 329, with Florus, *Alexandrinae urbis procurator*, instead of Maximinus).

Famous is the journey undertaken in 423 A.D. by the historian and diplomat Olympiodorus of Thebae (Photius, *Bibl.* cod. 80, p. 62a, 9–26 = FHN no. 309) to the towns of Talmis, Prima, Phoinikon, Chiris and Thapis, all in B. territory, and to the emerald mines of the region, which could not be visited "without a royal order". To Olympiodorus the poetic fragment of a *Blemyomachia* in P. Berol. Inv. 5003 may be also ascribed (Livrea 1978; FHN no. 326; Miguélez Cavero 2008: 59ff.). However, Cosmas Indicopleustes credits B. and Ethiopians with exporting to Taprobane (Ceylon) the emeralds in which their region were rich (Top. Chr. XI, 21).

An interesting case of B. federation with the ↗Byzantine empire is provided in a letter of A.D. 518 or 523 by ↗Justin I to Ǝlla Aṣbəḥa (↗Kaleb; ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa) transmitted within the Greek *Martyrium Arethae*: the emperor threatens the *nəguś* with sending Blemmyan and Noubadian troops against Ḥimyar via Aksum (§ 27, ed. Detoraki 2007: 259 = FHN no. 327). On closing the aforesaid *excursus*, Procopius describes the demolition of the sanctuaries at Philae on the orders of ↗Justinian I by his Persarmenian general Narses (*Bell.* I, 19, 37 = FHN no. 328). The last documentary piece on the B. is P. Apoll. 15, 4 (705–06 A.D.), where "a tax in gold pertaining to the territories of the B. [*tôn Blemmýōn*]" is hinted at – a probable allusion to the *ḫarāǧ* they owed to the Arab administration of Fusṭāṭ.

Besides Greek and Latin literary and documentary sources, a corpus of Greek and Coptic documents produced directly in the B. milieu is extant (Hägg 1984; Satzinger 1985). The oldest of these documents is probably a Greek inscription from Talmis (Kalabsha) concerning B. cult societies that was produced under a *phýlarchos* called Phonoin (*SB* V, 8697 = FHN no. 313). He is perhaps the same as Phonēn (a slightly different phonetic writing) who, once made king, sent to Abourni, king of the Noubades, the long papyrus letter found in 1976 at Qaṣr Ibrīm (*SB* XIV 11957 = FHN no. 319). In such an important, yet somehow obscure text the kingdoms of the B. and Noubades appear as merely tribal societies. Here, the Nubian king Silkō, known from his Greek triumphal inscription, where the defeated Blemmyes are curiously depicted as *kaloí*, 'noble' (*OGIS* 201 = FHN no. 317.9), is introduced by

Phonēn as Abourni's predecessor. The 13 Greek and Coptic 6th/7th-cent. documents from Pathyris (al-Ǧabalayn), written on gazelle (?) skin, are of the greatest interest (Mitthof 2007: xxv–xxxi). The corpus consists of nine acknowledgements of debt in a form similar to that typical for the Theban region (*BGU* III, 795–97 = FHN nos. 342, 341, 343; *BKU* III, 359, 361 = FHN nos. 333, 332; *SB* III, 6259, X, 10552, 10553, 10554 = FHN nos. 338, 340, 335, 337), a donation also implying a manumission (*BKU* III, 350 = FHN nos. 331) and three royal ordinances (P. Köln ägypt. 13; *SB* III 6257–8 = FHN nos. 339, 336, 334). The scribes bear typically Greco-Egyptian names: Sansnōs, Agathōn, Dioskoros, who is perhaps the same as Dioskoros "scribe of the Blemmyan nation" (*grammateús éthnou(s) Blemméou*) of *SB* XVIII, 13930.1.

This corpus sheds light on the hierarchy of the Blemmyan kingdom, with a titulary that proves to be partly influenced by Byzantine ones, and depend but partly on tribal customs: the king is called *basileús*/*basilískos* and the highest dignitary is presumably the *phýlarchos*, to whom an otherwise unattested *hypotýrannos* was subordinated; court officials could have been the *doméstikoi* (Hägg 1990). Among the religious ranks, *prophêtai* and *klínarchoi* are mentioned. Besides the names of three kings (Pokatimne, Charachēn and Barachia), the Pathyrite documents also provide evidence for such administrative and legal Greco-Latin terms of uncertain meaning as *kommérkia*, *kouratoría* and *synétheia*, as well as for a mysterious "Noubadian currency", *kérmata Noubaritôn*.

Src.: RIÉ nos. 270, 270bis, 277 = FHN nos. 298, 299, 234; *ibid.*, nos. 50, 34, 116, 305, 298, 299, 237, 339, 283, 284, 323, 328, 293, 295, 296, 314, 318, 329, 309, 326, 327, 328, 313, 319, 317, 342, 341, 343, 333, 332, 338, 340, 335, 337, 331, 339, 336, 334; Alfred Stückelberger – Gerd Grasshoff (eds., trs.), *Klaudios Ptolemaios, Handbuch der Geographie*, Basel 2006, vol. I, 464; Harris Rackam (ed., tr.), *Pliny, Natural History*, vol. 2, Cambridge, MA – London 1947 (The Loeb Classical Library 352), 250; Rudolfus Keydell (ed.), *Nonni Panopolitani Dionysiaca*, vol. 1, Berolini 1959, 376; Jules Baillet (ed.), *Inscriptions grecques et latins des tombeaux des rois ou syringes*, Le Caire 1926, 532f., no. 2054; Karl Holl (ed.), *Epiphanius, Ancoratus und Panarion*, vol. 1, Leipzig 1915 (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte 25), 68, and vol. 3, 1933 (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte 37), 125; Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira (ed., tr.), *Le livre d'Esther*, Paris 1912 (PO 9, 1 = 41), 17; J. Martin Plumley, "An Eighth-century Arabic Letter to the King of Nubia", *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 61, 1975, 241–45; Martin Hinds – Hamdi Sakkout, "A Letter from the Governor of Egypt Concerning Egyptian-Nubian Relations in 141/758", in: Martin Hinds, *Studies in Early Islamic History*, ed. by Jere Bacharach – Lawrence I. Conrad – Patricia Crone, with an introduction by G.R. Hawting, Princeton, NJ 1996 (Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam 4), 160–87; Jean Maspero (ed.), *Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine*, vol. 1, Le Caire 1911, 16ff.; Gerald M. Browne (ed.), *Textus Blemmyicus aetatis Christianae*, Champaign, IL 2003; Wanda Wolska-Conus (ed., tr.), *Cosmas Indicopleustès, Topographie chretiènne*, vol. 1, Paris 1968 (Sources Chrétiennes 141), 353; Joseph Bidez – Léon Parmentier (eds.), *The Ecclesiastical History of* Evagrius: *with the Scholia*, Amsterdam 1964, 13f.; Henricus Livrea (ed.), *Anonymi, fortasse Olympiodori Thebani, Blemyomachia* (P. Berol. 5003), Meisenheim am Glam 1978; Marina Detoraki (ed.) – Joëlle Beaucamp (tr.), *Le martyre de Saint Aréthas et de ses compagnons* (*BHG 166*), *appendice sur les vers. orientales par André Binggeli*, Paris 2007 (Travaux et mémoires du Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance. Monographies 27), 259; Roger Rémondon, *Papyrus grecs d'Apollônos anô*, Le Caire 1953 (Documents de fouilles de l'IFAO 19), 41–46; Hans-Albert Rupprecht (ed.), *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*, vol. 18, Wiesbaden 1993, 406f.

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Agostino Soldati

Body modification

The concept of B.M. covers various practices of artificial modification of the human body. From the disciplines of art history and design the definition of B.M. was coined as a practice altering the body or taking something away from it, or of supplementing as adding something to the body (Barnes – Eicher 1992: 16). In this definition transformations of hair, skin, nails, the muscular and the skeletal systems, teeth and breath are all described as B.M. (ibid.: 18). As reversible artificial modifications such as body painting (s. also ↗Cosmetics, ↗Henna), hairstyling (↗Hairstyles), training the body, or overeating to promptly gain weight till a set date ("fat-men-contest" of the Bodi [s. ↗Meʾen] or certain wedding preparations for girls, e.g., of the Dinka [Fisher 1984: 53]) are already considered in other articles, they are not to be considered here.

B.M. designates often painful practices to modify the very substance of the human body, resulting in changes which are not easily reversed or perhaps not at all. Pain is frequently considered an essential part of B.M. and is given high cultural value. In the Ethiopian discussion B.M. is nowadays even mentioned in the same context as that of "harmful traditional practices". Some types of B.M. are in fact better described as body mutilation and are also not considered in this article. Such are the branding of thieves and slaves (↗Slavery), ↗castration and the amputation of body parts (especially tongues and limbs, or female breasts) applied as a punishment (e.g., the mutilation of religious dissidents by Christian rulers [s. DillmZarY 24, 38, ↗*Hulätt lədät*] or according to the ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt* and the ↗*šarīʿa*). Mutilation was also carried out in order to terrorize the enemy (e.g., ↗Anole, ↗*Askari*, ↗Tewodros II, as well as in the case of queen ↗Ǝsato, who is reported to have been mutilated by having one of her breasts cut off [Sergew Hable Selassie 1972: 113ff.]).

In the Horn of Africa combinations of different forms of B.M. can be found in various ethnic groups. At least one form of B.M. is practised in nearly every culture in the region. While some forms are still practiced today, others were abandoned due to a shift of cultural values or adaption to state policies.

From an anthropological perspective, B.M. includes various practices of cultural expression and has many, often combined, motivations and meanings. Most modifications are carried out on exposed parts of the body. They serve as visible markers of age or life stage, of gender, of ethnic or lineage distinction, of social status or class, of religious background or institutional affiliation; and may also express wealth and bravery. Moreover, B.M. is practiced to enhance beauty and sexual attraction.

Most forms of B.M. are combined with initiatory practices (↗Initiation) or other rites of passage. They show the individual's gain in social status and social recognition. B.M. can therefore be seen as a "visible biography" inscribed in the bodies of individuals. Markers of social distinctions inscribed in the body, such as, e.g., being the first or second wife, the number of enemies killed in battle or the number of admirers. However, a particular tattoo or the way in which teeth are filed, may also express individual preference and choice.

Other modifications are done for medical (↗Healing, ↗Medicine, traditional), magical (↗Magic) or religious reasons. Some forms of B.M. are medical practices which have to be carried out by experts (Amh. *wägešša*, ↗Healers) such as uvulectomy, tooth extraction, male ↗circumcision (Lord 1970: 190f.; Messing 1972: 262f.; Pili 2007: 7f.; Vecchiato 1993: 164f.; Young 1976: 151; for some medical instruments used s., e.g., Forkl 1997: 128f.).

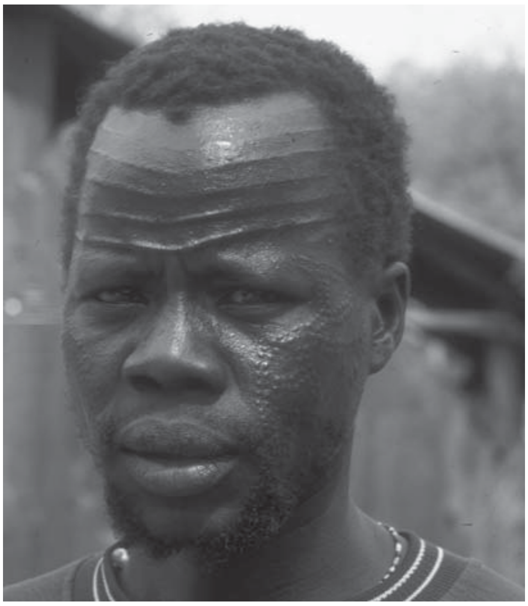
Since an individual's biography cannot be separated from his or her upbringing, social status, experiences, life challenges and health problems, as well as cultural background and cultural values, each B.M. reflects this connectedness. Such decoration not only has a special meaning, but also a special efficacy ascribed to it, which is reflected in its medical procedure and gives a deeper significance to individual choices and to the biographical body inscriptions themselves. Therefore, very often ornaments and decorations can be found not only in B.M., but also in handicrafts and ↗art and hava a special symbolism (s. Klemm 2006: 136–41 about Afran Qaalluu [↗Qottu] Oromo Women and the meaning of tying hairnet and scarf).

Recent scholarly literature on B.M. is mainly informed by Western discourses on adornment or body art as well as medical, psychological and feminist issues, mainly considering B.M. practiced in Europe or the USA etc. While in colonial and post-colonial times B.M. in Africa had been a favourite topic mixed with exoticism and voyeurism (s. travel accounts as well as missionary and government reports), it experiences a far less ethnocentric revival since the 1980s starting from art history (e.g. Roach – Eicher 1973; Vogel 1986) and inspiring anthropology and social sciences. There are, however, a number of early exceptions to ethnocentric descriptions as well (s., e.g., ↗Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdalbāqī al-Buḫārī al-Makkī; Joos van ↗Ghistele; Parkyns 1853).

Types of body modification

Types of B.M. may be classified by the body parts involved, by the social function of the practice in question or by the ethnic group in which those practices are performed. Here, in order to have a clear structure, the classification is made according to body parts (cp. Barnes – Eicher 1992: 19).

(1) Skin: B.M. on the human skin (s. also ↗Body ornamentation) takes three different forms: Tattooing, scarification and branding (e.g., Forkl 1997: 128). Tattooing is a widespread practice in the highlands of Ethiopian and Eritrea practiced by Orthodox Christians (VSAe II, 284, 426, 714; Wood 1868), as well as Muslims (Klemm 2009: 60ff.). To be mentioned here are, e.g., the Amhara, Təgrəñña-speakers, ↗ᶜAfar, ↗Argobba, ↗Beǧa, ↗Gurage and ↗Oromo (Beckwith – Fisher 1990: 104f.). Religious symbols (e.g., ↗crosses, stars) as well as lines and simple ornaments are used for tattooing mainly the face, neck and breast of women (Girma Fisseha 1997: 17). These show their religious or ethnic distinction and enhance female beauty (fieldnotes Müller 2003, Thubauville 2010: 106). Crosses are, furthermore, believed to protect the bearer against evil ↗spirits and were already common during the reign of aṣe ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob (Conti Rossini – Ricci 1965: 29f.). Fine lines around the eyes are believed to protect against the evil eye (↗*buda*) and cure sight problems. One of the medical purposes of neck tattoos is to prevent throat problems.



Nuer man in Gambella town with initiation scars on the forehead and the cheeks; photo 2006, courtesy of Günter Klatt

In the case of tattooing it has to be emphasized that B.M. is considered to be an integral part of culture. This fact is reflected by the use of the same design found in tattoos and on material items (e.g., pottery, basket and cloth weaving or woodwork). Nowadays tattooing is often replaced by less permanent facial painting with henna (fieldnotes Müller 2003) and nail polish (Klemm 2009: 61).

Scarification is common among the ↗Banna (VSAe I, 355), ↗Hamar (Krutak 2009: 108–14), ↗Kara [Karo] (Beckwith – Fisher 1990: 304f.), ↗Ñaŋatom (ibid. 260f.), ↗Nuba, ↗Nuer (ibid. 100, 258), Meʾen (VSAe I, 402), ↗Mursi (Beckwith – Fisher 1990: 262f.), Oromo (Klemm 2009: 61), Suri and Toposa [Sudan] (Fisher 1984: 44f.). Two different types of scarification are known in Ethiopia, firstly, simple scarification, creating a hard scar-relief and secondly, cicatrization, creating a blackened bas-relief, a mixture between tattoo and scar-relief. Incisions and scars around the eyes and on the eyelids or eyebrows are believed to cure eye-diseases. Scars at the temples protect against headaches. Among the Afran Qalluu Oromo women usually use scarring on the eyebrows, the bridge of the nose and the cheeks to heal, protect and beautify, in some cases, however, scarring was also used to make children ugly and thus protect them from being taken away from their families (Klemm 2009: 61).

Branding has usually been used as a punishment for thieves or as a sign for slaves, but not as B.M. One exception, however, are the Banna, who, for medical reasons, used a fire-drill to burn scars into men's torsos or arms to prevent them from sickness and to make them strong (VSAe I, 355).

As a rare case of B.M., male nipple extirpation has been observed among the ↗Yäm. It was practiced as an initiatory practice for boys at the age of about ten years, who did not belong to the royal clan (VSA III, 363–69; BeckHuntAlvar 157). The removal of the right male breast was also reported among the Beǧa (s. ↗Ibn Sulaym al-Aswānī).

(2) Teeth: A cultural phenomenon known in southern Ethiopia, as in many parts of Africa, is the modification of parts of the denture, such as the extraction or filing of teeth. The incisors of the

upper or lower jaw, in some cases also the molars, are removed in various ethnic groups. Some examples are the ↗Añwaa, Banna, ↗Bäšada, ↗Komo, Meʾen and Nuer. Among the latter only the clan of the chief is exempted from this custom, while Meʾen women have four teeth extracted from their lower jaw. Among the ᶜAfar the filing of the upper incisors is still common today. The removal of teeth is often combined with the piercing of lower lips and ears (VSAe I, 335, 346, 355, 402), as observed among the Karo and Hamar (Beckwith – Fisher 1990: 298, 303) as well as the Eritrean ↗Nara (Murdock 1959: 170). Among the Toposa teeth extraction is explained by the fact that women without lower incisors resemble the highly appreciated cattle, instead of less valued goats (Fisher 1984: 45). The Komo give a medical reason for the removal of the mandibular central incisors: in the case of a severe tetanus infection, which results in lockjaw, the sick can still be fed through the hole in the denture (fieldnotes Meckelburg 2010; cp. Barnes 2010: 16 for the Massai).

In many ethnic groups the removal of teeth is performed in the context of initiation rites (for variations between different ethnic groups s. article on Initiation). In northern Ethiopia and Eritrea teeth are, with some exceptions, only extracted for medical reasons: One of the traditional treatments for infants with diarrhoea is extracting the milk teeth (fieldnotes Müller 2008).

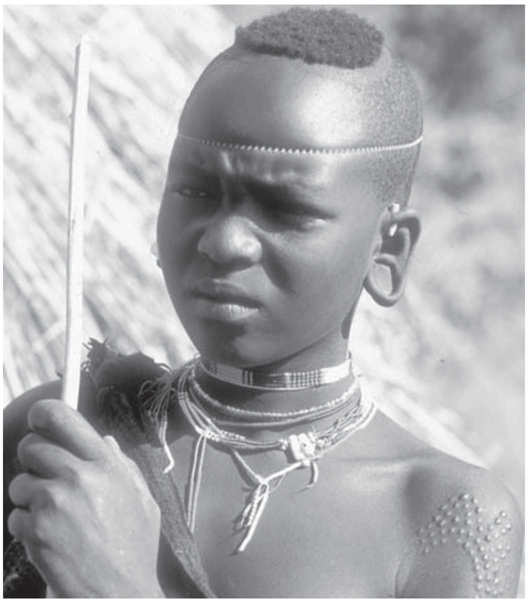
(3) Gums, lips and uvula: Tattooing the upper and sometimes the lower gums of Amhara, Gurage, Oromo and Təgrəñña-speaking women is meant to enhance their beauty and furthermore seen as a protection against evil spirits. Depending on the individual choice or preference of the child's mother, some have the whole upper gums tattooed with a black colour, others only the gums above every second tooth, which has the effect of an alternating black and red design (fieldnotes Müller 2003).

A widespread practice in northern Ethiopia and Eritrea, based on traditional medical concepts, is the removal of parts of a baby's uvula in order to prevent infection of the throat (cp. Hartley – Rowe-Jones 1994: 65f.; Messing 1972: 262f.). This practice is furthermore said to improve the voice, which is reinforced by swallowing butter (fieldnotes Müller 2004).

Lower lips can first be pierced by needles or nails, later the hole produced can slowly be widened by lip plugs (cp., e.g., VSAe I, 335f., 343, 355, 402, 412, 417, 441; VSAe III, 18, 22). This practice is often combined with the extraction of the lower incisors and the piercing of the ears in various styles [cp. also (2) Teeth]. Another cultural phenomenon, which has become a tourist attraction, is the insertion of lip plates into the ever widening lower lip of ↗Baale and Surma women (Beckwith – Fisher 1990: 248, 270–77). A common explanation given by the Baale for the origin of this B.M. is that it occurred in the 19th cent. to protect women from slave traders, because they were dismissed for their deformation (cp. Fisher 1984: 55 on the Kichepo or Klemm 2009: 61 on Oromo scarification).

(4) Ears and nose: The piercing of ears is very common. Piercings range from a single hole for small jewellery or for a long nail hanging down from it to smaller or bigger ear plugs. In some ethnic groups even the whole ear will be pierced with many small holes into which rings may be inserted. For special examples s. Banna, Meʾen (VSAe I, 101, 168, 231, 309, 355, 396, 401f.; VSAe II, 204, 209, 283, 319, 394, 466), Hamar (Beckwith – Fisher 1990: 247), Surma (ibid. 272–79, 286f., 289) Toposa (Fisher 1984: 44f.) and Turkana (ibid. 43). Nose piercings are rare, only found among the Beǧa (ibid. 280f.; Beckwith – Fisher 1990: 110).

(5) Genitals: Different kinds of modification and mutilation of the genitals are practiced in the Horn of Africa (cp. ↗Circumcision, female;



Surma girl with ear piercing, ear-plug hole, and shoulder scarification; photo 2003, courtesy of Günter Klatt

↗Circumcision, male). Genital modification of men and women is either done in early infancy (s. ↗Baptism) or as an initiation ritual (cp. fieldnotes from Uganda, Müller 1999).

Most Ethiopian boys – of whichever social, ethnic or religious background – are circumcised today. Male circumcision includes the removal of the foreskin, and in some cases frenectomy (removal of the frenulum). Historically even extirpation of the testicles (sometimes only the left testicle), e.g., among the Yäm (BeckHuntAlvar 157), is reported. Among the Amhara circumcision is common on the seventh day after birth, among the Tǝgrǝñña on the eighth day – before leaving the hut where the woman delivered and before baptism (fieldnotes Müller 2003; Shack 1974: 37). For the Oromo, male circumcision is conducted at different ages depending on the region, and religious belief of the practitioners. For the Western Gurage, male circumcision is performed between the age of eight and ten (Shack 1974: 107). In Harari culture, boys are circumcised between the day of birth and the age of 15 (ibid. 128f.). Circumcision is mainly practiced in hospital today (fieldnotes Müller 2003; Gibb 1996: 137).

Female circumcision, even if prohibited by Ethiopian as well as Eritrean state laws, is still widespread as well. Girls are mutilated either by clitoridectomy (removal of the clitoris), by the removal of the clitoris and the inner labia, or by infibulation (removal of all or part of the inner and the outer labia). The excision of the prepuce of the clitoris and the partial sewing of the inner labia is called *absuma arabi* in Oromiffa and *arabi absum* in Harari, the full removal of the clitoris, parts of the labia majora and the labia minora and the sewing together of the remnants of the labia minora is called *absum hodha* in Oromiffa and *ge absum* in Harari (Klemm 2002: 161, Gibb 1996: 136).

Clitoridectomy is performed among the Amhara on the fifth day after birth and among the Tǝgrǝñña on the seventh (Shack 1974: 37). Among the Oromo, all three kinds of female circumcision are common, depending on the region, ethnic group and religious belief, and infibulation is still widespread (Gibb 1996: 138). In some areas the vagina is not only circumcised, but also tattooed (Klemm 2002: 164). This B.M. normally takes place between the age of eight and ten, prior to the beginning of menstruation (ibid. 169). For Western Gurage girls clitoridectomy is performed between the age of eight and ten as well (Shack 1974: 107). Today girls in Harari culture undergo clitoridectomy between the age of four and ten performed by a traditional midwife. Not long ago, however, infibulation was still a cultural imperative (Gibb 1996: 136f.) and for Somali living in the region this is still the case today (ibid. 138).

Src.: fieldnotes of Angela M. Müller, Bulucheke region (Uganda), August 1999; fieldnotes of Angela M. Müller, Mekelle region, June 2003; fieldnotes of Angela M. Müller, Gondär, September 2003, August 2004, March 2008; fieldnotes of Alexander Meckelburg, Pokung, November 2010; Carlo Conti Rossini – Lanfranco Ricci (eds., tr.), *Il Libro della Luce del negus Zarᵓa Yāᶜqob* (*Maṣḥafa Berhān*), part I, Louvain 1964 (CSCO 250, 251 [SAe 47, 48]), 15f. (text), part II, Louvain 1965 (CSCO 261, 262 [SAe 51, 52]), 29–31, 33f. (text); DillmZarY 24, 38.

Lit.: Danielle M. Barnes, *Dental Modification*: *an Anthropological Perspective*, University of Tennessee Honors Thesis Projects, 2010 [online lit.: *http://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_chanhonoproj/1345* (last access April 2012], 16; Ruth Barnes – Joanne B. Eicher, *Dress and Gender*: *Making and Meaning*, Oxford 1992 (Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Women 2), 16, 18–19; BeckHuntAlvar 157; Carol Beckwith – Angela Fisher, *African Ark, Peoples of the Horn*, London 1990, 100, 104f., 110, 247f., 258, 260–63, 270–79, 286f., 289, 298, 303ff.; Richard Burton, *First Footsteps in East Africa*, New York 1887; CerPeople 29–30, 44, 64, 83, 93, 103, 111, 127; Helen Coleman, "Scarification and Cicatrisation among African Cultures", November 2002 [online lit.; last access 29 April 2009]; Susanne Epple, *The Bashada of Southern Ethiopia*: *a Study of Age, Gender and Social Discourse*, Köln 2010 (Mainzer Beiträge zur Afrika-Forschung 25), 99–108, 115, 119, 129, 133–35, 170, 191, 200.; Angela Fisher, *Africa Adorned*, New York 1984, 43–45, 53, 55, 280–81; Hermann Forkl, *Heil- und Körperkunst in Afrika*, *Katalog zur gleichnamigen Ausstellung, Linden-Museum*, Stuttgart 1997, 128–29; Girma Fisseha, *Bergland Äthiopien, Kunst und Kulturen aus dem Hochland*, München 1997, 17; Camilla C.T. Gibb, *In the City of Saints*: *Religion, Politics and Gender in Harar, Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, Oxford 1996, 136–38; B.E. Hartley – Julian Rowe-Jones, "Uvulectomy to Prevent Throat Infections", *The Journal of Laryngology and Otology* 108, 1, 1994, 65–66; Peri M. Klemm, *Shaping the Future, Wearing the Past*: *Dress and Decorated Female Body among the Afran Qallo Oromo in Eastern Hararghe, Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, Emory University 2002, 161, 164, 169; Ead., "Two Corporeal Markers of Marriage among the Afran Qallo Oromo Women in Eastern Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 15, 136–41; Ead., "Oromo Fashion: Three Contemporary Body Art Practices among Afran Qallo Women", *African Arts* 42, 1, 54–63, here 61; Lars Krutak, *The Tattooing Arts of Tribal Women*, London 2007; Id., "Ethiopia's Last Frontier: the Bloody World of the Hamar Tribe", 2009 [online: *http://www.larskrutak.com/articles/Ethiopia/index.html*; last access 10 January 2012], 108–14; Shauna LaTosky, "Reflections on the Lip-Plates of Mursi Women as a Source of Stigma and Self-Esteem", in: Ivo Strecker – Jean Lydall (eds.), *The Perils of Face*: *Essays on Cultural Contact, Respect and Self-Esteem in Southern Ethiopia*, Münster 2006 (Mainzer Beiträge zur Afrika-Forschung 10), 371–86; Edith Lord, *Queen of Sheba's Heirs*: *Cultural Patterns of Ethiopia*, Washington, DC 1970, 190f.; Simon D. Messing, *Indigenous Healers Face the Health Officer in Ethiopia*, paper read at the Sympo-

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Angela M. Müller

British Military Administration of Ethiopia

The B.M.A. (Ethiopia, 1941–44), as opposed to the ↗British Military Administration (Eritrea) was not a full care-taker government. The government of Great Britain (↗United Kingdom: British colonialism in the Horn of Africa) saw Ethiopia as part of the Occupied Enemy Territories after the defeat of the Italian Army. Thus, in its own interests, Britain influenced the future of Ethiopia after independence, exerting administrative control over Ethiopia in the first years after liberation.

In February 1941, during the battle for Ethiopia (↗War of Liberation), British Foreign Minister Anthony ↗Eden declared that Ethiopia's territorial integrity would remain intact and that Britain recognized the claim of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I to the throne. He added that as long as the war lasted, "temporary measures of military guidance and control" would be required.

When the Emperor returned to Addis Abäba on 5 May 1941, he was joined by British advisers from the Foreign Office in the newly reopened British legation, and by British Army political officers. They were led by Brigadier Daniel Arthur ↗Sandford, Major (later Colonel) Robert Ernest ↗Cheesman, British Minister Robert Howe, and Deputy Chief Political Officer (DCPO) Brigadier Maurice Lush.

Sandford and Cheesman, who had long been acquainted with Ethiopia, were of the opinion that Ḫaylä Śəllase was the only man capable of introducing order and progress, and that it was in British interests to keep him as a grateful ally. Meanwhile the British army was still liberating the rest of the country and establishing local provincial military administrations. The British War Office, at that time and unlike the Foreign Office, considered Ethiopia as occupied enemy territory, and many of the officers involved were reluctant to see the emperor's men restoring his authority and methods. The Emperor and his men were instructed "to agree to abide in all important matters, internal and external, touching the government of the country, by the advice rendered to them by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom". However, on 31 January 1942, following the interventions of Winston Churchill and Eden, a "wartime agreement" was signed by the Emperor and the British Chief Political Officer, Major General Sir Philip Euen Mitchell, for the administration of occupied enemy territories in East Africa. It granted the Emperor the help of British advisers, troops and finance, as if without any political control. The agreement brought the B.M.A. to an end but the British Military Mission (BMM.) and the British advisers, backed by their garrisons, retained in power as long as the war lasted.

During those years the Emperor was kept under strict British surveillance and even his private correspondence was censured. Nevertheless, the British also rendered meaningful assistance to the various Ethiopian ministries in Ḫaylä Śəllase's newly reorganized ↗government. They thus not only controlled the country during the rest of the war, but also helped laying the foundations for the post-war modernization of Ethiopia's institutions. The BMM – headed as of mid-1943 by Major-General Algeron Edward Cottam, began the rebuilding and the training of the new, now gradually modernized Ethiopian army.

The British Military Administration (Eritrea) officers, however, had a different policy. Under the leadership of Brigadier Stephen ↗Longrigg, the chief administrator, and of DCPO Eritrea Brigadier Brian Kennedy-Cooke, and with a view to their post-war plans for Eritrea, they tried to promote the idea of an autonomous "Tigrai State" as a nominal part of Ethiopia, but in practice under future British influence from ↗Asmära. As a result of these differences, a complicated struggle over the future of Təgray began, which lasted from June 1941 to October 1943. In this context, British Military Administration (Eritrea) officers tried to encourage the Təgrayans' self-awareness and to mobilize the ambitions of the two hereditary chiefs of Təgray, *ras* ↗Śəyyum Mängäša and *ras* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase Gugsa. In contrast, BMM officers and the Addis Abäba-based British advisers helped the Emperor to try and assert his direct authority in the province, and to alert London against what they saw as Asmära's undermining of his power. The tension in Təgray – the British dimension of which was not the main cause – culminated in the outbreak of the ↗*Wäyyanä* revolt in Təgray. It was quelled in early October 1943 also by British bombers brought from Aden by British officers of the BMM in Ethiopia. In thus helping Ḫaylä Śəllase to defeat the Təgrayan insurgents, his British advisers and the Addis Abäba-based officers contributed significantly to his emerging absolutism.

On 19 December 1944, following twelve months of negotiations, a new Anglo–Ethiopian agreement was signed and Britain agreed to voluntarily restrict her rights in Ethiopia and remove her garrisons, except from the ↗Ogaden. The British went on training the Ethiopian army and rendering assistance to the government, but the special status and role of their advisers and officers in Ethiopia ended. Britain remained as a colonial power in ↗Somalia, Eritrea, ↗Sudan and ↗Kenya, but did not win Ḫaylä Śəllase as a grateful neighbour. Rather, remaining ever suspicious of British intentions, the Emperor would gradually reorient his international policy from Great Britain to the USA.

Lit.: ClapHS 21ff.; HAGGAI ERLICH, *Ethiopia and the Challenge of Independence*, Boulder, CO 1986, ch. 8; SAUL KELLY, *Cold War in the Desert*: *Britain, the United States and the Italian Colonies, 1945–1952*, Basingstoke 2000, 11ff.; STEPHEN LONGRIGG, *A Short History of Eritrea,* Oxford 1945, s. index; PHILIP MITCHELL, *African Afterthoughts*, London 1954, passim; LEONHARD MOSLEY, *Haile Selassie*: *The Conquering Lion*, London 1964, 259; PerGov 431; RENNELL OF RODD, *British Military Administration of Occupied Territories in Africa During 1941–1947,* London 1948, 58–72; CHRISTINE SANDFORD, *Ethiopia under Haile Selassie*, London 1946 s. index; JOHN SPENCER, *Ethiopia at Bay*: *a Personal Account of the Haile Sellassie Years*, Algonac MI, 1984, 102–14; GEBRU TAREKE, *Ethiopia*: *Power and Protest, Peasants Revolts in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge 1991, ch. 4.

Haggai Erlich

Brocchi, Giovanni Battista

B. (also de B. and Battista da Imola, Lat. *Broc[h]us*, *de Brochis*; b. ca. 1450, Imola, d. March 1511, Rome) was an Italian administrator and diplomat as well as traveller and ecclesiastic. Born to a noble family of Imola that had been involved in local government since the early 12th cent., in 1477 he became chancellor and familiar of the town's lord Count Girolamo Riario, a nephew of Pope Sixtus IV, and started since his long career in the service of the Holy See (↗Vatican).

As a papal envoy, B. was entrusted with several diplomatic missions to France, in late 1479 to Louis XI, and Spain. These missions, carried out in the political aftermath of the Pazzi conspiracy (aimed at replacing the Medici as rulers of Florence and definitely favoured by Riario), where quite unsuccessful and brought harsh criticism upon B. He fell out of favour with his former patrons and, shortly after returning to Rome in 1481, took minor orders as a secular cleric, thereby securing himself a career in the papal Curia.

As soon as he was ordained, he went to the Holy Land (↗Jerusalem), most likely on pilgrimage. As a guest of the ↗Franciscan convent at Mount ↗Zion, he was highly appreciated by its prior, the custos of the Holy Land Giovanni Tomacelli. The latter introduced B. to the Ethiopian embassy that, in the same year, had been sent to Cairo to seek a new metropolitan (↗*pappas*) and, after performing its duty (a few months later a metropolitan and a bishop, ↗Yəsḥaq and ↗Marqos, were dispatched to Ethiopia), on 18 April had just arrived in Jerusalem to visit the Holy Sepulchre (cp. the Islamic sources on the embassy, at Cairo and Jerusalem, in CerPal I, 281–88).

According to the *Itinerary to the Holy Land and to Saint Catherine* of the contemporary Franciscan Paul Walther of Guglingen (1482), the Ethiopians claimed to be on their way to Greece, where they hoped to obtain an Orthodox prelate to crown their young emperor, i.e. *aṣe* ↗Ǝskəndər. Thereupon, Tomacelli suggested that they go instead to Rome, for having such prelate appointed by the Pope would have been much more prestigious (ed. Sollweck 1892: 39f.). This should be complemented with information found in other sources, first and foremost the *Treatise on the Holy Land and the Orient* also by a Minorite, Francesco Suriano, then a member of the friary of Mount Zion (1485). The *Treatise* makes it clear that, in agreement with the head of the embassy, Tomacelli sent to

Rome a delegation of two Ethiopian monks from Jerusalem, one of them named "Antonio" (*An-/Ǝnṭon[ə]yos or *An-/Ǝnṭonəs), with B. as an interpreter (ed. Golubovich 1900: 82, tr. Bellorini – Hoade 1949: 95) – who may well have learned Arabic or Amharic in Jerusalem.

B.'s claim that the Ethiopian delegation had been sent to Rome directly from Ethiopia by *aṣe* Ǝskəndər who had appointed B. himself as its guide is recorded only some 30 years later, in the account inserted by the pontifical master of ceremonies Paride de Grassi (d. 1529) into his still unpublished *Treatise on ambassadors to the Roman Curia*, written after 1504 (Lefevre 1958:107f., but s. Fiaccadori 2011: 138).

From Jerusalem, therefore, the party arrived in Rome in November 1481 (as witnessed by the immediate report of the Milanese ambassadors to their lord, s. Ghinzoni 1889: 151ff. and Lefevre 1958: 109ff.). At the court of Sixtus IV, "Antonio" and his companion(s, whose number vary in the different sources) introduced themselves, and were gladly received, as "representative of ↗Prester John"; as such, they were portrayed in two scenes in the 1481–82 frescoes, attributed to Biagio d'Antonio, on the southern walls of the Sistine chapel (Bonechi 2011; cp. Fiaccadori 2011, also for a further portrait , within 1527, of "Antonio" in ↗Santo Stefano dei Mori). With B.'s linguistic assistance, the Ethiopians met, and were examined by, such personalities from the Curia as the Franciscan theologian and bishop Roberto Caracciolo and the Benedectine dean of the Sacred College of Cardinals Guillaume d'Estouteville (de La Roncière 1927: 137 and n. 5).

This "embassy" ended by prompting the idea of a mission to Prester John. To this end, having fulfilled his tasks, B. left the Ethiopians in Rome and, in January 1482, reached Cairo on his own (the Ethiopians did not head back until after 12 May 1482, s. Fiaccadori 2011: 139 and n. 27).

Together with the two Franciscan friars from Mount Zion who had been designated for that mission, i.e. the Spaniard Francisco Sagara – who was, though, "delayed on the way through sickness" – and the Italian Giovanni di Calabria (reportedly, from the [de] Baffa family of Cosenza), in mid-1482 B. went upstream the Nile to ↗Sawakīn. From there, being unable to coast the Gulf of ↗Massawa and the island of ↗Dahlak, they travelled by land, crossing the ↗Marya territory, ↗Eritrea and ↗Təgray, up to the highlands, with the "church of the king" (↗Atronsä Maryam?), in which they saw "an Italian-style organ", and to the rugged "gates" of Aḥəyya Fäǧǧi, through which they finally descended to ↗Šäwa and, in December, "after many perils and many vexations borne", reached the royal camp (↗*kätäma*) at ↗Bärara. There, they met ten Italians, "all men of good repute", among them the Venetian painter Niccolò ↗Brancaleone. In no way, however, can the arrival of the papal envoys at Ǝskəndər's court be echoed in his chronicle: "... bishops [*pappasat*, also 'metropolitans'] and many priests came from Holy Jerusalem, and the churches were renovated" (PerrEsk 341). This passage rather alludes to the arrival of Metropolitan ↗Yaᶜəqob, formerly a bishop of Jerusalem, with his retinue of prelates – indeed, before Ǝskəndər's death in 1494 (s. Fiaccadori, in preparation, against Cerulli 1972: 395).

Yet, B. and Giovanni di Calabria "failed to get an audience" with the king, "on account of the death of the said lord", i.e. *aṣe* ↗Bäᵓədä Maryam (in 1478), and the minority of his son and successor (Ǝskəndər was eleven year old at that time), as well as the hostility of "certain lords" ruling for him, "who did not like their mission". Thus, a few months later (about a year since they left), Giovanni decided to send B. back to Jerusalem, himself staying behind in Ethiopia. B. arrived in Jerusalem on 27 December 1483: his report to the new prior of Mount Zion and custos of the Holy Land, Paolo da Canneto, is included, with the remarkable 1482 ↗itinerary of Ethiopia, in Suriano's *Treatise* (ed. Golubovich 1900: 84–87, tr. Bellorini – Hoade 1949: 97–100, cp. CrawItin 40–54 for commentary).

In 1484, Paolo gave B. a letter for *aṣe* Ǝskəndər, asking the king to embrace the Catholic faith and offering him the gifts that, two years before, had been brought from Rome by "Antonio" – who was still keeping them in Jerusalem along with the pope's letters for Prester John (*ibid.* 1900: 81ff.; 1949: 94ff.). With that letter, B. left again for Ethiopia, arriving on 18 January 1484.

The mission of B. and Giovanni di Calabria, who were eventually able to see Ǝskəndər (so that Giovanni could have hardly been martyrized by the Muslims in 1483, as stated, instead, by Ribetti 1710: 103), seems to have had no special consequence for Ethiopia, but was the last significant event in the country's early contacts with Christian Europe (TadTChurch 266 n. 5). The chronicle of Däbrä Ṣəge (↗Gärᶜalta) reflects the king's enthusiasm about the visit of the "Franks" (many European traders, artists and craftsmen were in Ethiopia at the time , but “a priest called Yoḥannes”, i.e. Giovanni di Calabria, is explicitly mentioned therein), which may have caused an outcry at his court, in particular of the faction led by the powerful *bitwäddäd* ʿAmdä Mikaʾel and of the local clergy, scared of the sympathies earned by them in terms of “religion” (p. 56 of the ms., quoted ibid. 291 and n. 3, cp. 292f.).

The mission had a deeper impact on Rome, to which B. (after a long stay in Siena) was definitely back in 1487, there ending his career as a member of the papal Curia and *scriptor apostolicus* (from 1500). In 1505, pope Julius II appointed B. governor of his native Imola. In 1511, B. was murdered in obscure circumstances – connected, most plausibly, with his political activity as a representative (*agente*) of Imola to the pope (Lefevre 1958: 104f.).

Even after his return from Ethiopia, B. never ceased to cultivate his interests in the land of Prester John. On this he become an expert, leaving notes and records that contributed to fostering the knowledge of the country through Renaissance Europe (ibid. 66–75). In 1487 he borrowed from the ↗Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana a book “in Indian [i.e. Ethiopic] language” (s. ↗“India” as a name of Ethiopia) that he gave back in January 1493. Such 15th-cent. manuscript, identifiable with today’s VatLib Vat. et. 20, a Psalter, had been probably brought by B. himself from Ethiopia. It was borrowed again in 1513 by Johannes ↗Potken, who used it for his *Psalterium Aethiopicum* edition (Lefevre 1940 and 1958: 66–70, cp. Wilkinson 2007: 67 and n. 16).

↗Italy, relations with

Src.: PAULI WALTHERII GUGLINGENSIS *Itinerarium ad Terram Sanctam et ad Sanctam Catharinam*, ed. by MATTHIAS SOLLWECK, Tübingen 1892 (Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart 192), 37–41; PIETRO GHINZONI, “Un’ambasciata del Prete Gianni a Roma nel 1481”, *Archivio storico lombardo* 16, 1889, 145–54; FRANCESCO SURIANO, *Il trattato di Terra Santa e dell’Oriente*, ed. by GIROLAMO GOLUBOVICH, Milano 1900, 80–87 (chs. XXXIIIff.); ID. (ed.), *Treatise on the Holy Land*, tr. by THEOPHILUS BELLORINI and EUGENE HOADE, with a preface and notes by BELLARMINO BAGATTI, Jerusalem 1949 [repr. 1983] (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum. Collectio Maior 8), 92–100; LUCAS WADDINGUS, *Annales Minorum, &c.*, vol. 14, Lugduni Batavorum 1637, 279–82; TEODOSIO SOMIGLI DI SAN DETOLE (ed.), *Etiopia francescana nei documenti dei secoli XVII e XVIII*, vol. 1, 1: *1633–1643*, Quaracchi, FI 1928 = GIROLAMO GOLUBOVICH, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell’Oriente Francescano*, ser. III – Documenti, vol. 1, part 1, LXIII–LXXXVIII; RENATO LEFEVRE, “Ricerche sull’imolese G. B. De Brocchi, viaggiatore in Etiopia e curiale pontificio (sec. XV–XVI)”, *Archivio della Società romana di Storia patria* 81, ser. 3^{a}, 12, 1958, 55–118 (Lit.), with docs. (107–18), here 66–75; CHARLES DE LA RONCIÈRE, *La découverte de l’Afrique au Moyen Age: cartographes et explorateurs*, vol. 2: *Le périple du continent*, Le Caire 1925 (Mémoires de la Société royale de géographie d’Égypte 6), 137 and n. 5, and vol. 3: *Un explorateur français du Niger. Les débuts de Christophe Colomb. Un peintre italien à la cour d’Abyssinie*, Le Caire 1927 (Mémoires de la Société royale de géographie d’Égypte 7), 99–105; CrawItin 40–54 (Lit.); PerrEsk 341 (text) = 354 (tr.).

Lit.: MARCO BONECHI, “Four Sistine Ethiopians? The 1481 Ethiopian Embassy and the Frescoes of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican”, *Aethiopica* 14, 2011 [2012], 121–35 (Lit.); FRANCESCO CERONE, “La politica orientale di Alfonso d’Aragona”, [I], *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane* 27, 1902, 3–93, here 91; CerPal I, 281–88, 336ff.; ENRICO CERULLI, “Brocchi, Giovanni Battista (Battista da Imola)”, in: *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 14, Roma 1972, 395–96, here 395; ChojPaint 377 and n. 5; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, “A Marginal Note to ‘Four Sistine Ethiopians?’”, *Aethiopica* 14, 2011 [2012], 136–44 (Lit.); ID., “Ancora sui metropoliti Yesḥaq, Mārqos e Yāʿqob d’Etiopia (sec. XV–XVI)” (in preparation); RENATO LEFEVRE, “Riflessi etiopici nella cultura europea del Medioevo e del Rinascimento, Seconda Parte”, *Annali lateranensi* 9, 1945, 331–444, here 407–44; ID., “Su un codice etiopico della ‘Vaticana’”, *La Bibliofilía* 42, 1940, 97–107; MAURO DA LEONESSA, *Santo Stefano Maggiore degli Abissini e le relazioni romano-etiopiche*, Città del Vaticano 1929, 157–68; GIORGIO LEVI DELLA VIDA, *Documenti intorno alle relazioni delle Chiese orientali con la S. Sede durante il pontificato di Gregorio XIII* (*Appendice: Aggiunte a «Studi e testi», 92*), Città del Vaticano 1948 (Studi e testi 143), 181f.; PIETRO ANTONIO RIBETTI, *Giardino Serafico Istorico … delli trè Ordini instituiti dal Serafico Padre S. Francesco*, In Venezia 1710, vol. 2, 103; TadTChurch 266 and n. 5, 291 and n. 3, 292f.; ROBERT J. WILKINSON, *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation: the First Printing of the Syriac New Testament*, Leiden 2007 (Studies in the History of Christian Traditions 137), 67 and n. 16.

Matteo Salvadore – Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Budälla, ***šayḫ*** ↗Abret EAE vol. 5

C

Caquot, André

C. (b. 24 April 1923, Épinal, d. 1 September 2004, Paris) was a linguist and philologist. He attended the Lycée at Vesoul and later the Lycée Louis le Grand in Paris. In 1948, he graduated from the École Normale Supérieure. From 1949 to 1952, C. researched at the Institut français archéologique in Beirut and, from 1953 to 1955, he participated in the Mission archéologique française in Ethiopia. Back in Paris, at the École Pratique des Hautes Études ("Sciences Religieuses") he studied Amharic and Gəᶜəz under Marcel ↗Cohen. In 1955–56, he was Directeur d'Études at the same institution and from 1957 to 1960 he taught comparative Semitic religions at the Faculté de théologie protestante of the University of Strasbourg. From 1964 to 1968, C. taught Hebrew and Judaism at the Sorbonne. In 1972, he was appointed to the chair of Hebrew and Aramaic at the Collège de France, succeeding André Dupont-Sommer. He retired from this position in 1994.

André Caquot in his home in Paris; photo 1992, courtesy of Eloi Fiquet

C. was a member of several scientific societies, including the Société asiatique, Société des Études juives and International Association for the History of Religions. In 1977, he became a member of the Institut de France (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres). He was also the recipient of several honours, among which was the Star of Ethiopia.

A man of vast culture and with a fine taste for the arts, C.'s publications cover a wide array of fields. He presented new Aramaic texts and discussed the Deir Alla inscriptions and Qumran and Ugaritic problems. In ↗Ethiopian Studies, he was director of ↗*Annales d'Éthiopie*, since its foundation in 1955 (with Jean Leclant and ↗Käbbädä Mikaᵓel). He published numerous articles that covered several topics, from editions of Gəᶜəz and Amharic texts to works on South Arabian paleography (↗Epigraphic South Arabian) and divine ↗kingship.

Src.: ANDRÉ CAQUOT, "Recherches de syntaxe sur le texte éthiopien d'Hénoch", *JA* 240, 1952, 487–96; ID. (with ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES), "Les monuments recueillis à Maqallé", *AE* 1, 1955, 17–41; ID., "L'homélie en l'honneur de l'archange Ouriel (Dersāna Urāᵓēl)", *ibid.*, 61–88; ID., "Aperçu préliminaire sur le *Maṣḥafa Ṭēfut* de Gechen Amba", *ibid.*, 89–108; ID., "Note sur Berber Māryām", *ibid.*, 109–16; ID. (with JEAN LECLANT), "Arabie du Sud et Afrique. Examen d'une hypothèse récente", *ibid.*, 119–20; ID., "La reine de Saba et le bois de la croix", *ibid.*, 137–47; ID., "L'homélie en l'honneur de l'archange Raguel (Dersāna Rāgu'ēl)", *AE* 2, 1957, 91–122; ID., "Histoire amharique de Grañ et des Gallas", *ibid.*, 123–43; ID., "Les chroniques abrégées d'Éthiopie", *ibid.*, 187–92; ID., "La royauté sacrale en Éthiopie", *ibid.*, 205–18; ID., "Un texte éthiopien sur les enseignes du camp d'Israël", *ibid.*, 246–47; ID. (with JEAN LECLANT), "Éthiopie et Cyrénaïque? À propos d'un texte de Synésius", *AE* 3, 1959, 173–78; ID., "Les actes d'ʿĒzrā de Gunda-Gundē", *ibid.* 4, 1961, 70–121; ID. (with PIERRE GEOLTRAIN), "Notes sur le texte éthiopien des 'Paraboles'", *Semitica* 13, 1963, 39–54; ID., "Une version geᶜez du traité d'Hippolyte de Rome sur l'Anti-Christ", *AE* 6, 1965, 165–214; ID., "L'inscription éthiopienne de Māribˮ, *ibid.*, 223–27; ID., "Les enfants aux cheveux blancs, remarques sur *Jubilés* XXIII, 25", in: *Mélanges d'histoire des religions offerts à Henri-Charles Puech*, Paris 1974, 161–72; ID., "Le nom du roi de Rome

dans le *Kebra Nagast*", in: Joseph Tubiana (ed.), *Guirlande pour Abba Jérôme,* Paris 1983, 153–65; Id., "Une homélie éthiopienne attribuée à saint Mari Éphrem, sur le séjour d'Abraham et Sara en Egypte", in: René-Georges Coquin (ed.), *Mélanges Antoine Guillaumont. Contributions à l'histoire des christianismes orientaux*, Genève 1988 (Cahiers d'Orientalisme 20), 173–85; Id., "L'Éthiopie dans les *Révélations du Pseudo-Méthode* et dans le livre éthiopien de *la Gloire des Rois*", *Revue de la Société Ernest Renan* 39, 1990, 53–65; Id., "Le *Kebra Nagast* et les *Révélations du Pseudo-Méthode*", in: *PICES* 10, 331–35; Id., "Le Sinaï monte au ciel", *Transversalités* (Revue de l'Institut Catholique de Paris) 85, 2003, 45–50.
Lit.: Eloi Ficquet, "André Caquot", *AE* 20, 2004, 265–66; Jean Riaud – Marie-Laure Chaieb (eds.), *L'œuvre d'un orientaliste André Caquot, 1923–2004,* Paris 2010; Nicholas Wyatt, "André Caquot (24 April 1923–31 August 2004)", ***http://www.iahr.dk/docs/caquot.html*** (last access: 28 July 2011).

Robert Beylot – Red.

Cattaneo, Celestino Annibale

C. (also Celestino da Desio; b. 21 January 1864, Desio, Monza, d. 15 February 1946, Cerro Maggiore, Milan) was a Franciscan ↗Capuchin friar and missionary. He joined the Capuchin Order in 1883 and was ordained priest in 1886.

Inspired to join missionary life by cardinal Guglielmo ↗Massaja's undertakings (AGC ML(C) 97/171:4), C. was a missionary in Mesopotamia from 1891 to 1910. There he witnessed the Turkish and Kurdish persecution of the Armenians and played a prominent role in saving more than 4,000 lives (*Annali Francescani* 27, 1899, 270; interview with C., *Milano*, 6 August 1936; AGC ML(C) 97/171:5).

In 1910, C. returned to Italy and was appointed rector of the Capuchin's International College in Rome and professor of Hebrew language. Shortly after, he was assigned to the mission of Eritrea, which in 1911 was entrusted to the Longobardian friars. He worked as the assistant of the newly appointed Apostolic Vicar of Eritrea, Camillo Carrara, and soon learned Təgrəñña; he published a life of Giustino De ↗Jacobis in Təgrəñña. During this period he reorganized the minor seminary in ↗Kärän, opened the mission among the ↗Kunama, tried to settle disputes between the local clergy and bishop Carrara and oversaw the opening and directorship of the renowned Scuola S. Michele d'arti e mestieri in ↗Sägänäyti.

From 1920 to 1923 C. was sent to Anatolia. On 4 October 1923, he was appointed General Commissioner of the Capuchins for south-eastern Europe. On 24 March 1925, Pope Pius XI nominated C. Apostolic Vicar of Eritrea and on 19 April 1925 he was ordained titular bishop of Busiris in Desio.

During C.'s bishopric, which ended with his resignation on 1 February 1936, missionary personnel was increased and particular attention was paid to ministry among the Kunama, to the reparation and construction of churches and missionary structures and in establishing an indigenous hierarchy, which eventually resulted in the Episcopal ordination of ↗Kidanä Maryam Kasa in 1930.

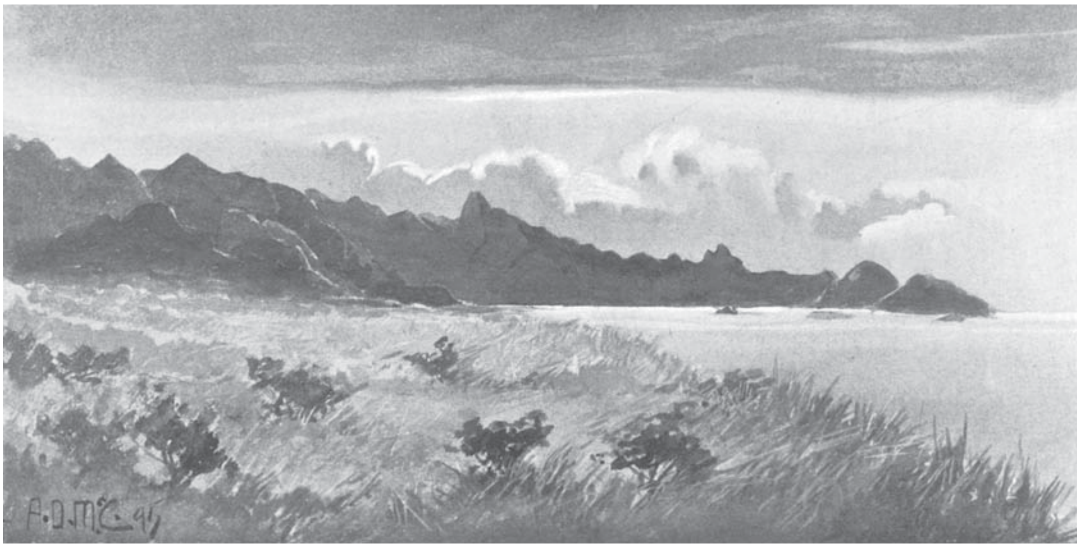
C.'s last years in Eritrea coincided with the Italian invasion of Ethiopia (↗Italian war 1935–36). In a public speech to the Italian Army in ↗Dog^{c}ali, C. declared himself a fervent supporter of Italian colonialism and of ↗Mussolini (*Il Quotidiano Eritreo*, 30 October 1935, 1). His missionary zeal was acknowledged by Pope Pius XI, who, after his withdrawal from public life, nominated C. as advisor of the Holy See and archbishop, titular of Sebastopolis in Abasgìa. The Italian Government awarded him the title of "Commendatore" and "Grande Ufficiale della Stella d'Italia al merito coloniale".

Src.: Rome, Archivio Generale Cappuccini (AGC) ML (Cardinales, Archiepiscopi, Episcopi) Cappuccini (C), 97/171:5; Milan, Archivio Provinciale Cappuccini Lombardi (APCL), sezione 18, cassetto 8, cartella 19: dossier with personal data; APCL P 185, 186; interview with Celestino Cattaneo, *Milano*, 6 August 1936; Fedele Merelli, *Mons. Celestino Cattaneo. Un grande missionario cappuccino*, San Vittore Olona 1996; *Il Quotidiano Eritreo*, 30 October 1935, 1; *Annali Francescani* 27, 1899, 270.
Lit.: Celestino da Desio [Celestino Cattaneo], *Abuna Jacob, ossia il Venerabile Padre Giustino De Jacobis*, Asmara ^{2}1922; Donato da Malvoglio (ed.), *A Sua Eccellenza Reverendissima Mons. Celestino Annibale Cattaneo … nel cinquantesimo di sua ordinazione sacerdotale*, Milano 1936; Metodio da Nembro, *Figure apostoliche. Trilogia di vescovi missionari: Mons. Roberto Colombo, Camillo Carrara, Celestino Cattaneo*, Milano 1947, 125–204; Id., *La missione dei minori cappuccini in Eritrea (1894–1952)*, Roma 1953, 95–124; Tekla Haimanot, *Episodi della vita Apostolica di Abuna Jacob …*, tr. by Celestino da Desio [Celestino Cattaneo], Asmara 1915.

Tedros Abraha

Č̣äw Baḥər

Č̣.B. (**ጨው ፡ ባሕር**, lit. 'salt lake/sea', 4°43' N, 36°57' E, also **ጨው ፡ ውኃ** *Č̣äw Wəha*, 'salt water', or Lake Stefanie, Bau Čialbe [Arbore, Boorana], Bass Baccade, Bass Marle, Basso na Ebor [Massai]) is the southernmost of the Ethiopian ↗Rift Valley lakes, north-east of Lake ↗Turkana. It lies on the border between the Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Regional State and Oromiyya *kəlləl* and in times of



Č̣äw Baḥər from the north-eastern corner in 1895; from Smith 1897: 249

maximal flooding its waters may stretch over the border into ↗Kenya. Č̣.B. is mainly fed by the seasonal Dullay (Wäyṭo) River and the ↗Sagan, its main tributary which drains the Amaaro and Konso Mountains. The lake lacks any outlet and most of its water is lost by evaporation. The lake basin covers an area of approximately 2,000 km². Its character varies from mudflats to swamp and open shallow water according to ever varying inflow. Only the northern end is permanently covered by water. The maximum depth of the lake is ca. 7.5 m.

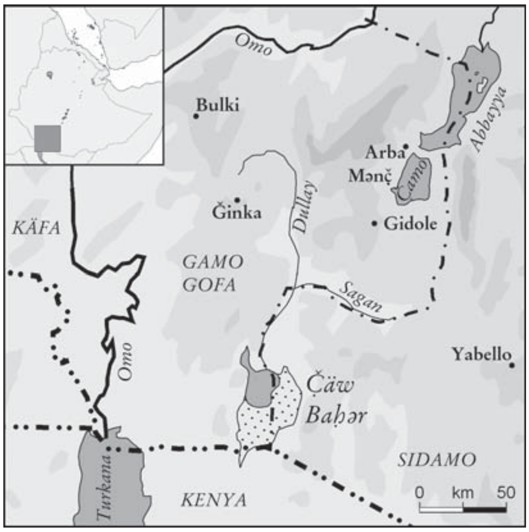
The vegetation of the lake area is characterized by salt-tolerant flora. In winter the lake hosts a multitude of ↗birds, especially flamingos, and the area around the lake is known for ostriches, gazelles, antelopes and the Grevy's Zebra. The large ↗elephant and giraffe populations reported by the 19th cent. were exterminated (↗Ivory). Today, the lake forms the centre of the Stephanie Wildlife Sanctuary (↗Parks, National) but conservation measures are almost non-existent.

On the northern shore of the lake, along the Dullay River, live the Hor (or Hoor, ↗Arbore). A distinct group of ↗Waata, the Waata Wando ('Waata of the plains'), with ca. 2,000 members, who have become agro-pastoralists, live north-east of the lake, where they temporarily share pastures with the Arbore (Gabbert – Thubauville 2010). In the area east of the lake the ↗Boorana seasonally graze their cattle and have temporary settlements and to the west by the ↗Hamär, whilst on the Kenyan side live Rendille pastoralists.

The highly saline water of the lake cannot be used for domestic or agricultural purposes but there are some freshwater springs in its south-east the use of which is subject to interethnic mediation. The fresh water springs carry mineral rich (salty) water which is used as medicine by the population and drunk by cattle. During dry periods at the eastern shores of the lake the Boorana (before also the Arbore) may collect salt which they use for their animals.

The history of the lake's subsequent exploration is closely related to the endeavours to locate the more important Lake Turkana. In 1888, the first Europeans to visit Č̣.B. were the Austro-Hungarian travellers Ludwig von ↗Höhnel and Samuel Teleki von Szék. They named the lake after Stefanie of Belgium, the wife of Crown Prince Rudolf of Austria-Hungary. "Rudolf" again was the name given to Lake Turkana during the same expedition. Hereafter, the lake was visited and described by Vittorio ↗Bottego and Lamberto Vannutelli (in 1896), Henry S.H. Cavendish (in 1897), Sinclair Wellby (in 1899), James J. Harrison (in 1900), Archibald E. Butter and Philip Maud (in 1903) and Charles William Gwynn (in 1909; cp. von Höhnel 1938).

On his expedition in 1895 to Lake Turkana, the American explorer Arthur Donaldson ↗Smith (s. EAE vol. 5) surveyed Č̣.B. and found the lake "nowhere deeper than 25 feet" (ca. 7.5 m [cp. above]), but abundant with fish, and many species of birds and large populations of crocodiles and ↗hippopotamus (cp., Smith 1898: 248–51).



Smith discovered a lake "only separated from Lake Stephanie by marsh, and maybe connected with it in flood", cp. Smith 1898: 254), extending from the north-eastern corner of Č̣.B. which he named Lake Donaldson. This section of the lake is today dried up. The Harrison expedition found Č̣.B. dry, "nothing but a vast extent of ground strewn with shells and heaps of fish bone" (Harrison 1901: 271).

Modern scientific interest is attracted by the geological data the lake provides. As Č̣.B. is relatively close to important paleontological sites of the Omo-Turkana basin (↗Paleontology) its sedimentation may help reconstructing the environmental conditions in one of the earliest known human habitats. Recently, the Hominid Sites and Paleolakes Drilling Project of the universities of Cologne, Potsdam, Aberystwyth and Addis Abäba was launched.

Src.: BIRD LIFE INTERNATIONAL, *Sites*: *Important Bird Areas, ET067, Lake Chew Bahir* (online resource: *http://www.birdlife.org/datazone/sitefactsheet.php?id=6301*, last access on 31 August 2012); V. FOERSTER et al., "Wet Feet or Walking on Sunshine? Reconstruction of Wet-dry Variations in the Source Region of Modern Man: the Chew Bahir Project, Southern Ethiopia", *Geophysical Research Abstracts* 14 (European Geosciences Union General Assembly, 22–27 April 2012), 2012, n.p. (online: *http://meetingorganizer.copernicus.org/EGU2012/EGU2012-7700-1.pdf*; last access on 18 September 2012); JAMES HARRISON, "A Journey from Zeila to Lake Rudolf", *Geographical Journal* 18, 1901, 258–75; LUDWIG VON HÖHNEL, *Discovery of Lakes Rudolf and Stefanie*: *a Narrative of Count Samuel Teleki's Exploring and Hunting Expeditions in Eastern Equatorial Africa in 1887 and 1888*, ed., tr. by NANCY BELL, vol. 2, London 1894; ARTHUR DONALDSON SMITH, *Through Unknown African Countries*: *the First Expedition from Somaliland to Lake Lamu*, London – New York 1898, 247–56, 249 (ill.), index; MONTAGUE SINCLAIR WELLBY, "King Menelek's Dominions and the Country between Lake Gallop (Rudolf) and the Nile Valley", *Geographical Journal* 21, 1900, 292–306.

Lit.: HENRY SHEPPARD HART CAVENDISH, "Through Somaliland and around the South of Lake Rudolf", *Geographical Journal* 11, 1898, 372–96; ECHI CHRISTINA GABBERT, "Mountains for Each Other: Insights into Arbore-Wata Wando Relationships", in: EAD. – SOPHIA THUBAUVILLE (eds.), *To Live with Others*: *Essays on Cultural Neighborhood in Southern Ethiopia*, Cologne 2010 (Mainzer Beiträge zur Afrikaforschung 27), 157–85; *Guida* 554; LUDWIG VON HÖHNEL, "The Lake Rudolf Region: its Discovery and Subsequent Exploration, 1888–1909, Part II", *Journal of the Royal African Society* 37, 147, 1938, 206–26, here 213–19; PHILIP MAUD, "Exploration in the Southern Borderland of Abyssinia", *Geographical Journal* 23, 1, 1904, 552–79; MesfGeogr; ARTHUR DONALDSON SMITH, *Through Unknown African Countries*, London – New York 1897, 249 (ill.); LAMBERTO VANNUTELLI – CARLO CITERNI, *L'Omo*: *seconda spedizione Bòttego, viaggio d'esplorazione nell'Africa orientale narrato da L. Vannutelli e C. Citerni*, Milano 1899, 339–44.

Alexander Meckelburg – Dirk Bustorf

Cederqvist, Karl

Reverend C. (orig. surname Jansson or Johansson; b. 28 October 1854, Fellingsbro, Sweden, d. 11 November 1919, Addis Abäba) was a ↗Swedish missionary and staunch supporter of the young Evangelical Church in Ethiopia.

As a young man C. worked as a farmhand and carpenter's apprentice till he took up theological training. C. studied at the Johannelunds Missionsinstitut in the years 1879–85, where he became a close friend of the Ethiopian missionary ↗Onesimos Näsib. In 1885 he was ordained and a year later sent as a seaman's pastor to Hamburg, Germany, and in 1888, to Liverpool and to Grimsby in the United Kingdom.

At the suggestion of Onesimos, the ↗Evangeliska Fosterlands Stiftelsen (EFS) called C. to lead their fourth Oromo expedition in 1892. Before his departure he took a course in medical training at Livingstone College, Leyton in Great Britain, for further qualification. The missionaries arrived at Lamu (now Kenya) in December 1893. However, their initial plan to reach the ↗Boorana, west of Lake Rudolf (↗Turkana) failed and the attempt was abandoned in 1895. C. returned to ↗Ǝmkullu where the EFS had a mission station and C. spent three challenging years in the mission stations at Ǝmkullu and Kismayu. Finally he initiated the "Juba Mission" in 1898, aiming to proselytize the people living along the ↗Ganaale. The plan was abandoned in 1902, after which C. returned to Sweden.

Onesimos wanted C. to join him in a Gospel ministry among the Oromo in ↗Wälläga, while the latter had his mind still set on the Boorana. When C. arrived in Addis Abäba, on March 29, 1904, sick and worn out, Onesimos had already left. C. decided to remain in Addis Abäba. His initial efforts to engage the ↗British and Foreign Bible Society in selling religious books failed. In the meantime C. independently engaged himself in selling religious books, in private tuition and in importing ↗Bibles and other religious publications in Amharic. In 1906 he opened a simple school in Addis Abäba, which later developed into a small worshipping congregation.

In 1912 C. bought a plot of land on which a more permanent school (later known as the "English School") and clinic were to be built. Classes were held in Bible studies, Amharic, English, history, geography, science, hygiene and singing. C. also imported large amounts of medicine for treatment and even distributed it to other missionary clinics in the country. He took particular interest in the treatment of women, children and slaves, as the high costs generally made medical treatment inaccessible for them. His care of the sick earned him the title *hakim* among the locals.

When *abunä* ↗Matewos came to power he tried to chase out ↗Protestantism. C. encouraged and helped those people with Evangelical persuasion or sympathies such as *aläqa* ↗Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam or ↗Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase in their work. Teachers and students in C.'s Evangelical mission station were constantly threatened with sanctions from Matewos.

Karl Cederqvist; photo ca. 1890s, from the archive of the Swedish Evangelical Mission, Uppsala

In November 1918 the entire country suffered from an outbreak of flu, but C. continued to visit and treat the sick. However, his personal health suffered. In the end he succumbed to a stroke and was buried in Addis Abäba in the presence of many missionaries and students.

Src.: KARL CEDERQVIST, *En resa genom borannagallaernas land*, Stockholm 1897; ID., "En resa I Gallaland", *Varde Ljus* 1906, 68–123; ID., "Islam and Christianity in Abyssinia", *The Moslem World* 2, 2, 1912, 152–56; private journals of Karl Cederqvist, June 1894–Nov. 1898, Dec. 1898–Dec. 1904, Jan.–Oct. 1919 Stockholm Stadsarkiv.

Lit.: ArEvang s. index; GUSTAV ARÉN, *Envoys of the Gospel in Ethiopia*: *in the Steps of the Evangelical Pioneers, 1898–1936*, Stockholm – Addis Abeba 1999 (Studia missionalia Upsalensia 75), 105–74, et passim; ESKIL FORSLUND – PELLE SÖDERBÄCK, *Karl Cederqvist*, *från Spannarboda till Addis Abeba*, Västerås 2011 (Stiftshistoriska sällskapets i Västerås stift skriftserie 5); ALLAN HOFGREN, *Med Gud och hans vänskap*, Stockholm 1956, 212f., 217, 224, 229; NILS HYLANDER, *Karl Cederqvist – en banbrytare för Gallamissionen*, Stockholm 1920; KARL JOHAN LUNDSTRÖM – EZRA GEBREMEDHIN, *Kenisha*: *The Roots and Development of the Evangelical Church of Eritrea*, Uppsala 2012, s. index.

Ezra Gebremedhin

Chernetsov, Sevir

C. (Sevir Borisovič Černetsov; b. 15 December 1943, Kostroma, d. 3 February 2005, St. Petersburg) revived the traditions of classical ↗Ethiopian Studies in Russia after a gap of 50 years.

C. was born in an evacuated officer's family (during World War II) and grew up in Leningrad (now St. Petersburg). In 1961, he enrolled at the Department of African Studies of the Oriental Faculty of the Leningrad State University (Amharic section), headed by Dmitrij Olderogge. He graduated in 1967, and the same year he joined the Kunstkamera (the Leningrad section of the Institute of Ethnography) as research assistant to Olderogge who was head of the African section. In August 1971 C. married the scholar of Old Russian literature Milena Roždestvenskaja, a daughter of the poet Vsevolod Roždestvenskij.

In 1974, C. defended his Ph.D. ("Candidate of Sciences") thesis on Ethiopian ↗magic scrolls, a topic already touched upon by Boris ↗Turaev and lying at the intersection of philology and ethnography.

Two genres of ↗Gəʿəz literature – the royal chronicles and the lives of the saints – were of particular interest to C., mainly because these sources could be used to reconstruct the course of Ethiopian history and understand the essence of the processes that took place in the Horn of Africa during medieval times. Religious studies, including ↗hagiography, were fairly strictly prohibited during the Soviet period, and C. concentrated his efforts on ↗historiography. Over the course of 15 years, he published three volumes of translations of Ethiopian chronicles into Russian, with detailed commentaries (1984, 1989, 1991), taking up another project begun by Turaev. He also completed two monographs on the history of Ethiopia under the ↗Solomonic dynasty up to the end of the 17th cent. (1982, 1990), the former earning him the degree of "Doctor of Sciences" (1984). A history book for students was published posthumously (2004, publ. 2005).

C.'s work at the crossroads between socio-political history and ethnography is best illustrated by his research on the origins of the ↗Amhara (e.g., 1993, 1995).

C. also spent a good deal of time and effort on the Kunstkamera's Ethiopian collections, and prepared a catalogue of the objects of Ethiopian art preserved there (1997).

C. visited Ethiopia twice, to attend the Eighth ↗International Conference of Ethiopian Studies in 1984 and the Eleventh in 1991.

In the early 1990s, C. re-launched the systematic teaching of ↗Gəʿəz at St. Petersburg State University, for the first time since Turaev.

During the last years of his life C. submitted numerous articles to the *Pravoslavnaja enciklopedija* ('Encyclopedia of Orthodoxy', edited under the auspices of the Russian Orthodox Church) and the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*. C. was one of the initiators for the revival of the research periodical *Hristianskij vostok* ('The Christian Orient') in 1999 and was an active member of its editorial board until his demise.

Sevir Chernetsov; photo ca. 2003, courtesy of the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Science, St. Petersburg

Src.: for a complete bibliography s. *VarAeth* xxviii–xli; ANON. [SEVIR ČERNETSOV] (tr.), "Žitie Yafkerana Egzie" ('The Vita of Yafqərännä Ǝgziʾə'), *Bogoslovskie trudy* 10, 1972, 225–51; SEVIR BORISOVIČ ČERNETSOV, *Efiopskie magičeskie svitki: opyt filologo-etnografičeskogo issledovanija* ('Ethiopian Magic Scrolls: an Attempt at a Philological and Ethnographical Analysis'), Ph.D. thesis, St. Petersburg 1974; ID. (tr., comm.), *Efiopskie hroniki XVI–XVII vekov* ('Ethiopian Chronicles of the 16th–17th Cent.'), Moscow 1984; ID. (tr., comm.), *Efiopskie hroniki XVII–XVIII vekov* ('Ethiopian Chronicles of the 17th–18th Cent.'), Moscow 1989; ID. (tr., comm.), *Efiopskie hroniki XVIII veka* ('Ethiopian Chronicles of the 18th Cent.'), Moscow 1991; ID., *Efiopskaja feodal'naja monarhija v XIII–XVI vv.* ('Ethiopian Feudal Monarchy in the 13th–16th Cent.'), Moscow 1982; ID., *Efiopskaja feodal'naja monarhija v XVII veke* ('Ethiopian Feudal Monarchy in the 17th Cent.'), Moscow 1990; ID., *Efiopija v pervye šestnadtsat' vekov našej ery* ('Ethiopia during the First Sixteen Centuries A.D.'), St. Petersburg 2004 [publ. 2005]; ID., "On the Origins of the Amhara", *St. Petersburg Journal of African Studies* 1, 1993, 97–103; ID., "On the Problem of the Ethnogenesis of the Amhara", in: ROLF GUNDLACH – MANFRED KROPP – ANNALIS LEIBUNDGUT (eds.), *Der Sudan in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (*Sudan Past and Present*), Frankfurt a.M. 1995, 17–35; ID., "Ethiopian Traditional Painting: with special reference to the Kunstkamera collection of Ethiopian paintings", *St. Petersburg Journal of African Studies* 6, 1997, 128–55.

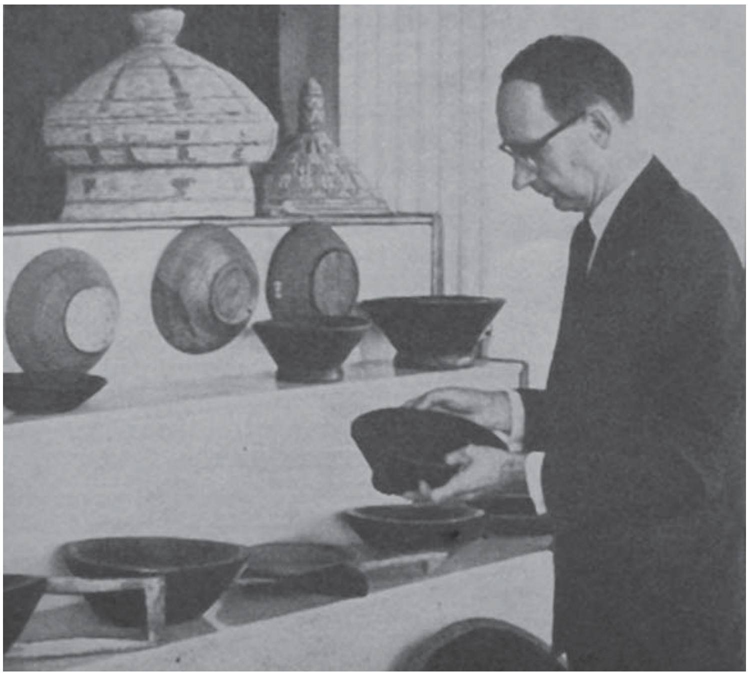
Lit.: ANON. [A.B. DAVIDSON?], "In memoriam. Sevir Borisovič Černecov (1943–2005)", *Vostok* (*Oriens*) 1, 2006, 219–21; SERGEJ FRANTSUZOV, "Učitel' efiopskogo. Pamjati Sevira Borisoviča Černetsova" ('Teacher of Ethiopic. In memoriam Sevir Borisovič Černetsov'), *Antropologičeskij Forum* 2, 2005, 422–30; DENIS NOSNITSIN et al., "Sevir Borisovič Černetsov i russkaja efiopistika" = "Sevir Borisovich Chernetsov and Russian Ethiopian Studies", in: *VarAeth* xi–xix (Rus.) = xx–xxvii (Eng.).

Serguei Frantsouzoff

Chojnacki, Stanislaw

C. (b. 21 October 1915, Riga, Latvia, d. 3 July 2010, Sudbury, Ontario, Canada) was a prominent Polish scholar. The son of Alexander Chojnacki and Wanda, née Sadowska, C. obtained a law degree from Warsaw University in 1937. He subsequently served in the Polish army, and attended the Sorbonne in Paris. At the end of the war he went to Rome and in 1950 he emigrated to Canada. He took an M.A. in Slavonic studies at Montreal University, and was recruited by the Jesuit Lucien ↗Matte as Librarian of the new University College of Addis Ababa (UCAA; ↗Addis Ababa University).

C. established the UCAA library in 1951 with an emphasis on collecting works on Ethiopia. In 1959 he organized the first exhibition of works printed in Ethiopia. C. also began collecting Ethiopian ethnographic objects in the library and instituted a student Ethnological Society: its *Bulletin* ran from 1953 to 1961, and was reprinted in 2002. One of the founders of the Horticultural Society of Ethiopia C. also instructed students in art, organized the UCAA gardens, and collected butterflies and other zoological items, which were later transferred to Addis Abäba's Natural History Museum (s. ↗Museums, EAE vol. 5).



Stanislaw Chojnacki in the Museum of the IES; photo 1960s, courtesy of the IES

With the foundation of the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES) by *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, C. became its librarian and museum curator, as well as co-editor, with Richard Pankhurst, of the ↗*Journal of Ethiopian Studies* and the first volume of a *Dictionary of Ethiopian Biography* (DicEthBio). He built up an extensive ↗manuscript microfilm collection by obtaining copies of films taken by Ernst ↗Hammerschmidt, the UNESCO and the EMML (↗Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library), and foreign diplomatic papers on Ethiopia filmed by Sven Rubenson. To familiarize readers with recent publications he produced *Ethiopian Publications* and several other bibliographical works, including a *Register of Current Research on Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa*, co-edited with Richard Pankhurst. C. joined other librarians in advocating a law of deposit for printed materials – but failed to get one enacted.

In 1967, C. founded a Committee for the Preservation and Restoration of Old Ethiopian Paintings, which was replaced in 1968 by the present Society of Friends of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies. C., with their help developed the world's finest collection of Ethiopian icons and church paintings. He also had a dedicated band of supporters, most notably Däggäfä Gäbrä Ṣadəq, who succeeded him as IES Librarian, Gərma Fəśśəḥa and Täläyyä Gäbrä Mädḫən.

C., whose first writings on Ethiopia were historical works based largely on European travel literature, turned in the 1960s to art appreciation. He wrote on several modern Ethiopian artists, including ↗Gäbrä Krəstos Dästa and ↗Ǝskəndər, before turning extensively to Ethiopian classical art, on which he was soon regarded as an authority. Such detailed studies were subsequently consolidated in his comprehensive monograph *Major Themes in Ethiopian Painting* (ChojPaint), followed by *Ethiopian Icons* (Chojnacki 2000), an extensive Catalogue of the comprehensive IES Collection he had helped to build, and his no less innovative *Ethiopian Crosses: a Cultural History and Chronology* (Id. 2006).

Src.: STANISLAW CHOJNACKI, *Ethiopian Icons*, Milan 2000; ID., *Ethiopian Crosses: a Cultural History and Chronology*, Milan 2006; ID., *Twenty-five Years of Service at the University College and the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa, between 1950 and 1975*, Toronto 2010; ChojPaint. **Lit.:** RICHARD PANKHURST – TADESSE BEYENE (eds.), *Silver Jubilee of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies*, Addis Ababa 1988; ALULA PANKHURST (ed.), *Addis Ababa University College Ethnological Society Bulletin*, Reprint, 1953–61, Addis Ababa 2002; OrbAethChoj xvii–xx (Lit.); ibid. 10, 2006, xi–xii (Lit.); obituaries: *Sudbury Star*, 6 July 2010;

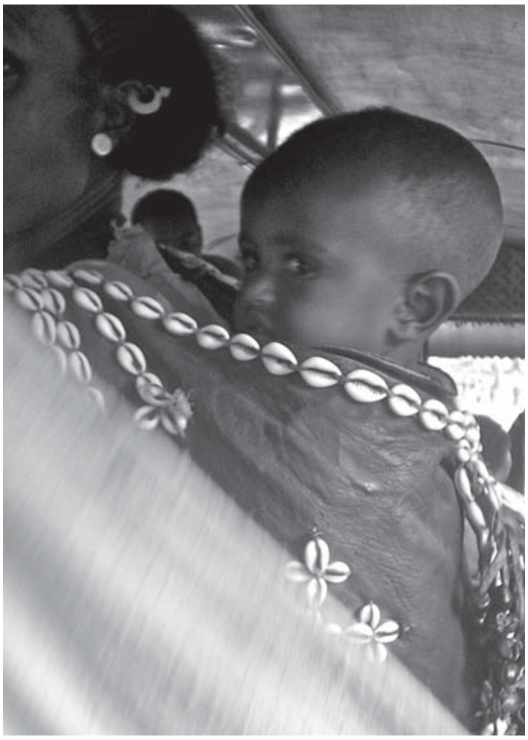
International Journal of Ethiopian Studies 5, 1, 2010, 139–40; RICHARD PANKHURST – RITA PANKHURST, "In memoriam Stanislaw Chojnacki (1915–2010)", *Aethiopica* 14, 2011, 215–21 (Lit.).

Richard Pankhurst

Cowrie(s)

C. snails (Amh. ዛጉል *zagul*; Tgn. ዛዕጎል *za^{c}əgol*; Orom. *elellaani*) from the southern ↗Red Sea and the Indian Ocean are used in the Horn of Africa mostly for decorative purposes. Sometimes they are used in protective charms. In the northern Sudan they were at times used as ↗currency (as in West Africa, where C. money was of great importance). It seems that C. were also used as currency in Ethiopian areas close to the Sudan, such as in ↗Goǧǧam where this is reported in the 1930s (Smidt 2009: 158, n. 23). C. are already mentioned in early Amharic dictionaries (e.g., Isenberg 1841: 158, 179).

C. have been, and still are to some extent, an important export product for the Dahalik, the inhabitants of ↗Dahlak. In the 19th cent., C. were fished in great quantity there (Andree 1869: 161). European merchants were able to buy cheap C. in ↗Massawa, Dahlak and other East African trading centres. There were, e.g., Hamburg merchants in Massawa as early as the 1840s who later established a commercial station in Zanzibar (the first having been ↗Rodatz; s. Smidt 2007) and transported C. to West Africa.



A woman carrying her baby with a cowrie-decorated *maḥasäl*, ^{c}Adwa, Təgray; photo 2005, courtesy of the author

C. were transported far inland. All over Ethiopia, in a remarkable number of ethnic groups, C. are consistently used as a decoration on leather clothes, mainly worn by women and their babies, and on milk utensils. For example, milk containers of the ↗Boorana are decorated with C. Leather stripes holding babies on the backs of their mothers are extensively covered by C., e.g., among the Tägaru (↗Təgrəñña-speakers) and Boorana. These C.-decorated leather "bags" for babies (s. ill.) play a role, for example, in the Təgrayan Christian annual fertility feast of *Abrəha wä Aṣbəḥa*, which is practised by women who wish to become pregnant (not described yet in ethnological literature, but notable in this context).

The fact that the usage of C. is widely related to babies, children, women and milk utensils, suggests that their use may once have been widely associated with a special power of the C., protecting against ↗spirits, as these persons, and also milk, are imagined as especially vulnerable. C. are also used for children and women's necklaces (↗Jewellery), and in such cases the owners, as documented in ↗Təgray, consider them as amulets (cp. ↗*ṭälsäm*). C. may occasionally be used for decorating the bracelets of young men, both in the highlands and among diverse ethnic groups in south-western Ethiopia. C. also appear in local folk traditions; e.g., there is a Boorana tale concerning a C. necklace lost by a woman, a loss which leads to numerous misdeeds (Sahlu Kidane 2002: 101–04). A ritually important belt decorated with C. played a key-role in peacemaking rituals among some Oromo groups; the group receiving the belt could not refuse reconciliation (for details on the cultural role of C. among the Boorana s. Leus – Salvadori 2006). The *gorfa*, a milk container of the Boorana exclusively woven by women and also linked with women's rituals, is usually decorated by C., fixed with giraffe tail hair (Bassi 1999: 82f.; but, as C. are expensive, sometimes *gorfa* are used before the decoration is added, which however, is generally seen as necessary; ibid. 74ff., 83, 86). Woven milk containers are associated with fertility and abundance, and, by extension, with the reproductive capacity of the family (ibid. 75f.).

A concrete explanation of why a special power may be associated with C. is not usually offered by locals; one may hear that it reminds one of an eye, thus protecting against the evil eye; in ethnological literature one can also find the explanation that the "identification of the woven container (*gorfa*) with the female body is again stressed, in my opinion, by the C. shells attached to the *gorfa* container, symbolizing, by formal analogy, the vagina" (ibid. 76).

Archaeological research demonstrated the importance of C. for ancient cultures. In Late ↗Gaš Group burials (ca. 1700–1500 B.C.) several "crowns" of C., originally fixed on perishable material, were found. Even earlier, in the late Neolithic period (4th millennium B.C.), C. were used in personal adornments. Due to their rareness, being imported from far, it seems that they were regarded as appealing items and possibly also as markers of rank. The earliest example of a C. clearly linked with a high social rank is the 1st-cent. B.C. golden crown of a Meroïtic noble with a C. as part of its decoration (s. ill.; from the Graveyard West, Meroë, now kept in the Boston Museum). During recent research in Yəha a C. was found in sediments dated around 800 B.C., i.e. the Ethio-Sabaean period, reworked as it is still done today for decorative purposes.

Src.: field notes of the author, Təgray, 2005, 2008, 2011; personal communication by Andrea Manzo, 2008 (Gaš Group), by Chikage Oba-Smidt, 2005 [Boorana] and by Claude Rilly, 2010 [Meroë]; RICHARD ANDREE, *Abessinien, das Alpenland unter den Tropen und seine Grenzländer*, Leipzig 1869, 161; CHARLES ISENBERG, *Dictionary of the Amharic Language*, London 1841, 158, 179; SAHLU KIDANE, *Borana Folktales: a Contextual Study*, London – New Brunswick, NJ 2002, 101–04.

Lit.: MARCO BASSI, "Every Woman an Artist: the Milk Containers of Elema Boru", in: RAYMOND A. SILVERMAN, *Ethiopia, Traditions of Creativity*, East Lansing, MI – Seattle, WA – London 1999, 64–86, here 67, 71, 80, 82f. (ills.); TON LEUS – CYNTHIA SALVADORI, *Aadaa Boraanaa – A Dictionary of Borana Culture*, Addis Ababa 2006; WOLBERT G.C. SMIDT, "Der spanische Säulenpiaster als Vorläufer des Maria-Theresien-Thalers, Internationales Silbergeld im lokalen Kontext in den nordäthiopischen Grenzgebieten und dem Tiefland Erythräas", *Money Trend* 41, 4, April 2009, 152–58; ID., "Pre-Colonial Exploration: the Sea Captain Rodatz in Massawa and Tigray 1843–48 – the Quest for a Commercial Station at the East African Coast for Hamburg", *JES* 40, 1–2 [= HERAN SEREKE-BRHAN – BAYE YIMAM – GEBRE YNTISO (eds.), *Festschrift Dedicated in Honour of Prof. Richard & Mrs. Rita Pankhurst*], 2007 [2010], 331–52; DIETRICH WILDUNG, *Le Trésor de Méroé. Soudan, Royaumes sur le Nil Catalogue de l'exposition I.M.A. (Paris) 1997*, Paris 1997, 301–40.

Wolbert G.C. Smidt

Däbrä Maᶜṣo

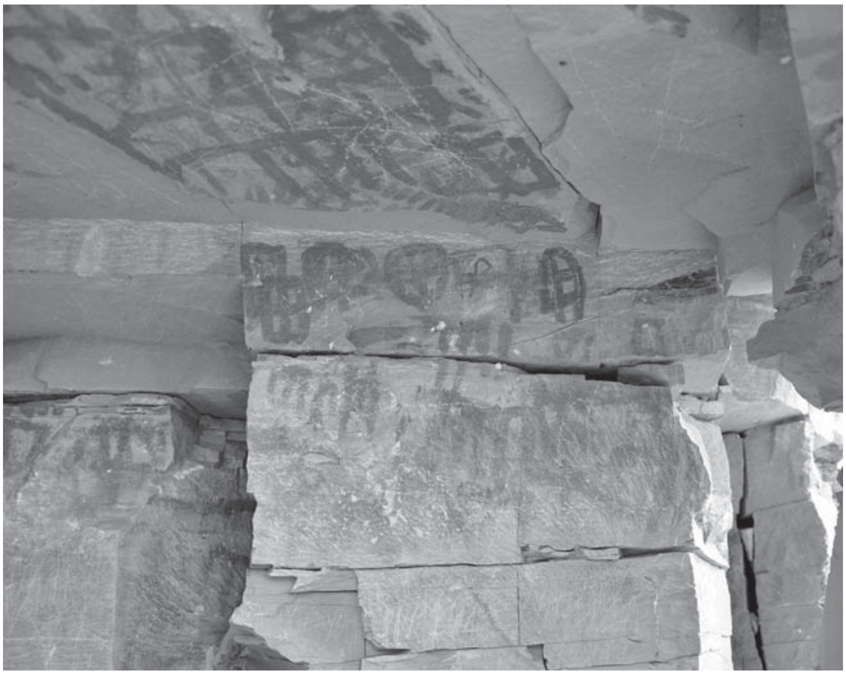
D.M. (**ደብረ ፡ ማዕጾ**, from Gəᶜəz/Tgn. *maᶜṣo*, ‘gate, door’, LesCDic 75b, KaneTDic 1945a) is an ↗*amba* in Gulo Mäḵäda, East Təgray (for location s. Däbrä Zäyt, EAE vol. 5), prominent for its ancient church dedicated to St. ↗John the Baptist, Däbrä Maᶜṣo Yoḥannəs.

The earliest mention of the region and community can be found in the *Mäṣḥafä ↗Aksum*, where D.M. appears as a tributary to ↗Aksum Ṣəyon (CRAxum 11, 20 [text]). The context in which the official bearing the title of *śəyyumä Maᶜṣo* features in the documents collected in the Golden Gospel of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Ham (CRDLib nos. 9–10) suggests that the governor of the D.M. area was active in political struggle against the 13th-cent. emperor ↗Yəkunno Amlak (the title later reappears in the documents CRDLib nos. 11, 14f., 17, 20, 22). The Acts of the 15th-cent. *abunä* ↗Ǝsṭifanos mention that the saint was brought to D.M. for punishment (Getatchew Haile 2006: 60 [tr.]). Also in the 15th cent., *aṣe* ↗Bäᵓədä Maryam used D.M. as prison (PerrZarY 129). The district also features in the registers of the ↗*Śərᶜatä mängəśt* (Varenbergh 1915–16: 13; s. also HuntGeogr 247, 249ff. “Däbrä Mäḥəšo”).

The present church building is a recent rectangular construction in traditional Təgrayan style.

The manuscript collection of D.M. contains some old manuscripts witnessing to the former importance of the site, e.g., a homiliary collection which, according to a note, was donated to the church by *aṣe* ↗Dawit II in the late 14th-early 15th cent. and an old Four Gospels book probably from the same period.

Src.: CRAxum 11, 20 (text) = 11, 23 (tr.); CRDLib nos. 9ff., 14f., 17, 20, 22; GETATCHEW HAILE (ed., tr.), *The Gəᶜəz Acts of Abba Ǝsṭifanos of Gʷəndagʷənde*, Lovanii 2006 (CSCO 619, 620 [SAe 110, 111]), 60 (tr.); HuntGeogr 247, 249ff.; KaneTDic 1945a; LesCDic 75b; PerrZarY 129; JOSEPH VARENBERGH, “Studien zur abessinischen Reichsordnung (Šerᶜata Mangešt)”, *ZA* 30, 1915–16, 1–45.



Rock paintings in a grotto in the vicinity of Däbrä Maᶜṣo; photo 2010, courtesy of the author

Lit.: DENIS NOSNITSIN, “The Manuscript Collection of Däbrä Maᶜṣo Qəddus Yoḥannəs (Təgray, Ethiopia): a First Assessment”, *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Newsletter* 1, 2011, 24–27; ID., “The Four Gospel Book of Däbrä Maᶜṣo and its Marginal Notes. Part 1: Note on the Commemoration of Patriarch ᵓAstona”, *ibid.* 4, 2012, 24–31; ID., Churches and Monasteries of Təgray: A Survey of Manuscript Collections”, Wiesbaden 2013a (Aethiopica Supplement 1), 24–30; ID., “The Four Gospel Book of Däbrä Maᶜṣo and its Marginal Notes, part 2: An Exercise in Ethiopian Palaeography”, *ibid.* 6, 2013b, 29–33.

Denis Nosnitsin

Däbrä Zäyt

D.Z. (**ደብረ ፡ ዘይት**) is a historical site in the present day Gulo Mäk̠äda *wäräda*, East Təgray.

The recently documented site (Nosnitsin 2011; 2013: 16–24) is located not far from ↗ᶜAddigrat, a few kilometres away from the old rural road connecting the area of ᶜAddigrat and the district where the monastery of ↗Däbrä Dammo is situated. The site lies on several terraces under a cliff. Its more recent part accommodates a few household structures, a recent rectangular church (constructed in the 1980s), a sacristy (*əqa bet*), and a bell tower. A gate-house is located at a lower level. Behind a wall, older structures are located including the old church, the former *əqa bet*, as well as a cave with a ↗*ṣäbäl*-source.

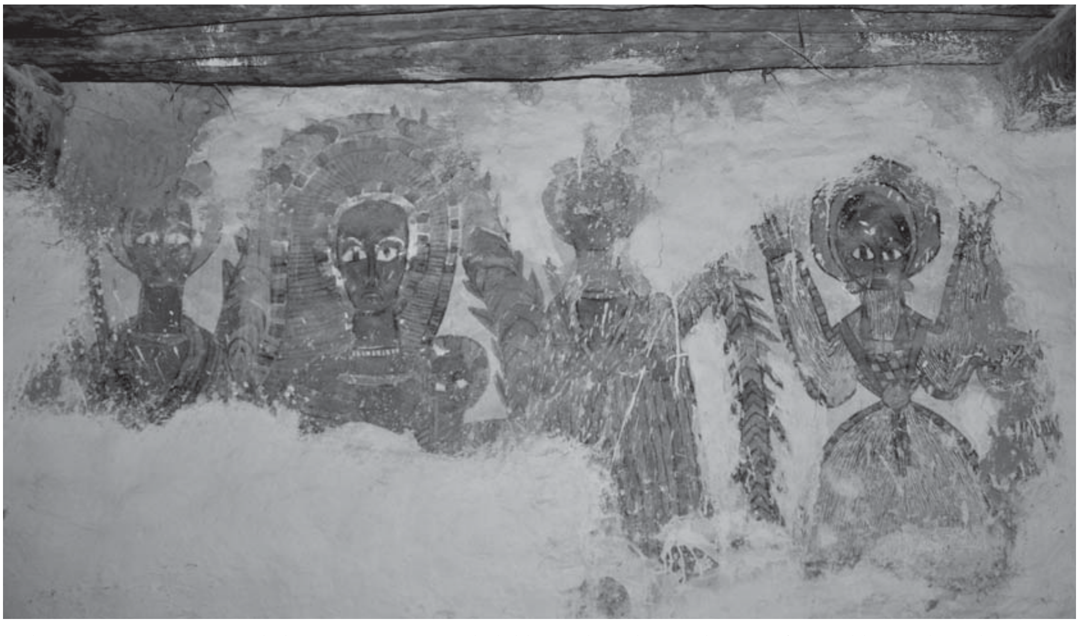
The most remarkable structure of the site is the church of D.Z.: a small medieval basilica-like building with one nave and two rows of timber columns (four in each one) inside, and a narthex. According to local tradition, it was constructed in the 16th–17th cent. The church luckily escaped destruction and renovation. Some wall ↗paintings (partly whitewashed), possibly contemporary with the foundation, are still preserved. They may have been executed by the same painter who decorated the nearby church of Araᶜro Täklä Haymanot (described in Lepage – Mercier 2005: 206f.).

The ↗*tabot* is preserved in the *mäqdäs* located in the eastern part of the church and screened off by a curtain; the *mänbärä tabot* is placed in an apse formed by a stone barrier and a rough arch above. The roof of the church is flat, with a dome over the sanctuary indicating the presence of a cupola inside. Beside the main entrance, there is one small door and one window in the northern wall of the narthex, one window in the northern wall of the nave, and a door and a window in the eastern wall of the church building.

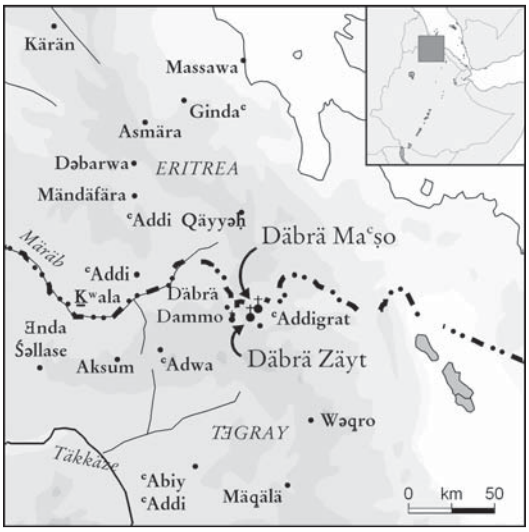
An ↗inscription in vocalized Gəᶜəz as well as crosses are carved into the rock surface above the rock-cut stairway located behind the church.

The history of the site is virtually unknown. According to local tradition, the oldest construction on the site was a pre-Christian temple, referred to as an ‘Old Testament synagogue’ (*yä-Orit məkʷərab*), and the first church was constructed during the time of the Aksumite king ↗Bazen. The only mention of the site in historical records seems to be in the ↗*gʷəlt* of the 14th-cent. ruler ↗Yaᶜəbikä Ǝgziᵓ preserved in the Golden Gospel of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Ham (CRDLib 26, no. 17). This document mentions an ↗*ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* of D.Z., Täsfa Ṣəyon.

The church library possesses a number of old manuscripts (most of them in poor condition). Among them, there are fragments of a 14th- and a



Däbrä Zäyt, 16th-cent. mural showing St. Mary and child, angels and St. Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus (right); photo 2011, courtesy of the author



15th-cent. Gospel books, and a fine (15th- or 16th-cent.?) "leporello", with eleven miniatures depicting scenes with the Holy Family and saints on one side and a text (a miracle of Mary) on the other side. A codex with the ↗*Haymanotä abäw*, dating back possibly to the mid-16th cent., may be among the oldest known copies of the work. Among the paraphernalia, the church possesses two fine triptychs (one of them with clear traces of European influences).

Src.: CRDLib 26, no. 17; author's field notes.

Lit.: CLAUDE LEPAGE – JACQUES MERCIER, *Les églises historiques du Tigray. Ethiopian Art. The Ancient Churches of Tigray*, Paris 2005, 206f.; DENIS NOSNITSIN, "The Antiquities of Däbrä Zäyt Qəddəst Maryam", *Aethiopica* 14, 2011, 33–46 (Lit.); ID., *Churches and Monasteries of Təgray: A Survey of Manuscript Collections*, Wiesbaden 2013 (Aethiopica Supplement 1), 16–24.

Denis Nosnitsin

Dabrimēla

D. is a semi-autonomous ↗Sāho group which owes its name to Mount Däbra of the Mola chain in the south of ↗Akkälä Guzay (PollEr 268, TrIslam 178f.; for location s. Sāho, EAE vol. 4, 469). According to some traditions, D. belong to the ↗Minifire Sāho, with whom they also share the same dialect (Mina, Central ↗Sāho).

There are two D. clans: Labhale-t ᶜAre ('the house of Labhalé [lit. 'one of male descent', the eponymous ancestor of this lineage]') and Alades ᶜAre (Ala des, 'one who hides his goats', was the eponymous ancestor of this lineage).

The Labhale-t ᶜAre are sedentary farmers, they also breed livestock for their subsistence economy. Their centres are Makko and Šəmäzana in Eritrea and Monoḫsayto in Təgray, Ethiopia. A Labhale-t ᶜAre branch, Seehorma, lives in the ↗Irob area. Labhale-t ᶜAre are predominantly Christians; most are bilingual in Təgrəñña.

The Alades ᶜAre are nomads who migrate between the Däbra and ↗Amba Soyra mountains where they interact with the ↗Ḥazo and the Gaᶜasó from the Minifire clan group. Their centre is at Assad on the Upper ᶜIndēli. The Alades ᶜAre are predominantly Muslims.

The Qādīdá clans of ↗Zula, who are of D. origin, had been ruled by the ↗*nāʾib* of Ḥərgigo until they were freed by the Italians and allowed to have their own *rēdanto*. In the 1931 Italian census, they appeared (as Bet Ḫalīfa and Bet Šek Maḥmud) as part of the ᶜAsawərta Lēliš ᶜAre (↗Asaorta). The Qādīdá are bilingual in Təgre.

The D. clans are headed by traditional chiefs (*rēdanto*). During the time of the ↗Africa Orientale Italiana and the ↗British Military Administration they, like most other surrounding Sāho tribes, were administered by the Minifire chief ᶜAlī Bey. In the second half of the 20th cent., the Labhale-t ᶜAre were headed by *rēdanto* Gäbrä Abrəham and more recently by *ləğ* Abärra. Alades ᶜAre were headed by *ḥağği* ᶜAbdallāh in the second half of the 20th cent., who was succeeded by his son Aḥmad Ṣālih.

Several versions of D. origin exist. A tradition suggests that the D. were founded in the late 17th cent. by a certain Ismāᶜīl, who claimed descent from a (clearly legendary) *sulṭān* Girgis of Istanbul (if he was a historical person, Ismāᶜīl can have been a tax collector, or a deserter, of the Turkish troops in ↗Massawa, s. PollEr 269, LewPeople 175). Seeking the origin far outside is, however, a wide-spread ancestral myth among the ethnic groups of the Horn of Africa. In this case one could also think of a political allegiance at a certain moment in Sāho history: groups under Turkish (Ottoman, Egyptian) influence referred to Turkish rulers, whilst those under Ethiopian influence referred to Ethiopian rulers (e.g., *aṣe* ↗Minas for Minifire; ↗Dawit for the Dawut *Šuma* sublineage of the Labhale-t ᶜAre).

Most D. claim their descent from the Dahimmēla sub-group of the ↗ᶜAdohyammára ᶜAfar who are believed to have settled in the area between eight and ten generations before the Turks, i.e. in the 12th–13th cent. (interview with Täsfa Maryam, who also mentioned Ismāᶜīl settling among an already existing D. tribe). The Dahim-mēla had good trade connections with the Təgrayan powerbase at that time (TrIslam 171). They could have penetrated the Sāho areas to secure the caravan route to Təgray, and later settled and mixed with the local population (but cf. Conti Rossini 1904: 45f.).

Pollera (in 1935) hypothesized that the D. group (which at his time numbered ca. 1,000, PollEr 272) is actually formed by people of different descent who settled around the monastery of Däbrä Maryam which was once flourishing on Mount Däbra – and to which the mountain itself owes its name. Once the monastery declined, the people who depended on it needed a common identity to justify their territorial claims (PollEr 269; this theory is opposed by most D. who do not want being associated with Christian Semitic Ethiopia).

Src.: FERDINANDO MARTINI, *Il Diario eritreo*, vol. 3, Roma 1946, 413f.; LEO REINISCH, *Die Saho-Sprache*, vol. 1: *Texte*, Wien 1889, 38f.; interview with Täsfa Maryam [Labhale-t ^{c}Are], Asmära 2005.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Al Rágali", *Bollettino della Società Italiana di Esplorazioni Geografiche e Commerciali* 18, 1903, 241–51, 276–81, 297–303, 325–27, 340–42; 19, 1904, 5–8, 2024, 37–42, 51–56, 72–74, 112–22 [offpr. Milano 1903]; LewPeople 175; DIDIER MORIN, *Le texte légitime*: *pratiques littéraires orales traditionnelles en Afrique du nord-est*, Paris 1999, 23f.; NadEr; PollEr 268–73; TrIslam 36, 171, 178f.

Abdulkader Saleh

Dähne Wäldä Maryam

Qäññazmač D. (**ደህኔ ፡ ወልደ ፡ ማርያም**; b. 28 September 1882, Sälla Dəngay, Šäwa, d. 25 January 1964, Addis Abäbä) was an important politician in the service of consecutive governments of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu, Empress ↗Zäwditu and *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I.

D. was the son of *baššа* Wäldä Maryam Ǝsṭifanos, a veteran of the Battle of ↗^{c}Adwa, and *wäyzäro* Wälättä Yoḥannəs Wale Tädahäññ. He completed his traditional education, tutored by a teacher from the ↗Zəq^{w}ala monastery, and started to work in the office of *ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz* ↗Gäbrä Śəllase, joining Mənilək's service at the age of 13. He was soon after assigned to the Emperor's immediate office, serving there for over a decade and a half as private secretary. D. held several posts such as: Secretary responsible for foreign affairs; Secretary of the Council of Ministers under *ləǧ* Iyasu, and Director General of the Ministry of the Pen (1917–28). In addition, he was head of the first ↗printing press.

Empress Zäwditu also relied on D. as one of her loyal and closest advisors and aides. This status was not accepted by the then regent *ras* Täfäri (later *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I) who eventually suspected D. of helping the Chief of the ↗Imperial Bodyguards to stage a short-lived opposition to Täfäri's growing power. The Empress refused Täfäri's request for the detention of D., but he was removed from Addis Abäba and was appointed ↗*näggadras* of the ↗Arsi Province.

Dähne Wäldä Maryam in the 1950s; from the collection of the family

Apart from special assignments such as organizing the national exhibition on the occasion of Ḫaylä Śəllase's ↗coronation, and serving as controller of Mənilək Memorial House, he was appointed *näggadras* of ↗Ǧimma, ↗Gumma, and ↗Ǧanǧäro.

During the ↗Italian war of 1935–36, D. joined *ras* ↗Kaśa Ḫaylu's army and went to the front in March 1935. After the ↗Graziani massacre of 19 February 1937, the Italians deported him to the Sardinian island of Asinara where he was incarcerated until June 1939. After the Liberation he returned to Ethiopia with the Emperor.

During the post-war period, D. was given the task, together with *bitwäddäd* ↗Mäk^{w}ännən Ǝndalkaččäw, of restarting the post-war government and of ensuring stability and security in Addis Abäba. He held several posts such as administrator in the Ministry of the Interior on matters related to justice and commerce, and the management of enemy properties in the twelve provinces; he was chairman of the Disciplinary Committee and a principal advisor in establishing the Ministry of Pensions and the pension system. He was appointed first Vice-President of the Lower House of ↗Parliament and became a member of the Upper House (1956–60).

D. was buried at Wämbär Maryam Church in Zəqʷala.

Src.: interview with Dr. Abebe Ambachew Dehne, New York City, September 2010; GebMolIyas 445, n. 542; MÄRSƎᶜE HAZÄN WÄLDÄ QIRQOS, **የዘመን ፡ ታሪክ ፡ ትዝታዬ** … 1896–1922 (*Yäzämän tarik təzzətaye … 1896–1922*, 'My Memories of the History of the Time … 1896–1922'), Addis Abäba 1999 A.M. [2006/07 A.D.], s. index.

Lit.: ZÄWDÄ RÄTTA, **ተፈሪ ፡ መኮንን** *1884–1922* ('Täfäri Mäkonnən 1884–1922'), Addis Abäba ^{2}1998 ; ID., **የቀዳማዊ ፡ ኃይለ ፡ ሥላሴ ፡ መንግሥት** (*Yäqädamawi Ḫaylä Śəllase Mängəśt*, 'The Government of Ḫaylä Śəllase'), New Delhi 2012.

Getachew Metaferia

Dämbäzan

D. (**ደምበዛን**, also **ድምበዛን**, Dəmbäzan, and **ድምብዛን**, Dəmbəzan) is a historical region in Eritrea at the edge of the ↗Ḥamasen plateau. Today it forms an administrative unit within sub-*zoba* ᶜAddi Täkälezan of *zoba* ᶜAnsäba and includes the villages of ↗ᶜAd[di] Täkälezan, ᶜAddi Kolom, ↗Däqqämḥare, Šəmanəguś Laᶜəlay, Šəmanəguś Taḥtay, Gäššənašəm, Däqqi Zärᵓu, Däqqi Gäbru, Gʷälagul, Hayyälo, Guritat and Wara. It also includes the historical village of ↗Ǝmba Dorḥo.

In the past, the historic district of D. commanded the strategic northern approaches to the central highlands of Eritrea. Its location had in various historical periods made the area an important stopping point to the coast during the medieval times. The antiquity of human settlement in this district goes back to the 3rd cent. A.D. at the latest, when the first significant historical witness documenting the appurtenance of D. to the Aksumite sphere of influence, i.e. the Greek Aksumite inscription of king ↗Sembrouthes (RIÉ no. 275), is attested.

Earlier than the 15th cent., the inhabitants appear to have been descendants of ↗Agäw speakers who came from the region of ↗Lasta in north-central Ethiopia, during one of the various waves of Agäw migrations investing the region and giving origins to different ethnic groups (Conti Rossini 1916: 631f.), from the ↗Bilin to the north (probably once occupying also the D., from where they were expelled by a second Agäw wave) up to the ↗Adkämä Məlgaᵓ in the central Ḥamasen and ↗Säraye. The region of D. shares the characteristic distinction of its population in dominant and subordinate groups founded upon lineage, i.e. ↗*šəmagälle* (i.e. descendants from Agäw people) and ↗*təgre* – as it largely happens among the ↗Təgre-speakers, yet rarely among the ↗Təgrəñña speakers (Perini 1895: 236ff.).

The name of the region is likely to retain the word *dämbä*, *dämba*, 'enclosure where animals are kept durign the night' (KaneTDic 2064), present in Təgrəñña, but especially attested in areas where Agäw people settled (cp. Conti Rossini 1938: 791): this hypothesis could also lead to the explanation of D. as a composite term consisting of *dämba*, and *zan* 'elephant', the latter term being proper of the Agäw languages (**ʒan-a*). The derived notion of 'king', and not the primitive of 'elephant', however, is probably used here (cp. KolTrad III, 57, 59). It is uncertain whether the name of **ጅመጃን** Ǧəmmäǧan also used for D. (LitPEA I, 287 [text], II, 344 [tr.]; Perini 1895: 236) has to be interpreted as a variant of D. or as an independent element plus the *zan/žan* element. Other connections are however possible, also independent Ethio-Semitic roots *dnbz* 'support, sustain' (and also *dnbs* 'wrap up, roll up') being attested (cp. Cohen et al. 1993: 278; LesCDic 136).

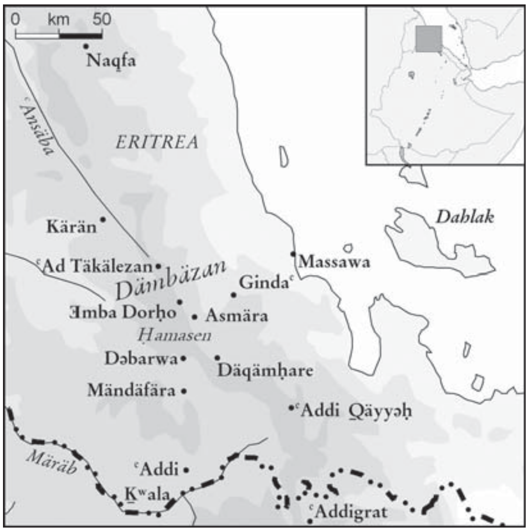
The genealogical traditions collected by Kolmodin assign an important place to D. as one of the main historical districts of Ḥamasen (KolTrad II, 242), and indicates in "Dəmbəzanoy son of Faluq" the eponymous key figure in the genealogy of one of the main branches of Ḥamasen people (ibid. I–II, no. 13), while another tradition credits the inhabitants of D. together with those of ↗Karnäššəm to be the descendants of the tribe of Levi (ibid. no. 32). The existence of a D. (with the title of ↗*käntiba*, a frequent one for the rulers of D.) early attested by oral traditions at the middle of the 14th cent. (ibid. III, xif.), i.e. at the most remote limit of the reliable oral tradition, is also found in written sources, which numbers among the ancestors of ↗Ḥazzäga an older Dəmbäzan "the cripple", son of Ankəzan, and a younger Dəmbäzan son of Šəmanəguś (ibid. 56f., 58 [text from the Golden Gospel of Ḥazzäga], 60 [tr.]; also ibid. I–II, nos. 5, 8, 13).

According to written traditions in the possession of the monastery of ↗Däbrä Bizän (cp.

Conti Rossini 1900: 164f.) and also published together with documents of the *Mäṣḥafä ↗Aksum* (CRAxum 23 [tx.], 26 [tr.], doc. no. 11) – yet from a special source which is indicated as "Eryth.", i.e. a manuscript copied by Conti Rossini himself in Eritrea and probably directly emanating from the archive of the monastery – D. was given as a personal and feudal irrevocable hereditary possession (*↗rəst*) to ↗Filəp̣p̣os of Däbrä Bizän by *aṣe* Dawit, whereas different rights over other lands were extended and renewed in the following time by *aṣe* Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, *aṣe* Ləbnä Dəngəl and *aṣe* Gälawdewos. In colonial times the rights of Däbrä Bizän on D. as well as over other areas were dismissed by the Italian authorities, and probably in this connection Conti Rossini (1916: 399f.) later maintained the scarce reliability of the documents on which Däbrä Bizän had based its claims in the past. It is uncertain whether "the two Dəmbaza" listed by the same *Mäṣḥafä Aksum* concerning tributes (CRAxum 8 [tr.], 8 [tx.], doc. no. 3) can be related to D. So uncertain is the identification with D. of the hereditary property and feudal rights of "Debezanà" owned by "Endoninàs del Takalà" (Conti Rossini 1916: 409f.).

During the 18th cent., the district witnessed fierce rivalry and feud between the various descent groups. Italian colonial rule and the construction of the Asmära-Käräan road in the 1920s made ᶜAd Täkälezan the commercial centre for the surrounding region. During the 1970s, the ↗Eritrean People's Liberation Front had used the district as a garrison against the armies of the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council). At present, the area of D. is inhabited mostly by Təgrəñña speakers who make a living in agriculture, livestock herding and commercial activity. They are Christians (Orthodox Täwaḥədo, Protestants and Catholics), with a significant Muslim minority.

The district is also known to have produced its own ↗customary law (*ḥəggi*, cp. ↗Law: traditional law books) which for centuries was transmitted orally but was put into writing in Təgrəñña only during the 19th cent. It was valid throughout the Italian and British colonial periods and attempts to change this traditional form of justice was not made until after the federation of Eritrea and Ethiopia in 1952 and the annexation of the former by the latter in 1962. *Ḥəggi Dämbäzan* reflects the factual or legendary descent of the people of this district from a common ancestor (Dämbäzanoy, s. above) and their adoption of the customary law as binding. The law deals with disputes about land tenure, criminal offences, marriage and divorce, dowry and bride wealth, inheritance, blood feud, domestic violence, altercations, adultery, rape, procedure in litigation, etc. The statute was revised and modified at regular intervals and put to the scrutiny of elders' knowledge of legal customs in order to ascertain the continuation of the traditions and pay attention to the needs of communities. The various aspects of the customary law and the information they carried are arranged in short, numbered paragraphs, each bearing a title and thus greatly facilitating access to individual topics. Today *ḥəggi Dämbäzan* still continues to serve as a frame of reference for the administration of justice among its adherents.



Src.: Carlo Conti Rossini, "Il gadla Filpos e il gadla Yoḥannes di Dabra Bizan", *MRALm* ser. 5ª, 8, 1900, 62–170, here 164f.; David Cohen avec la collaboration de François Bron – Antoine Lonnet, *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques ou attestées dans les langues sémitiques comprenant un fichier comparatif de Jean Cantineau*, Fascicule 4: *DHMM – ĐRR*, n.p. [Louvain] 1993, 278; CRAxum 8, 23 (text) = 8, 26 (tr.); KaneTDic 2064, 2066; KolTrad I–II, nos. 5, 8, 13, 32; II, 242 s.v.; III xif., 56-58, 60; LitPEA II, 344; LesCDic 136; RIÉ no. 275.

Lit.: Giovanni Barzano, *Valore e diritto della prole negli statuti consuetudinari dell'altipiano eritreo*, Asmara 1979; Luca G. Castellani, "Recent Developments in Land Tenure Law in Eritrea, Horn of Africa", *Working Paper* 37, Land Tenure Centre, University of Wisconsin, Madison, WI 2000; Carlo Conti Rossini, *Principî di diritto consuetudinario dell'Eritrea*, Roma 1916, 399f., 409f., 631f.; Id., "Saggio sulla toponomastica dell'Eritrea tigrina", *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* ser.

7ª, 3, 1938, 785–816, here 791, 794f.; LYDA FAVALI – ROY PATEMAN, *Blood, Land, and Sex: Legal and Political Pluralism in Eritrea*, Bloomington, IN 2003; FRIEDERIKE KEMINK, *Die Tegreñña-Frauen in Eritrea: Eine Untersuchung der Kodizes des Gewohnheitsrechts 1890–1941*, Stuttgart 1991a (SKK 101); EAD., "The Tegrenna Customary Law Codes", *Paideuma* 37, 1991b, 55–72; FRANCESCA LOCATELLI, "Colonial Justice: Crime and Social Stratification in the 'Native Quarters' of Colonial Asmara, 1890–1941. Preliminary Insights from the Court Records of the Indigenous Tribunal of Hamasén", *NEASt* 10, 3, 2003, 101–15; MULUBERHAN BERHE, "Customary versus Modern Laws of Eritrea and Intangible Cultural Heritage", paper presented at the *National Consultation Convention for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage in Eritrea*, Asmara 2003; RUFFILLO PERINI, "Sulla proprietà fondiaria nel Seraè", *Nuova Antologia* ser. 3ª, 45 (129), 1893, 663–93; ID., *Di qua dal Marèb (Marèb-mellàsc')*, Firenze 1905, 233–41; PollEr 90-93; ALESSANDRO VOLTERRA, "La giustizia coloniale in Eritrea tra diritto comune e diritto consuetudinario", *Africa* (Roma) 63, 2008, 82–107.

Red.

Debné

The ↗ᶜAfar name D. designates (1) a dry-bed river of the upper basin of the Saday, to the North of ↗Obock and (2) an ethnic (sub-)unit which began its migration from that river toward the ↗Gōbaᶜád plain to the south-west and further, toward the Ethiopian escarpment up to the confluence of the ↗Awaš and ↗Käsäm rivers.

Mount Ḥarká near the River D. is the eponymous name of the senior D. lineage, the Ḥarkám mēla ('the people of Ḥarká') and its leading lineage, the Arbāhinto. The direction followed by the D. led by Ulēl Abūsa Arbāhim (ca. at the beginning of the 17th cent.) and the chronology of their migration (s. above) which began in the 16th cent. are known thanks to oral memory based on genealogies. The word *mēla* ('people') is an indication of the heterogeneity of the warriors who gathered under Ulēl Abūsa Arbāhim, along with other peoples from the Wēᶜima area: Adᶜali, Ḥaysamāle, Rukbak Đer mēla and ᶜAblé. Even as late as the middle of the 18th cent., these tribes tried to invade the Áwsa (↗Awsa) oasis, but they were defeated by the ↗Mōdaytó.

Until today the five groups already mentioned maintain their political alliance known as the Debnek Wēᶜima coalition, whose members settled to the south and west of Áwsa. This coalition included the Gibdōso on the middle-Awaš, the Takᶜil and Ḥasōba of Kurbili, the ᶜAblé and Ḥaysamāle around Erer, and the Daḥrumá of Mullu. The Badoytammēla who also originated from the Obock region were not part of the alliance. From a customary point of view, the D. judicial authority encompassed the Ayrolassó, Garaysá, Maᶜanḍiyta, Basōmá, Songog Godá and Mafā groups some of whom stayed in what is now the Republic of ↗Djibouti. A difference must be made between the political and judiciary role of the D. From a political point of view, weakened by the wars seeking to conquer Áwsa, the D. had to withdraw from the Eastern part of the Gōbaᶜád and from the outskirts of Zaylaᶜ, leaving this region to the Somali ↗ᶜIssa who were their pastoralists (HarAeth 151) or part of the sultan's guard (Soleillet 1866: 58). The first indication of a conflict with them occurred in the year 1866. The simultaneous offensive of the ᶜIssa and of the Mōdaytó of Áwsa resulted in the splitting of the D. into two: those at the Awaš-Käsäm confluence and those of the Gōbaᶜád. There, the main sub-groups which settled with the Ḥarkammēlá were the Ayrolassó, Ankáli, Garaysá and Mafā lineages.

The power of the D. was always based more on the personal capacity of their leaders than on birth. As the historic leaders of the coalition, the *abba* ('father') or sultan was always chosen among the D. Arbāhintó. The first to bear this title is Arbāhim b. Ḥamad "Surus", ca. 1770. But due to their followers' heterogeneity, this "fatherhood" never led to a structured sultanate as in the cases of Tağūra and Raḥayto. Rather, it depended on a complex equilibrium as summarized in the saying: *Wēᶜima madᶜa leh, Debne ḍinto leh* ('the Wēᶜima apply the law strictly, the D. have the sense of compromise').

Here, information about the rules of the devolution of power, tax-payments or the alleged fixed residence of the "sultan" in the date-grove of Dikhil given in EAE vol. 2 (article "Gōbaᶜád") must be corrected. The various sub-groups under D. political leadership always lived on their own and did not pay any fixed tribute. The "sultan" had no fixed residence, *a fortiori* in the little date-grove of Dikhil where, prior to the creation of the French military post in 1928, there was no permanent well. The "sultan" Ḥummad b. Loᶜoyta (b. 1830, sultan in 1864) stayed in various places, finally in Lokmōna near Dorra where he died (17 October 1902). Personal ability as well as the strategic geographic location of the D. explains the diplomatic influence gained by some Debnek Wēᶜima elders during the colonial period and their geographic mobility. The road followed by Rochet d'Héricourt during his two journeys to Šäwa was secured by various Debnek Wēᶜima chiefs, starting with the D. *abba* Loᶜoyta b. Arbāhim (Ḥummad b. Loᶜoyta's father), who came into power ca. 1830 and who guided the French traveller on his way to Šäwa in 1839; Ibrāhim b. Ḥammádu of the Ḥaysamāle group; he met Waᶜays b. Ḥagayó in Ḥasanɖēra, whose son, Bitᶜa was to sign the "Déclaration de protectorat faite par le cheikh des cheikhs de Erer" with ↗Lagarde on 2 September 1890.

Src.: HarAeth 151; CHARLES-FRANÇOIS-XAVIER ROCHET, dit D'HÉRICOURT, *Voyage sur la côte orientale de la mer Rouge, dans le pays d'Adel et le royaume de Choa*, Paris 1841; ID., *Second voyage sur les deux rives de la mer Rouge, dans le royaume des Adels et le royaume de Choa*, Paris 1846; PAUL SOLEILLET, *Voyage en Ethiopie* (*janvier 1880–octobre 1884*): *Notes, lettres et documents divers*, Rouen 1866.

Lit.: MorDicAfar 60f., 68f., 136f., 187f., 194f, 269.

Didier Morin

Depui, Laurent Marcel Alphonse

Lieutenant-General D. (b. 5 February 1878, Besançon, d. 18 September 1947 Wād Sāḥil, Tunisia) was soldier, diplomat and administrator in the service of the French colonial administration in the Horn of Africa.

D. was the son of a lance corporal and voluntarily entered the French army at the age of 18 and went to Madagascar in 1899. He was introduced to ↗freemasonry in 1904 when he assumed the position of second lieutenant. During his life, he founded four Masonic lodges under the allegiance of the Grande Loge de France. In 1911, he was posted to the Brigade Indigène de la Côte Française des Somalis (↗Djibouti) He was in charge of recruitment of soldiers and drew a map of the territory. During this time he also wrote the first dictionary of Djibouti-Arabic (1912) and he converted to Islam occasionally assuming the name Chérif Ibrahim Debaoui. After he had led a geographical mission to Ethiopia from March to June 1914, he became the main intelligence agent of the French government in Ethiopia and in the Horn of Africa until 1918. He collected information about the ruling elite of the country and its political context in his unpublished *Journal de Mission officielle en Ethiopie* (*Somaliland*). During spring of 1916, he was in charge of the 2nd and soon afterwards of the 1st Somali battalion. As its captain, D. led this battalion during the Battle of Verdun in France.

From 6 to 25 February 1917, he was in Ethiopia together with the governor of Djibouti to attend the coronation of Empress ↗Zäwditu. During that time, he stayed in the house of *ras* Täfäri (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) whom he had met before in ↗Harär.

Eventually, D. was in charge of recruiting soldiers in the Horn of Africa but he was finally appointed instructor at the French military mission in the *Ḥiǧāz* (today western Saudi Arabia) in April 1917. He was promoted to the rank of commander of the column of the *amīr* ᶜAlī near the town of Medina to help the Arab revolt. It seems that he did not return to Ethiopia. After the mission was dispersed, he joined the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs being appointed to the Consulate at Jeddah. D. was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general in 1931, and he retired three years after and later died in Tunisia where he lived as Chérif Ibrahim Debaoui.

Src.: LAURENT DEPUI, *Dictionnaire français–arabe des dialectes parlés à Djibouti et dans les pays environnants*, Besançon 1912; ID., *Journal de Mission officielle en Ethiopie* (*Somaliland*), ms., Vincennes [n.d.]; Paris, Service historique de la Défense-Terre, "Dossier personnel Laurent Marcel Alphonse Depui", "Papiers Depui 7N868"; Aix-en-Provence, Archives Nationales d'Outre-Mer, "Affaires politiques 123, 126, 133, 3144"; Nantes, Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, "Djedda 105, 106", "Syrie-Liban 666".

Lit.: JEAN-YVES BERTRAND CADI, *Le colonel Ibrahim Depui*: *Le pèlerin de la Mer Rouge, 1878–1947*, Paris 2012; ÉDITH MAILHAC-RAGGINI, *Le capitaine Laurent Depui* (*1878–1947*): *Un agent français sur les deux rives de la mer Rouge*, Paris 1999; EAD., "Laurent Depui, le Lawrence d'Arabie français?", *Pount* 3, 2009, 66–105; ALAIN ROUAUD, "Le premier dictionnaire arabe de Djibouti et son auteur", *ibid.* 1, 2007, 88–99.

Édith Mailhac-Raggini

Dərmən and P̣awlos

Däǧǧazmač D. (**ድርምን**; d. 13 October 1708) and *däǧǧazmač* P̣. (**ጳውሎስ**; d. 13 October 1708) were brothers of ↗Mäläkotawit, one of *aṣe* ↗Iyasu I's concubines and the mother of *aṣe* ↗Täklä Haymanot I. Both were intimately involved in planning and carrying out the murder of Iyasu in October 1706.

In March 1706, the court nobles deposed Iyasu and crowned Täklä Haymanot. Iyasu withdrew into exile to the island of ↗Däq in Lake ↗Ṭana. The nobles feared, however, that Iyasu's supporters in ↗Damot and ↗Goǧǧam might attempt to rescue him and restore him to the throne (as they did). D. and P̣. doubtless participated in these events in ↗Gondär, but they are first mentioned as members of a delegation the court sent in July that persuaded Iyasu to leave Däq island where he resided and go to Č̣əqla Mänzo on Lake Ṭana's eastern shore.

They were ringleaders in a second court-appointed delegation in early October charged with persuading Iyasu to retreat to ↗Wähni Amba, obviously to isolate him from his allies from Damot and Goǧǧam, or with murdering him. When Iyasu adamantly refused to leave Č̣əqla Mänzo, D. and Ṗ., aided by riflemen and Oromo soldiers in the delegation, swiftly dispatched him. D. speared Iyasu, the riflemen shot him, and the conspirators attempted (but failed) to burn Iyasu's body before fleeing. This episode is found in the *Sənkəssar* manuscript BritLibOrient. 660 (s. BudSaint I, LXXVIII). It is a frequent feature in illuminated manuscripts.

Shortly thereafter, Täklä Haymanot appointed D. *däǧǧazmač* and governor of Goǧǧam; Ṗ. was made *däǧǧazmač* of Bägemdər. Later D. used fire and sword to crush a rebellion in Goǧǧam and districts south of Lake Ṭana in 1707.

Under *aṣe* ↗Tewoflos, the regicides were condemned to death. Ṗ. was fetched from his asylum in the church of ↗Qʷäraṣa. On October 13, 1708, the second anniversary of Iyasu's murder, Mäläkotawit and Ṗ. were hanged, D. and the murderer of Täklä Haymanot were speared to death, the remaining conspirators were shot and speared, and their bodies left for wild animals (DombrChr 250; Bosc-Tiessé 2008: 185).

Src.: BassÉt II, 168–72, 176; BegCron 83f., 86–91; BritLibOrient. 660; BruNile II 513–16, 529–35; BudSaint I, LXXVIII; DombrChr 239–46, 248–51.

Lit.: CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ, *Les Îles de la Mémoire: Fabrique des images et écriture de l'histoire dans les églises du Lac Ṭana, Éthiopie, XVIIe–XVIIIe siècle*, Paris 2008 (Histoire ancienne et médiéval 97), 181f., 185, 192; CARLO CONTI-ROSSINI, "Iyasu I re d'etiopia e martire", *RSO* 20, 1942, 65–128, here 123f.

LaVerle B. Berry

Dərsanä Ṣəyon

D.Ṣ. (**ድርሳነ ፡ ጽዮን**, 'Homily [in honour] of ↗Zion') is the title of a Gəᶜəz text mainly devoted to the glorification of the ↗Ark of the Covenant and St. ↗Mary.

In manuscripts, the D.Ṣ. often appears together with the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*, placed before the latter text in a series of composite manuscripts (e.g., "D.Ṣ." ms. from Aksum Ṣəyon [ᶜ*əqa bet* of the *ənda ṣəllat* 'Ark chapel'], 1925 A.M. [1932/33 A.D.], fols. 1r–15v; from Ǝnṭoṭṭo Maryam, 20th cent., fols. 1r–24v) as well as in the ms. from Ṭana Qirqos used for the 2005 printed edition (pp. 1–28). In multiple manuscripts, it is placed after the *Kəbrä nägäśt* (ms. NL 630, 1977 A.M., fols. 44r–59v) or included in the ↗*Dərsanä Maryam* homiliary (e.g., ms. EMML no. 8979, Šəme Maryam, 1884 A.M., fols. 137r–146r; ms. EMML no. 8713, Ṭana Qirqos, 18th cent., fols. 1r–8v; ms. Ṭānāsee 72, 16th cent., fols. 25r–42v [HamTana 77f.: here 18th cent.]). Sometimes, the D.Ṣ. can also be transmitted as an independent text (e.g., ms. NL 273, 15th cent., 39 fols., ms. EMML no 8823, Bäbbäks Däbrä Gännät, 19th cent., 20 fols.; ms. EMML no. 8429, Kota Maryam, 17th cent., 18 fols.). The miscellaneous manuscripts containing the D.Ṣ. frequently also contain such texts as the *Zena Ṣəyon* (ms. NL 630, fols. 59v–67r; EMML no. 8429, fols. 18r–21v), *Täʾammərä Ṣəyon* (ms. EMML no. 8823, fols. 20v–30r; printed 2005: 265–80) and *Mälkəʾa Ṣəyon* (printed 2005: 281–86). A critical edition (with an English translation) has been recently produced (Amsalu Tefera 2011).

The content closely depends on the narration of the *Kəbrä nägäśt* and locates the Ark of the Covenant at the Aksum Ṣəyon cathedral, whereas Zion is used as a metaphor for the Virgin Mary. The text provides no information on the date or the author of the composition; the composer is referred to as **ኖላዌ ፡ አባግዕ ፡ ወአጣሊ** (*nolawe abagəᶜ wäʾaṭale* 'shepherd of sheep and goats'; D.Ṣ. § 99). It seems plausible that the D.Ṣ. was composed after the *Kəbrä nägäśt*, sometime in the 15th cent.

The D.Ṣ. is read during the celebration of *Maryam Ṣəyon* on 21 *Ḫədar* (= 30 November or 1 December; ↗Feasts), the day on which the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC) celebrates the arrival of the Ark of the Covenant in Ethiopia (cp. Amsalu Tefera 2011, § 136; HamTana 78; LesCDic 288; Ermyas Käbbädä Wäldä Yäsus 2004/05: 364; Munro-Hay 2006: 233 n. 34; Mahler 2007). Formerly the priest read the D.Ṣ. inside the *mäqdäs*; today the priest (or anyone devoted to Zion) reads it every morning, standing barefoot under a *dəbab* in front of the *ənda ṣəllat*. After the reading, laymen may kiss the manuscript to receive the blessing. The D.Ṣ. is believed to help infertile women to bear fruit if they make a vow in front of the Ark (implying St. Mary) while carrying the D.Ṣ.

In the list of the books of the Holy Bible and church service books prepared by the EOTC Holy Synod (1982/83: 175) D.Ṣ. is classified under historical books (cp. Mängəśtu Gobäze 2010: 32).

Src.: mss. Aksum Ṣəyon, *Dərsanä Ṣəyon*; Ǝnṭoṭṭo Maryam, *Dərsanä Ṣəyon*; Addis Abäba, National Archives and Library Agency (NALA), NL 273; NALA, NL 630; EMML nos. 8429, 8823, 8713, 8979; Ṭānāsee 72 = Dabra

Māryām 14 (HamTana 77f.); AMSALU TEFERA (ed., tr.), *Dərsanä Ṣəyon*: *Philological Inquiries, Textual Critical Edition and Annotated Translation*, Ph.D. thesis, Addis Ababa University 2011; **ድርሳነ ፡ ጽዮን ፡ ማርያም** (*Dərsanä Ṣəyon Maryam*, 'Homily [in Honour] of Mary Zion'), [Ṭana Qirqos] 1998 A.M. [2005 A.D.]; LesCDic 288.
Lit.: AMSALU TEFERA, "Dərsanä Ṣəyon: philological inquiries into the text", *RSE* n.s. 3, 2011 [2012], 141–66; *nəburä əd* ERMYAS KÄBBÄDÄ WÄLDÄ YÄSUS, **ኢትዮጵያና ፡ ኢትዮጵያዊነት** (*Ityopyanna ityopyawinnät*,'Ethiopia and Being Ethiopian'), Book 2, [U.S.A.] 1997 A.M. [2004/05 A.D.]; ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX TÄWAḤƎDO CHURCH HOLY SYNOD, *Short History, Faith and Order of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church,* Addis Ababa 1975 A.M. [1982/83 A.D.]; SAMUEL MAHLER, "Sur les traces de la reine de Saba", ms. 2007 (online *http://www.ethiopianorthodox.org/french/ethiopia/histoire01.html*, last access 21 November 2011); MÄNGƎŚTU GOBÄZE, **በዓለም ፡ ቅርስነት ፡ የተመዘገቡ ፡ የኢትዮጵያ ፡ የብራና ፡ መጻሕፍት ፡ እና ፡ መዛግብት** (*Bäʿaläm qərsənnät yätämäzäggäbu yäʾityopya yäbəranna mäṣaḥəft ənna mäzagəbt,* 'Ethiopian Manuscripts and Treasures registered as World's Heritages')", *Journal of Ethiopian Church Studies* 1, August 2010, 29–39; STUART MUNRO-HAY, *The Quest for the Ark of the Covenant – the True History of the Tablets of Moses,* London – New York 2005, 233.

Amsalu Tefera

Dobbelaar, Leonardus

Bishop D. (b. 4 May 1942, Hulst, the Netherlands, d. 20 March 2008, Addis Abäba) was a Catholic missionary. He joined the Congregation for the Missions (Vincentian Fathers; ↗Lazarists) on 7 September 1962 and was ordained priest on 20 July 1969. He studied at the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome from 1968 to 1971 and soon after left for Ethiopia as a missionary.

D.'s first appointment in Ethiopia was the parish of Sappa Maryam and its out-stations in the prefecture of Ǧimma-Bonga. In 1978, together with his fellow Dutch missionaries, he was expelled from the Ǧimma-Bonga area by Täsämma Bälay, a 'henchman' of the communist regime of the time (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council). From that time on, he worked for many years as director of the seminarians of his congregation and as professor at St. Francis' Joint Studium (today Capuchin Franciscan Institute of Philosophy and Theology) in Addis Abäba.

D. served as Major Superior of the Lazarists in Ethiopia from 1984 to 1994. He succeeded bishop Fəqrä Maryam Gämmäčču when, on 2 July 1994, Pope John Paul II appointed him Vicar Apostolic of ↗Naqamtee.

D. had a good command of the Amharic language. He was actively engaged in several offices: director of seminarians, professor at the Theological Institute, bishop and member of the Ethiopian Episcopal Conference. He denounced the practice of female ↗circumcision and was also a vocal opponent of the Ethiopian Gəʿəz Rite, which he considered alien to non-Semitic-speaking Ethiopians. He protested to the Holy See about the teaching of Gəʿəz language and liturgy at St. Francis' Joint Studium to seminarians of Southern Ethiopia.

↗Catholicism

Src.: *Fəqərənna Sälam* [monthly Amharic/English newspaper published by the Catholic Archbishop's house], April 2008, 13.

Tedros Abraha

Drewes, Abraham Johannes

D. (b. 18 July 1927, Batavia [now Jakarta, Indonesia], d. 19 October 2007, Noordwijk) was a prominent Dutch Semitist with a focus on ↗Ethiopian studies.

On leaving the Leiden Municipal Grammar School in 1945, D. studied Arabic and Hebrew at Leiden University and ↗Epigraphic South Arabian with Gonzague Ryckmans (Louvain). In 1952-53 D. studied at Oxford with H.A.R. Gibb, Alfred Beeston and Chaim Rabin. He graduated in 1953.

From 1954 to 1957, D. conducted epigraphic research in Ethiopia, in the service of the French Archaeological Mission. He also studied

A.J. Drewes on his terrace in Noordwijk, the Netherlands; photo 2003, courtesy of Liza Drewes-Schalkers

↗Amharic and ↗Səlṭi and explored local Islamic ↗manuscript traditions in Harär.

D. returned to the Netherlands in 1957. After several months as doctoral assistant in Leiden, he became teacher-researcher at the Arabic language department of Utrecht University. After the completion of his doctoral thesis (1962, *Inscriptions de l'Éthiopie antique*), his position was converted into a lectorate.

In 1962–63, D. spent a sabbatical year in Los Angeles, learning from Wolf ↗Leslau and Gustave von Grünebaum. Between 1964 and 1974, D. regularly travelled to Ethiopia, collecting data on Ethiopian epigraphy, the Səlṭi language and Harari manuscripts.

In 1968 D. became Professor of Comparative Linguistics and South Semitic at the University of Leiden. He taught courses in Arabic, Amharic, Gə^{c}əz, Historical Linguistics, Arabic Linguistics, Ancient South Arabian Epigraphy, North Arabian Epigraphy, Ethiopian Epigraphy, Səlṭi and Maltese.

In the late 1960s, D. started his collaboration with Roger ↗Schneider on the corpus of Ethiopian ↗inscriptions (s., e.g., Drewes – Schneider 1967; 1970; 1972). Its main result was the *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite* (RIÉ I–II; a volume with D.'s own translations and commentaries remained unfinished). In 1978 D. married his wife Liza.

After D. retired in 1992, he dedicated most of his time to Ethiopian epigraphy, trying to finalize the missing RIÉ volumes. He also worked on the Səlṭi material that he had collected. In 1993, the Oosters Instituut acquired a collection of Pre-Islamic South Arabian sticks, and D., with Jacques Ryckmans (Louvain, d. 2005), took up the challenge of transcribing the inscriptions. His last published article (2007) is devoted to linguistic and textual aspects of Islam in Ethiopia.

D. wrote with great precision and sharp analytical skill and his publications are extremely valuable.

Src.: for a fuller bibliography s. Stroomer 2008 [= 2009] (Lit.) and Lockot II; also RIÉ I–II; Abraham J. Drewes, "Some Hadrami Inscriptions", *BiOr* 11, 1954, 93–94; André Caquot – Abraham J. Drewes, "Les monuments recueillis à Maqallé (Tigré)", *AE* 1, 1955, 17–41; Abraham J. Drewes, "Problèmes de paléographie éthiopienne", *ibid*. 121–26; Id., "Les inscriptions de Melazo", *ibid.* 3, 1959, 83–99; Id., "Note additionnelle au sujet d'al Barîra", *Le Muséon* 75, 1–2, 1962, 211–12, pl. 7; Id., "Kaleb and Himyar: Another Reference to HYWN^{ɔ}?", *Raydân, Journal of Ancient Yemeni Antiquities and Epigraphy* 1, 1978, 27–31; Id., "A Note on ESA ^{c}sy", *ibid.* 2, 1979, 101–05; Id., "The Lexicon of Ethiopian Sabaean", *ibid.* 3, 1980, 35–54; Id., "The Library of Muḥammad b. ^{c}Alī b. ^{c}Abd al-Shakūr, Sulṭān of Härär, 1272–92/1856–75", in: Robin Leonard Bidwell – G. Rex Smith (eds.), *Arabian and Islamic Studies*: *Articles Presented to R.B. Serjeant on the Occasion of his Retirement*, London – New York 1983, 68–79; Id., "The Phonemes of Lihyanite", in: Christian Julien Robin (ed.), *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à Maxime Rodinson par ses élèves, ses collègues et ses amis,* Paris 1985 (Comptes rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'études Chamito-Sémitiques 12), 165–73; Id., "Ethiopië en Zuid-Arabië tussen 450 vóór en 550 ná het begin van onze jaartelling", *Phoenix* 33, 1, 1987, 55–71; Id., "Some Features of Epigraphic Ethiopic", in: *KayeLes* 382–91; Id., "Noms propres dans les documents épigraphiques de l'Éthiopie", I, *Semitica* 48, 1998, 127–43 and II, *ibid.* 50, 2000, 199–210; Id., "Amharic as a Language of Islam", *BSOAS* 70, 2007, 1–62; Id. – Roger Schneider, "Documents épigraphiques de l'Éthiopie – I", *AE* 7, 1967, 89–102; "Documents épigraphiques de l'Éthiopie – II", *ibid.* 8, 1970, 57–72; "Documents épigraphiques de l'Éthiopie – III", *ibid.* 9, 1972, 87–101; Iid., "Origine et développement de l'écriture éthiopienne jusqu'à l'époque des inscriptions royales d'Axoum", *ibid*. 10, 1976, 95–107; Iid., "L'alphabet sudarabique de Dakhanamo", *Raydân, Journal of Ancient Yemeni Antiquities and Epigraphy* 3, 1980, 31–33; Abraham J. Drewes – Jacques Ryckmans, "Un pétiole de palme inscrit en sabéen, n^{o} 14 de la collection de l'Oosters Instituut à Leyde", *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabic Studies* 27, 1997, 225–30; Jacques Ryckmans, "Deux noms de mesures dans les textes sud-arabes sur bois", avec un appendice de Abraham J. Drewes, in: Alessandra Avanzini (ed.), *Profumi d'Arabia. Atti del Convegno*, Roma 1997 (Saggi di storia antica 11), 211–19.

Lit.: Harry Stroomer, "In memoriam Abraham Johannes Drewes", *BiOr* 65, 2008, 293–98 (repr. in *Aethiopica* 11, 2009, 208–14, selected bibl. pp. 213f.).

Harry Stroomer

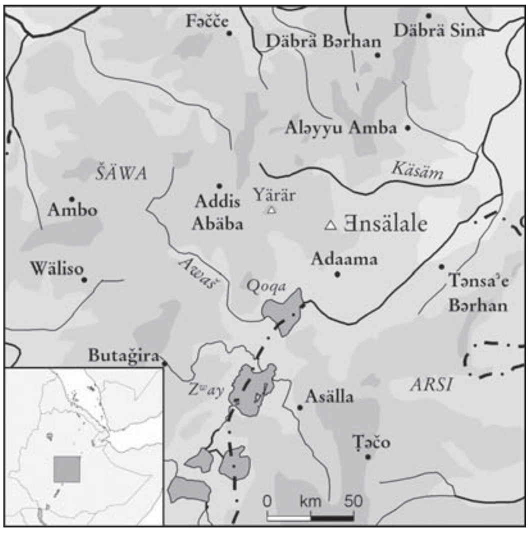
E

Ənsälale

Ǝ. (**እንሰላሌ**, also Ənsəlale) is a village and an archaeological site in the former ↗Šäwa province (today, East Šäwa zone, Oromiyyaa region), situated in Gimbičču *wäräda*, 12 km east of Mount Bokan (2,621 m A.S.L., 8° 88' 75 N, 39° 26' 77 E). Together with sites such as ↗Yärär, ↗Zəqʷala, ↗Adadi Maryam etc., it may belong to a small group of ancient churches in southern Ethiopia. The site can probably be dated to the 14th–15th cent. It is not to be confused with a place of the same name in ↗Damot.

The ruins of Ǝ. were completely covered with earth before locals rediscovered the site. The site was professionally recorded in 1964 by the French Archaeological Mission of Francis Anfray. They excavated the foundations of a rectangular building (outer diameter: 11.70 m^2; inside dimension: 9.30 m x 7.90 m) with thick walls, a stone paved floor and stone bases of four columns inside. Poorly preserved stairs on the north-western side indicate the former entrance. Mortar was not used. Traces of charred wood indicate that the building was destroyed by fire.

In the centre of the building, 2.70 m deep into the foundations, a grave with a plastered stone coffer and human bones was excavated. The building was originally surrounded by a court partially paved with stones and a fence.



Peculiar to the site are the geometrical decorations engraved into the relatively soft volcanic stone material, crosses, rosettes, and braided decorative trims. In motif and style they resemble Islamic (especially Mamluk Egyptian), Coptic or Byzantine relief ornaments. Characteristic is the rosette with eight leaves, similar to those occurring in the Betä Maryam church of ↗Lalibäla. These decorated pieces, which were collected by locals near the entrance, were probably part of the door frame.

A number of broken fragments of red and black ware (↗pottery) were found (pieces of plates, bowls, jugs, goblets, handles and cones). They are decorated with pairs of horizontal borders and geometric forms. However, the good state of the glaze may suggest that the pottery is much younger than the building itself. Other objects found are fragments of glass and a Chinese porcelain cup, an iron hammer, iron hooks and two little golden plaques.

Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, “Chronique archéologique (1960–1964)”, *AE* 6, 1965, 3–48, here 25f., pl. 22; ID., “Enselalé, avec d’autres sites du Choa, de l’Arssi et un îlot du Lac Tana”, *ibid.* 11, 1978, 153–80, here 153–57, pl. 32–36.

Dirk Bustorf

Euprepius

E. (ca. 514–30, in Gəᶜəz known as **ኣጳራጳ** […], ʾApärapä […], in Syr. ʾ*wprp* and ʾ*wprpys*, probably Greek Εὐπρέπιος) was the metropolitan bishop of ↗Aksum in the years of king ↗Kaleb’s expedition(s) to South Arabia. In secondary literature he is also erroneously interpreted as Eupremius, Eutropius and Eutrepius (cp. MHAlex I, 81, n. 217).

E. played an important role as the main destinee, with king Kaleb, of one or more petitions issued by the Christians persecuted in South Arabia, requesting the intervention of the Aksumites. Three sources, all of them connected with the hagiographic cycle of the persecution in ↗Ḥimyar and ↗Nağrān, but not necessarily independent, witness to the existence of E.:

1) the *Book of the Himyarites* reports (index of chs. 39–40) that a certain Umayyah (*ʾwmyh*) informed E. and king Kaleb of the persecution conducted by the Jewish king Masrūq against the church in Ḥimyar; E. is then quoted (ch. 48) in the speech held by Kaleb after his victory, concerning the reconciliation of those who had denied their faith;

2) the *Second Letter of Simeon of Beṯ Aršām* quotes E. "bishop of the Cushites", as the destinee of a petition, together with king Kaleb, by the author of the *Second Letter* himself;

3) further evidence is provided by a new, recently discovered Ethiopic version of the *Martyrium of ↗Arethas*, attested to in a manuscript preserved in a church at Lake ↗Zʷay (cp. Yohannes Gebre Sellasie 2009; Bausi 2010; Marrassini 2011; the text had been briefly hinted at by SerHist 127): E. is mentioned here as the metropolitan bishop of Aksum at the time of Kaleb "king of Aksum […] in the fifth year of the reign of Yosṭenos, king of Rome […] in the 251st year of Diocletian and in the 835th year of Alexander", i.e. 523 A.D. The name is given as ʾApäräpä […], unfortunately mutilated at the end, but certainly the same E. as in the Syriac sources (the name is attested in 6th-cent. Christian Egypt, cp. BrakKirche 87). The new version of the *Martyrium*, though claiming to have been translated from the Greek, certainly derives from an Arabic *Vorlage*: nevertheless the name of E. in Gəʿəz does not suggest that it passed through Arabic, and probably implies the use of other sources and a more complex explanation.

Src.: Alessandro Bausi, "The Massacre of Naǧrān: The Ethiopic Sources", in: Joëlle Beaucamp – Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet – Christian Julien Robin (eds.), *Juifs et chrétiens en Arabie aux Ve et VIe siècles. Regards croisés sur les sources. Le massacre de Najrân II*, Paris 2010 (Centre de recherche, d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 32), 241–54; Paolo Marrassini, "Frustula Nagranitica", *Aethiopica* 14, 2011, 7–32; Axel Moberg, *The Book of the Himyarites: Fragments of a hitherto unknown Syriac Work*, Lund 1924 (Skrifter Utgivna av. Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet I Lund. VII. Acta Reg. Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis. VII), civ, cxli (chs. 39f., 48); Irfan Shahîd, *The Martyrs of Najrân: New Documents*, Bruxelles 1971 (Subsidia hagiographica 49), xxxi (text), 63 (tr.).

Lit.: BrakKirche 83; Arthur K. Irvine, "Euprepius", in: *DicEthBio* 60; MHAlex I, 81f.; SerHist 127; Yohannes Gebre Sellasie, "The Martyrs of Nagran and the Acts of Kaleb, King of Aksum: A New Geez Document", in: Aklilu Yilma (compiled by), *Abstracts [of the] 17th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies Addis Ababa University*, Addis Ababa 2009, 199.

Alessandro Bausi

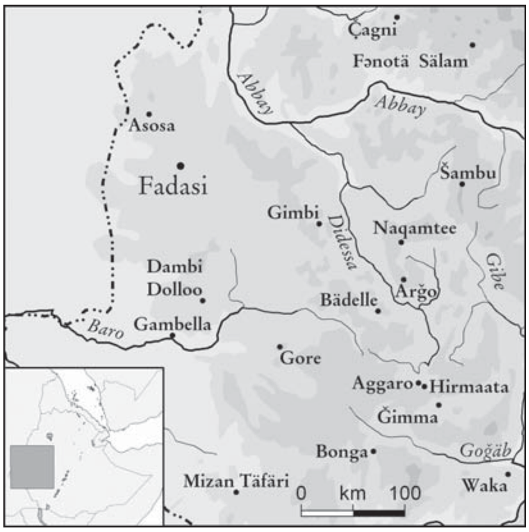
F

Fadasi

The term F. (*fa-daši*, 'people of cold water') refers to a sub-group of the ↗Berta as well as to an old gold-bearing region west of the River ↗Dabus, south of ↗Asosa, in today's regional state of ↗Beni Šangul-Gumuz. The name has been used by various travellers for the main market of F. at Gogora (today Šobora), and is also variously identified with the old market of Bambeši, today's Bambasi (cp. James et al. 1996: 33). Bambasi is the administrative centre of a *wäräda* of the same name in the Asosa zone of Beni Šangul-Gumuz *kəlləl*.

F. lay on an important trade route between ↗Sinnār, ↗Fazoġli (s. EAE vol. 5) and the region of the ↗Oromo, bordering ↗Gidaamii and Mendi, respectively. Its main market was situated at the foot of the Gogora mountains (Gessi 1892: 165). Schuver (James et al. 1996: 31), in the 1880s, noted that F. is not the name of a village but a district, under the administration of a *makdum* (*mugaddam*, i.e. a district administrator) appointed by "the great Sheikh of Gomosha" (cp. Ḫʷomoša, Komosha). The administrator of F. though, "resides at Gorgura" (Schuver, ibid.).

F. was the southernmost outpost of a wider network of markets which connected the Sinnār region with ↗Wälläga. These centres were attended by Sudanese Arab traders, who traded with local merchants and exchanged goods, especially ↗salt, with the Oromo for "oxen, iron and honey" (Gessi 1892: 166; cp. also Triulzi 1981: 80, 126). The trade was taxed by the ruler of F.

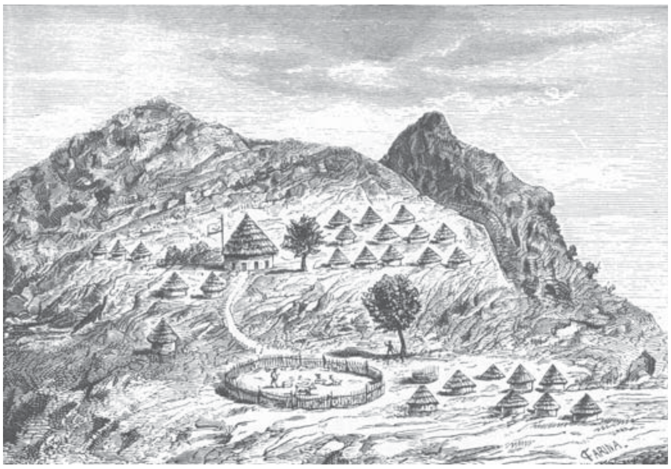


The Arab merchants (*ǧallābā*) arriving towards the end of the 19th cent. stayed in the region as traders and preachers (*fāqī*) and mixed with the local population. They established a ruling class known as ↗Waṭāwīt and gradually took over power from the former ruling elite, the so-called *ǧäbalawīn*, descendants of the ↗Funǧ aristocracy, that had earlier intermarried with the local Berta population.

Thus F. became one of the four important Waṭāwīt sheikdoms, next to Asosa, Ḫʷomoša and Bela Šangul (Beni Šangul). Local tradition holds that the dynasty of F. goes back to an-Nūr, a Sudanese of Rubāṭāb (Ǧaʿalīn) descent (for the genealogy of the *ǧäbalawīn* as opposed to the Waṭāwīt rulers of F., s. Triulzi 1981: 121).

Early accounts of F. go back to the geologist Russegger (1844: 539ff.), who gathered information about the gold deposits of the region. Other European reports of F. are from the Austrian traveller Ernst Marno from the 1870s. He was followed by Romolo Gessi and Pellegrino ↗Matteucci coming to assist the ↗Antinori expedition (s. EAE vol. 5) in ↗Käfa via Bela Šangul. Marno had travelled from Famaka to Bela Šangul in the company of *šayḫ* Ḫʷağalī Adam (not to be mistaken with the later ruler of Asosa, *šayḫ* ↗Ḫʷağalī al-Ḥasan).

During this time, F. was exposed to various threats. While Ḫʷomoša and Bela Šangul were tributaries of the Ottoman-Egyptian Sudan, F. due to its remote position rejected these claims. Marno (1874: 99), however, notes that F. had been annexed by Egyptian troops in 1873, but Gessi (1892: 166ff.) mentions that *šayḫ* Ḥasan of F. had made an agreement with the surrounding Oromo "not to let any Turk pass into the territory". However, the trade caravans of the Oromo were under continuous threat of ambush from the local "Amam" (cp. ↗Mao, ↗Kwama) (ibid.).



Drawing showing Fadasi, probably at the foothill of the Abbaa Mooti, from Gessi 1892: 164

In addition to these external threats, Maḥmūd of Ḫʷomoša and Ḫʷağalī of Bela Šangul lay claim to F. and in order to end a blood feud between the two, Ḥasan married one of his sisters to Ḫʷağalī (Marno 1874: 70, 84).

During the time of the ↗Mahdīya, the call for a *ğihād* was followed only by a few Waṭāwīt rulers. One of them was Muḥammad al-Ḥasan of F. (today mostly referred to by his horse name "Abbaa Mooti"). He probably hoped for new alliances and to release F. from the shadow of the stronger Waṭāwīt sheikdoms. The *ğihād* was stopped by the joint resistance of *ras* ↗Gobäna Dači and ↗Ǧootee Tulluu of Gidaamii (cp. Triulzi 1981: 149ff.), but Abbaa Mooti strengthened his position in the region under the remaining Mahdīya.

After the end of the Mahdīya and before the region was annexed under *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, there was constant fighting for supremacy among the Waṭāwīt rulers. Power shifted after the annexation of the region and led to a gradual but steady consolidation of power over the whole region under *šayḫ* Ḫʷağalī al-Ḥasan. As a semi-autonomous ruler, tributary to Addis Abäba, Ḫʷağalī, managed to sustain the demand for ↗gold, ↗slaves, ↗coffee and ↗ivory by gradually reducing F. and the other centres to his tributaries.

Oral tradition of F. is today largely alive in the town of Bambasi. Local tradition has it that the name Bambasi refers to a "Mao" ruler, Bambaše, which points to the ethnic mix of pre-Arab Berta and Mao societies, that lived in the region. It is interesting to note that the legend of the "wise men" (i.e. Muslim merchants and preachers who settled among the Berta; cp. Triulzi 1981: 103–08) is today adopted by the Mao, while the Berta of Bambasi claim purity of Arab descent. Today the local Berta population prefers the name *fadaši*. Also a considerable number of Omotic-speaking Mao (cp. ↗Mao of Bambasi) live in the *wäräda*.

Src.: interviews with Abdarraḥim Ḥasan al-Badawī Muḥammad, Bambasi, 20 September 2010; Ramaḍān Yūsuf, Muṣa, 24 September 2010; ROMOLO GESSI, *Seven Years in the Sudan*: *Being a Record of Explorations, Adventures and Campaigns against the Arab Slave Hunters* (ed. by FELIX GESSI), London 1892, 164 (ill.), 165–68; WENDY JAMES et al., *Juan Maria Schuver's Travels in North East Africa 1880-1883*, London 1996, s. index; ERNST MARNO, *Reisen im Gebiet des Blauen und Weissen Nil und den angrenzenden Negerländern in den Jahren 1869 bis 1873*, Wien 1874, 47–86; PELLEGRINO MATTEUCCI, *Sudan e Gallas*, Milano 1879, ch. 10; JOSEPH RUSSEGGER, *Reisen in Europa, Asien und Afrika*: *Reisen in Egypten, Nubien und Ost-Sudan* vol. 2, Stuttgart 1844, 539ff.

Lit.: ALESSANDRO TRIULZI, *Salt, Gold and Legitimacy*: *Prelude to a No-Man's Land*: *Belā Shangul, Wallaggā, Ethiopia* (*ca. 1800–1898*), Napoli 1981, s. index.

Alexander Meckelburg

Farago, Ladislas

F. (birth name Faragó László; b. 21 September 1906, Csurgó, Hungary; d. 15 October 1980, Southbury, CT) was a Hungarian journalist.

Born to a Jewish family he studied at the Academy of Commerce and Consular Affairs in Budapest. From the early 1930s he lived in Germany and later in London. He retained his Hungarian citizenship until 1938, working for several newspapers and news agencies (e.g., *Berliner Zeitung*, *New York Times*, *Sunday Chronicle*, *Associated Press* [AP], etc.).

In 1935 F. was sent to Ethiopia by the AP as a war correspondent during the ↗Italian-Ethiopian war of 1935–36. The book he wrote during that time (Farago 1935) did not cover the war but became a major source on pre-

Portrait of Ladislas Farago from the Hungarian newspaper *Az Est*, vol. 26, 222 (29 September 1935); from the collection of the author war Ethiopia. During his stay in Ethiopia he befriended various influential members of the imperial family (e.g., *ras* ↗Kaśa Ḫaylu) and was decorated by *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. According to Román (1935) his father was offered the title of honorary Ethiopian consul in Hungary, but he did not accept it.

In 1936 F. went again to Ethiopia, crossing the Sudan border illegally. He tried to reach the frontline, but an attack of malaria made him to return from Dabdo. In the same year he published a compilation of several authors including himself, which was "torn apart" in Sylvia ↗Pankhurst's ↗*New Times and Ethiopia News*. However, F. contributed articles to the same newspaper later.

In 1938 F. settled in the U.S. where he worked at several army and government offices while continuing to work as a journalist. After World War II he published books mainly on military espionage.

Src.: personal communication with John Farago; ANON., "What Ladislas Farago Says", *New Times and Ethiopia News,* 11 September 1937, 5; ANON., "Journals On Abyssinia", *ibid*., 21 November 1936, 3; LADISLAS FARAGO, *Abyssinia on the Eve*, London 1935; ID., *Abyssinian Stop Press*, London 1936; ID., "Trouble in Ethiopia: the Aftermath of Conquest", *New Times and Ethiopia News,* 16 October 1937, 5; KÁLMÁN ROMÁN, "Beszélgetés Faragó Artúrral" ('Interview with Farago Artúr'), *Egyenlőség*, 21 September 1935.

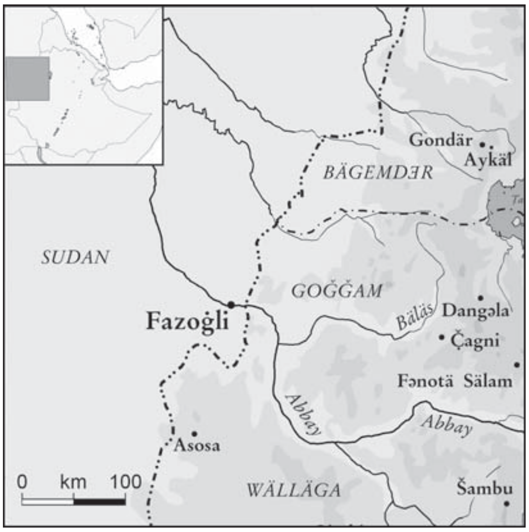
Lit.: *Az Est*, 26, 222 (29 September 1935); GYULA BORBÁNDI, *Magyarok az Angol kertben*: *a Szabad Európa Rádió története* ('Hungarians in the English Garden: the History of Radio Free Europe'), Budapest 1996.

Szélinger Balázs

Fazoġli

F. (also Fazokl, Fazoqli, Fazuġli; in Amh. sources: **ፋዙቍሎ**, 'Fazuqulo' or **ፋዝቆሎ**, 'Fazqolo'; Arab. فازوغلي) was an important centre of trade, and ↗gold from F. was traded in the ↗Red Sea and the Nile Valley. F. belonged to a wider network of the trade centres together with Bela Šangul (cp. ↗Beni Šangul), ↗Funǧ and ↗Wälläga, providing gold via the Ethiopian heartland to the Red Sea, probably since Aksumite times (s. below).

F. has been a place of attraction for various travellers in the Sudan and western Ethiopia. The first mention apparently goes back to Luis de Azevedo who, in 1607, mentions "a kingdom of **ፋዝቆሎ** ['Fazqolo'], with much fine gold and horses exchanging trade with the [Ethiopian] empire" (Triulzi 1981:58). The place of "Sasu" mentioned by ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes (McCrindle 1897:52f.; PankBord 29f.; Wolska-Conus 1968:362) has been identified with F. and has led to scholarly speculation about Aksumite gold trade with F. (Wainwright 1942; SerHist 232; for discussion s. also Triulzi 1981:58ff.). It is suggested that the local ↗Berta of F. (intermarried with Sudanese Arabs and part of the Funǧ aristocracy of F.) might have traded gold with the ↗Agäw of ↗Goǧǧam who served as intermediaries for the Aksumite king. Cosmas describes how the gold (called *tancharas*) was exchanged between local traders ("dump barter trade"; cp. Triulzi 1981:60) against meat and salt. Support for this thesis comes from Arkell (1944:31) who assumes that *tancharas* might go back to the Berta word *sančaru*, which "is the name of the ground-bean [...] resembling impurities in a nugget of gold; and it may at an earlier period have been used as a standard weight [...]".



Securing and regulating the gold trade of F. seems to offer an element of continuity in the history of the region which was part of the kingdoms of ↗Napata, ↗Meroë and later the Funǧ. During the early 16th cent., F. may have been associated with the province of ↗Damot (cp. CrawItin 80); on the map ↗Egyptus Novelo under the term Damot is written the word *aur*(*um*), 'gold' (ibid.; Triulzi 1981:60). The Jesuit ↗Paez mentions F. for the "best gold to be found in the whole of Ethiopia" (ibid.); the court of ↗Gondär is known for its raids for gold against F. (ibid.:61), but peaceful trade-relations were also maintained (PankBord 372).

In the late 17th cent. F. became the southernmost, semi-autonomous, outpost of the Funǧ kingdom of the ↗Sinnār confederation. The kings of F. held the title of *mek* (also *manǧīl* cp. Disney 1945: 39) and were tributaries to Sinnār (for a list of F.'s *meks* s. Budge 1907: 205). With the incorporation of Sinnār into the Ottoman-Egyptian Sudan in 1821, it was also the gold of F., as well as the local ↗slave trade, that ↗Muḥammad ᶜAli sought to control. When Ernst Marno visited the region in the 1870s, towards the end of the Turkiyya, F. had lost its power and the *mek* of F. had been reduced to the role of a "village headman" (Marno 1874: 42); thus it seems that F. had lost its independence and importance. Little is known about F.'s actual administration either before the Turkiyya and after. Despite this, one may assume some historical importance for F. until the 20th cent., since, in 1944, Disney attended the coronation of the last Funǧ *mek* at F., describing F. as "the traditional headquarter of one of the lesser principalities of the Fung empire" (Disney 1945: 37).

Today only the existence of *Ǧäbäl* F. ('Mount F.'), south of the Roseires reservoir, points to the earlier location of F.

Src.: BruNile vol. 4, 240ff.; Frédéric Cailliand, *Voyage a Méroé …*, vol. 2, Paris 1822, 421–24; Wendy James et al., *Juan Maria Schuver's Travels in North East Africa 1880–1883*, London 1996, s. index; Ernst Marno, *Reisen im Gebiet des Blauen und Weissen Nil und den angrenzenden Negerländern in den Jahren 1869 bis 1873*, Wien 1874, 42; John Watson McCrindle, *The Christian Topography of Cosmas, an Egyptian Monk*, London 1897, 52ff.; Georg Schweinfurth, *Beitrag zur Flora Aethiopiens*, Berlin 1867, s. index; Wanda Wolska-Conus (ed.), *Kosmas Indikopleustes. Topographie chrétienne. Introduction, Texte, Critique, Illustration, Traduction et Notes*, vol. 1, Paris 1968 (Sources chrétienne 141), 362.

Lit.: AbPrince 97, 105–08; Anthony John Arkell, "Cosmas and the Gold Trade of Fazoqli", *Man* 44, 1944, 30–31; Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge, *The Egyptian Sudan*, London 1907, vol. 2, 200, 212, 217, 337, 441, 462; CrawItin 80; Anthony W.M. Disney, "The Coronation of the Fung King of Fazoghli", *SNR* 24, 1, 1945, 37–42; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992 (Biblioteca di "Felix Ravenna" 7), 76; Peter Malcolm Holt, "Fāzūghlī" in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 2, 874f.; Marian Charles Jedrej, "The Southern Funj of the Sudan under Anglo-Egyptian Rule, 1900–1933", *Occasional Papers of the Centre of African Studies* (Edinburgh University) 61, 1996, 4; PankBord 29f., 372; SerHist 65, 231f.; Alessandro Triulzi, *Salt, Gold and Legitimacy. Prelude to a No-man's Land*: *Belā Shangul, Wallaggā, Ethiopia* (*ca. 1800–1898*), Napoli 1981, s. index; Gerald Arvey Wainwright, "Cosmas and the Gold Trade of Fazoqli", *Man* 42, 1942, 52–58.

Alexander Meckelburg

Fəkkare mäläkot

The F.m. (Gəᶜəz **ፍካሬ ፡ መለኮት**, 'Interpretation of the Godhead') is the most important writing, and one of the very few that survived, attributed in the past to the so-called Zämikaʾelite heresy (↗Zämikaʾelites). It is a high level theological treatise with an inspired tone and a remarkable literary and linguistic complexity.

The F.m. deals with the weakness of human understanding regarding the mystery of the Godhead, and of the ↗Trinity in particular. The author demonstrates his thesis by examining biblical passages – the literal interpretation of which is strongly denied, and thus being at variance with the traditional theological positions of the Ethiopian Church (as maintained at least since the time of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob) – and claiming numerous instances of patristic corroboration (↗John Chrysostom, ↗Epiphanios of Salamis, ↗Gregory of Nyssa, ↗Athanasius, Shenoute the Alexandrian patriarch, the Nicaene Fathers, Cyriacus of Behnesa, ↗Basil the Great), which are mostly taken from the ↗*Haymanotä abäw*.

The F.m. is transmitted in the codex unicus ms. BN Éth. 119 (ZotBNat 141), fols. 1r–25r, an early 17th-cent. manuscript brought to Paris via Cairo, Jerusalem and Rome, by the Catholic and alleged pretender to the Ethiopian throne, ↗Ṣägga Krəstos (s. EAE vol. 5). The manuscript was later kept in the library of Jean-Baptiste Colbert and was also known to ↗Ludolf, who left a handwritten description of it. The F.m. together with the three other treatises contained in the manuscript was published by Enrico ↗Cerulli (1958): F.m. 1–63 (text) = 65–152 (tr.); the *Ḥamärä näfs* ('The ship of the soul', fols. 25ra–36ra), ibid. 153–89 (text) = 191–213 (tr.); the *Märs amin* ('The safe haven' or 'The haven of the faith', as proposed by Piovanelli 2004: 196, fols. 36r–48vb), Cerulli 1958: 233–69 (text) = 271–314 (tr.); and the *Śäwänä näfs* ('Refuge of the soul', fols. 49r–58vb), Cerulli 1960: 103–17 (text) = 119–35 (tr.).

Concerning the incapacity of the rational human mind to understand the mystery of divine nature (implying a sort of general pessimism on the human condition) Cerulli saw themes and motifs proper to Late Antique gnosticism and Manichaeism (s. also CerLett 144–50; ↗Christology). These ideas, which had already surfaced as the Zämikaʾelite heresy in the 15th cent. during the period of the theological controversies under Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob (cp. CerMaria 112–21), must have been taken up again by an heretic group in the turbulent cultural climate of the new controversies caused by the arrival of the ↗Jesuits, from the second half of the 16th to the early decades of the 17th cent.

Cerulli's largely accepted hypothesis has recently been challenged by Piovanelli (2004) on the grounds of a sound and fresh re-examination of the evidence. The theses of the F.m., far from being implicit in or inspired by gnostic or Manichaean thought, are easily traced back to theological positions well known in the Christian tradition and a theme often found in medieval Christian Arabic theological elaboration. The interpretation of biblical passages in chs. 2–5 of the F.m. – with a refutation of the literal interpretation of Gen 3:22, 1:27 (as well as of Ps 102 [101]:26, Mt 5:34f., Ex 33:20, 1 Jn 4:12, Jn 1:18, Mt 11:27), Gen 1:26 (and Ex 15:11), and of Gen 18, Ex 3:2, Dan 2:34–35:45 – would simply serve to maintain the doctrine of the unknowability of God and of the necessity of an allegoric interpretation of the Scriptures in an anti-anthropomorphic sense. Like other treatises contained in the same manuscript as the F.m., the *Ṣäwänä näfs* in particular (ed., tr. also by Ludolf 1691: 493–508; Leslau 1964) – an epistle written in Təgray and sent to *aṣe* ↗Susənyos as early as the early 1620s and also known in Portuguese, Spanish and Italian abridged versions (cp. Pennec 2000, 2003: 297–306, 321–24; Piovanelli 2004: 216, n. 74) – the F.m. would be the work of an Ethiopian monastic milieu of strict Orthodox monophysite observance (↗Monophysitism). The Orthodox authors of the F.m. and of the other treatises were not followers of the Zämikaʾelite dissidents of the 15th cent. – who, indeed, never were an institutionalized movement; they simply attempted on the one hand to revitalize traditional and conservative attitudes of general Christian and Alexandrian ascendance, and on the other hand to offer a contrast to the new Catholic threat. The temporary disappearance of the particular iconography of the Trinity in the immediate restoration of the Orthodox Alexandrinian faith would be part of the attempt to reshape and smooth out archaic theological positions of Aksumite origin (e.g., preservation of some Jewish customs and literal exegesis of the Scriptures) which had been particularly stressed in the writings authored by Zärʾa Yaʿəqob (Piovanelli 2004: 218ff.).

Src.: ms. BN Éth. 119 (ZotBNat 141); *abba* AGOSTINO TEDLA, "A proposito di alcuni passi oscuri negli scritti teologici etiopici dei secoli XVI–XVII pubblicati da E. Cerulli", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 217–42; ANDRÉ CAQUOT, [review of Cerulli 1958], *AE* 3, 1959, 319–20; ENRICO CERULLI, *Scritti teologici etiopici dei secoli XVI–XVII*, I: *Tre opuscoli dei Mikaeliti*, II: *La Storia dei Quattro Concili e altri opuscoli monofisiti*, Città del Vaticano 1958, 1960 (Studi e Testi 198, 204); WOLF LESLAU, "A monophysite Epistle **ፀወነ ፡ ነፍስ** 'The Consolation of the Soul'", *OrChrP* 30, 1964, 447-84; IOB LUDOLFUS [HIOB LUDOLF], *Ad suam historiam Aethiopicam antehac editam Commentarius*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1691, 493–508; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, [review of Cerulli 1958], *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1960, 173–79.

Lit.: CerLett 144–50; CerMaria 112–21; LEONARDO COHEN, *The Missionary Strategies of the Jesuits in Ethiopia* (*1555–1632*), Wiesbaden 2009 (AeF 70), 117, 130–33; HERVÉ PENNEC, "Les abrégés portugais du *Refuge de l'âme*. Une apologie de la foi monophysite adressée par les moines du Tigré au roi Susneyos, le 20 juin 1620", *Anais de História de Além-mar* 1, 2000, 133–59; ID., *Des Jésuites au Royaume du Prêtre Jean* (*Éthiopie*), Paris 2003, 297–306, 321–24; PIERLUIGI PIOVANELLI, "Connaissance de Dieu et sagesse humaine en Éthiopie. Le traité *Explication de la Divinité* attribué aux hérétiques «mikaélites»", *Le Muséon* 117, 2004, 193–227 (Lit.).

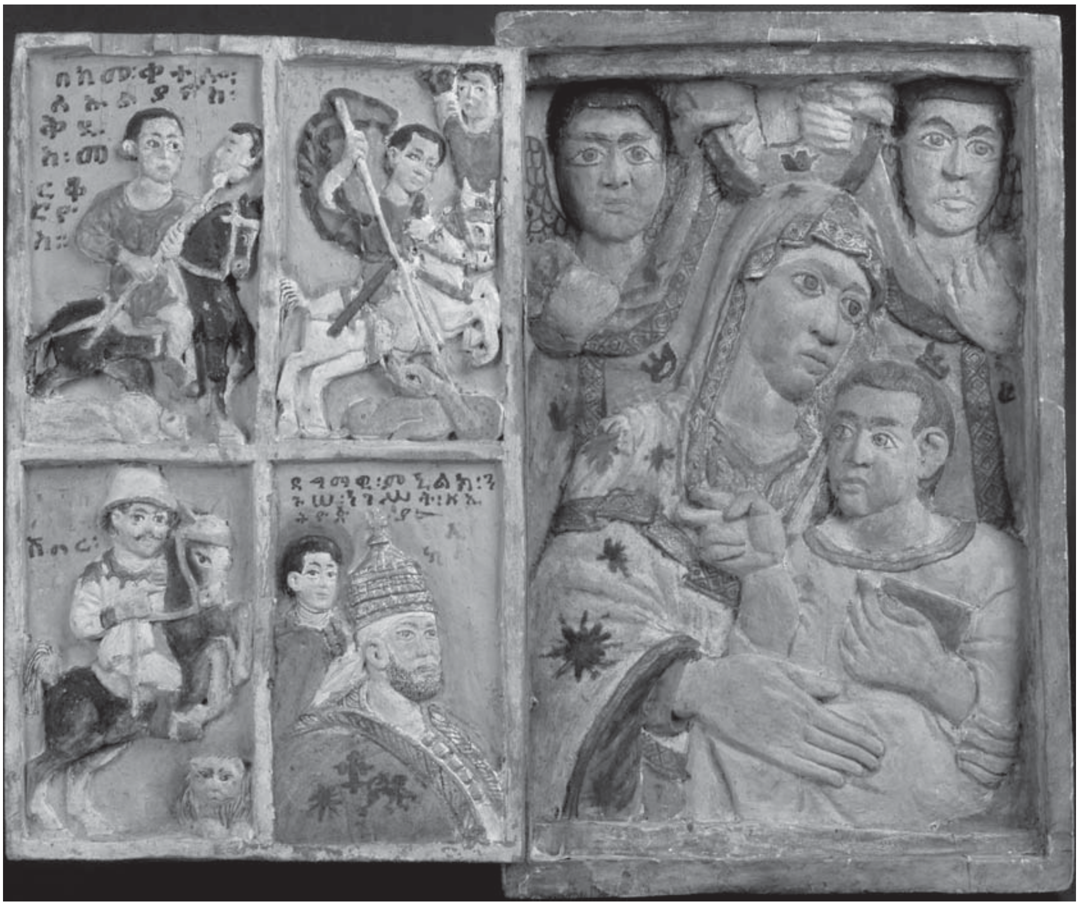
Alessandro Bausi

Fəre Ḥəywät

F.Ḥ. (**ፍሬ ፡ ሕይወት**; fl. early 20th cent.) was an Ethiopian artist. Little information about his life is available. As was common in the late 19th/early 20th cent., F.Ḥ. received his training as a church painter in a monastery in the Ethiopian highlands (Dolz 2007: 27; ↗Art, s. EAE vol. 5).

At the beginning of the 20th cent., traditionally-trained religious artists like F.Ḥ. and his contemporaries ↗Ḫaylu Wäldäyas and ↗Bälaččäw Yəmär incorporated traditional sacred motifs into their work, but they slowly began to evolve rigidly religious or ritual works for secular narratives. By the order of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II and at the request of other patrons, F.Ḥ. rendered scenes of royal court ceremonies, receptions, and dinners, as well as historic subjects like the victorious battle of ↗ʿAdwa and the less-known Battle of ↗Ǝmbabo, or portraits of foreign diplomats (Dolz 2006: 187). F.Ḥ. knew many foreigners living in Addis Abäba, such as the Russian Dr. A.I. Kohanovskij (in Addis Abäba 1907–13; s. Pankhurst 1966: 35 [ill.]) or Dr. Robert Scheller-Steinwartz (1865–1921), who resided in ↗Addis Abäba from 2 January 1909–27 August 1910, as second German Envoy to Ethiopia. Most remarkable is a 1909 diptych painted on to a plaster bas-relief on wood. It is bearing a portrait of Scheller-Steinwartz wearing a white uniform and a pith helmet, mounted on a horse and jumping over a lion (s. ill.).

F.Ḥ. was perhaps the first Ethiopian artist ever to sign his works. This practice, formerly regard-



Wooden dyptich by Fəre Ḥəywät; photo 2006 by Eva Winkler, courtesy of the Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden, Staatliche Ethnographische Sammlungen Sachsen, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden

ed as unacceptable by the Orthodox Church, indicates how F.Ḥ. distanced himself from a purely religious milieu, in that the painter remained anonymous (Ströter-Bender 1991: 72). He was one of the founders of the genre which Biasio coined "contemporary paintings in traditional style" (Biasio 2006; 2009; ↗Art, s. EAE vol. 5) which had their breakthrough at the beginning of the 1930s (Girma Fisseha 1993: 20; Forkl 2004: 92).

Lit.: ELISABETH BIASIO, "Contemporary Ethiopian Painting in Traditional Style: from Church-based to Tourist Art", *African Art* 42, 2, 2009, 14–25; EAD., *Heilige und Helden*: *Äthiopiens zeitgenössische Malerei im traditionellen Stil*, Zürich 2006, 14–37; SILVIA DOLZ, "Robert Scheller-Steinwartz und seine Sammlung", in: VOLKER-SAAD – GREVE 2006, 173–88; EAD., "Robert Scheller-Steinwartz and His Collection", in: VOLKER-SAAD – GREVE 2007, 22–37; GIRMA FISSEHA, *Äthiopien in der volkstümlichen Malerei*, Stuttgart 1993, 20; ID. – WALTER RAUNIG, *Mensch und Geschichte in Äthiopiens Volksmalerei*, Innsbruck – Frankfurt am Main 1985; HERMANN FORKL, *Die andere Moderne Afrikas. Kunst aus den Sammlungen des Linden-Museums Stuttgart*, Stuttgart 2004, 89–111; PETER JUNGE – SILKE SEYBOLD, *Bilder aus Äthiopien*: *Malerei und Fotografie 1900–1935. Überseemuseum Bremen*, Bremen 2002, 28f., 66f.; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Some Notes for a History of Ethiopian Secular Art", *EthObs* 10, 1, 1966, 5–80, here 34ff.; JUTTA STRÖTER-BENDER, *Zeitgenössische Kunst der "Dritten Welt"*, Köln 1991, 69–81; KERSTIN VOLKER-SAAD – ANNA GREVE (eds.), *Äthiopien und Deutschland*: *Sehnsucht nach der Ferne*, Katalog der Ausstellung der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden im Goethe Institut, Addis Ababa vom 21. 09.–28. 10. 2007, Berlin – München 2006 [= *Ethiopia and Germany*: *a Longing for the Distance*, Part II: *ICONS*, Addis Ababa 2007].

Kerstin Volker-Saad

Filəp̣p̣os

F. (**ፊልጶስ**, also known as F. II; fl. early 19th cent.) was the 43rd *əč̣č̣äge* of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šäwa (CerDLib III, 157; CecZeila I, 381; the 45th *əč̣č̣äge* in Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase 1928/29:113). F. held the position from 1822/23 to October 1830

(BlunChr 484; CerDLib III, 157; Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase 1928/29: 113).

Little is known about F.'s life, other than that his provenance was either ↗Atronsä Maryam (CecZeila I, 381; Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase 1928/29: 113) or ↗Tädbabä Maryam (ms. BN Éth. 215; CerDLib III, 157).

Before becoming *əčč̣äge*, F. held the title of *mäkbəb*. Under this title he appeared in 1819 during a theological dispute at ↗Gondär, on the side of the ↗*Hulätt lədät* doctrine, in the presence of the metropolitan *abunä* ↗Qerəllos. Wäldä Yona was the *əčč̣äge* at that time (CRReal 892; CerDLib I, 157).

F. next appears in the chronicles in 1828, already as *əčč̣äge*. When the Oromo Babbu Barihoy marched into Gondär that year, several of his soldiers sought ↗asylum in the compound of the *əčč̣äge*. Thereupon the residence was attacked and many monks were killed. After this incident the right to grant asylum was withdrawn from the *əčč̣äge* and restored only at a later time (CRReal 904ff.). When the missionary Samuel ↗Gobat spent time in Gondär he came into contact with F. Apparently they became friends, spending their time in theological debates (CrumMis 31ff.).

F. is also known as the owner of a manuscript containing a short chronicle which documents historical events up to the 17th/18th cent. The content of this text was recited by heart by *däbtära* ↗Aṣqu, a friend of F., to Antoine ↗d'Abbadie and recorded by the latter in his notebook (which is now ms. BN, d'Abbadie 270; Conti Rossini 1917: 701f.). According to Conti Rossini, the traditions contained in F.'s books were written down – not necessarily by him – in a manuscript which came from the famous monastery of ↗Maḫdärä Maryam, in Bägemdər (the location of the original manuscript is unknown today).

Some accounts given in the chronicle are of special interest. A variation of the legend of the serpent ↗Arwe, the king ↗Ityopis and ↗Makədda, is retold. In this version Ityopis and not ↗Angäbo killed Arwe (Conti Rossini 1917: 701; DAE I, 40). The term ↗*däbtära*, according to the text, was used for the first time to designate members of the clergy at the time of king ↗Dəgnaǧan (Conti Rossini 1917: 706f.). According to F.'s book, the conflict between *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I and ↗Anorewos "the Elder" does not originate from the marital practices of the king, but rather from issues related to the celebration of the ↗Sabbath day (ibid. 709f.; TadTChurch 209). As a consequence of this episode, the king built some churches in order to expiate his transgression against the monk (Conti Rossini 1917: 709f.).

Another noteworthy account, not found elsewhere, concerns the time of *aṣe* ↗Bäʾədä Maryam, during whose reign it was necessary to be a member of the tribe of "Levi" to become an ordained deacon or priest; furthermore, "there were only two priests in the church or in the chapel of the king" (Conti Rossini 1917: 711f.; TadTChurch 232, 246). The chronicle further ascribes the authorship of the *Mälkəʾa Mikaʾel* and the *Mälkəʾa Qʷərban* to Bäʾədä Maryam (Conti Rossini 1917: 711; TadTChurch 277). The authorship of both *Mälkəʾa* ↗*Maryam* and *Täfäśśəḥi Maryam* is ascribed to the son of Bäʾədä Maryam, *aṣe* ↗Naʾod (Conti Rossini 1917: 711; TadTChurch 277).

A remark is also made on a battle between *aṣe* ↗Gäladewos and ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ) at Sar Bakʷəsa (↗Sarbakusa; Conti Rossini 1917: 712). It is followed by a short mention of the battle of ↗Wäyna Däga, where Grañ died.

The account ends with the reign of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos and a short list of the kings following *aṣe* Susənyos (i.e. Iyasu I, Täklä Haymanot, Tewoflos, Bäkaffa and Dawit III).

Src.: ms. BN d'Abbadie 270 [ChAbb 146]; ms. BN Éth. 215 [ChMonV 17]; BlunChr 484; CecZeila vol. 1, 381; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Il libro delle leggende e tradizioni abissine dell'ecciaghié Filpòs", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 26, 1917, 699–718; CRReal 890–92, 904ff.; DAE I, 40; ḪƎRUY WÄLDÄ ŚƎLLASE, **ዋዜማ ። በማግሥቱ ፡ የኢትዮጵያን ፡ ነገሥታት ፡ የታሪክ ፡ በዓል ፡ ለማክበር ።** (*Wazema. Bämagəśtu yäʾityop̣yan nägäśtat yätarik bäᶜal lämakbär*, 'Eve Chant, to Celebrate the Day after the Feast of the History of the Ethiopian Kings'), Addis Abäba 1921 A.M. [1927/28 A.D.], 113.
Lit.: CerDLib III, 157f.; CrumMis 31ff.; TadTChurch 209, 252, 246, 277.

Irene Roticiani

Film: Ethiopia and Eritrea in film

I. Introduction
II. Ethiopia and Eritrea in Italian films
III. Ethiopia and Eritrea in germanophone films
IV. Ethiopia and Eritrea in French films
V. Ethiopia in visual anthropology
VI. Developments in regional film-making

I. Introduction

The history of non-fiction films (hereafter F.) on the Horn of Africa is rich, complex, and diverse (a thorough filmography was provided by

Prouty 1996) and the bulk of them are not yet studied and reviewed. In the absence of major published scholarly works and comprehensive publicly accessible filmographic databases, this article focuses on early developments in F.-making, certain milestones in the F. history of the region, the representation of the region in (selected) early western F.-making (sub-articles II, III, IV), its impact on fictional F. (sub-articles II, IV), as well as on Ethiopia as a field for visual anthropology (sub-article V). Local developments (cp. also ↗Cinema) will be reviewed in sub-article VI.

A large number of older F. from Ethiopia and Eritrea have found their way into different North-American and European F. archives (e.g., www.filmarchives-online.eu). The preservation and re-editing of these F. is an ongoing process that has gained momentum in the last two decades through new digital technologies and serious efforts to secure funding for F. preservation programmes.

In the first half of the 20th cent., the region saw foreign travellers, journalists, diplomats, researchers, missionaries, adventurers, etc. from various cultural, political or professional backgrounds, who left the first filmic documents on the Horn of Africa. Probably the majority of F. were produced to promote the cause of sending institutions or companies. The costs of F. production, however, were high compared to the potential gain or advantage of the F. itself. Unlike most F. on Ethiopia, some were relatively successful at cinema box offices, such as, e.g., the professionally well promoted *Abessinienflug/Wings over Ethiopia* (1934/35) by the Swiss aviator Walter Mittelholzer (1894-1937; for a personal account of his flight to Ethiopia s. Mittelholzer 1934, 1977: 107ff.).

A good number of F. were not shot for the broader public, e.g., the German diplomat Fritz Max Weiss (also Wyss, 1877–1955) is said to have filmed in ↗Addis Abäba only privately, while the British consul Robert Ernest ↗Cheesman took amateur footage of religious ceremonies and his travels in Ethiopia in the 1920s (s. British Film Institute [BFI], online F. catalogue). Yet many F. were taken by "expedition crews" touring the region who were accompanied by a specialist in charge of filming and photography. These professional "cameramen" were important members of the crew, because photographs and F. were major components of the marketing strategies of such expeditions. An illustrative example in this regard is the work of the German cameraman Paul Lieberenz (1893–1954). His *Auf Tierfang in Abessinien* (1926) is a kaleidoscope of stereotypical images of Ethiopia in early non-fiction F.: the journey of a group of Europeans from ↗Djibouti to Addis Abäba, dances of "exotic women", scenes of the "oriental market" of ↗Harär, big game ↗hunting, the problematic crossing of rivers, certain cultural practices (here: harvesting among the ↗Sidaama), etc.

In most cases a F. crew consisted of only a few members, i.e. foreign F.-maker(s) plus assistants, local advisors and staff members. Only the filming was done in situ, the rest of the production process took place in the home countries of the F.-maker(s). Many important ethnographic F., for instance, were produced by a team consisting of an anthropologist in co-operation with a documentary F.-maker (cp. also sub-article IV).

In later years, especially after the outbreak of the ↗Italian war of 1935–36, professional F. crews from Western countries came to the region exclusively to shoot F. for the big newsreel production companies, like the "expedition" of Laurence T. Stallings (1894–1968) for Fox Movietone News.

Major developments in the history of film in Ethiopia

F.-making in Ethiopia was started in the early 20th cent. by Europeans travelling in Ethiopia. The first F. on record are presumably those made by Ralph P. Cobbold on behalf of Warwick Trading Co. in 1901. A series of relatively short F. under the title "With the Anglo-Abyssinian Expedition" is listed in *The British Film Catalogue, Vol. 2, Non-fiction Film, 1888–1994* (Gifford 2000: 70) as follows:

> "Dance of David by Abyssinian", "Abyssinian Priests and Natives Assembling for Worship", "Dance of Abyssinian Priests before Ark of the Covenant", "Emperor Menelik's Troops on the March", "Ras Makonnen Reviewing his Army at Harrar", "Emperor Menelik's Troops Entering Harrar", and "Entry of Ras Makonnen at Head of Abyssinian Army".

Moreover, Cobbold took part in the British campaign against ↗Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh Ḥasan (Roberts 1987: 193).

The first "block" of F. shot in Ethiopia reached European audiences in the years prior to World War I. It was a time when F.-workers from Europe travelled the world and returned with short F. from seemingly remote countries, especially the colonies.

In Italy, the Turin based F. production company Ambrosio distributed a number of short F. from "Abyssinia", probably directed by Italian pioneer documentary F.-maker Roberto Omegna (1876–1948). The first of these were *Caccia al Leopardo* (1908), *Matrimonio Abissino* (1908), *Usi e Costumi Abissini* (1909), *Funerale Abissino* (1909), and *Come si viaggia in Africa* (1909). The same Ambrosio F. appeared also in France at the end of 1910 with corresponding titles in French and partly also in Germany (cp. *Leopardenjagd in Abessinien*, 1909) – a fact which allows one to assume that these F. circulated in the F.-markets of many different European countries. These F. mark the beginning of a rich tradition of Italian F.-making in the Horn of Africa, especially with regard to Eritrea (cp. also sub-article II).

In France, another F.-maker, Charles Martel, presented his F. *En Abyssinie* (1909/10) at a session of the Société Géographique de Paris. It is preserved in the Service des Archives du Film at Bois d'Arcy in France (Prouty – Rosenfeld 1994: 126).

Another surviving short F. is Alfred Machin's *Chasse au marabout en Abyssinie/Marabujagd in Abessinien* (1911). Machin (1877–1929) made a long journey along the Nile in 1909 up to the Ethio–Sudanese border region, and being an industrious and progressive F.-maker, used this opportunity to produce three F.-series (*Voyage en Afrique*, *Les Grandes Chasses en Afrique*, *Voyage en Egypte*). The marabou hunting F. with a length of 130 min. (of which 100 min. are colourized) was professionally promoted by Pathé Frères in a number of European countries. It was piece no. 4 in the *Les Grandes Chasses en Afrique* series (Bousquet 1994, no. 4269 with further references).

Other known F. of that time in German cinemas were *Die Äthiopier* (1909) and *An der äthiopischen Grenze* (1909/10); however, currently there is no trace of surviving copies (for basic filmographic references s. Birett 1991: 7, 20).

The period from World War I up to the early 1930s offered a number of interesting F., in particular F. by ↗expedition crews that produced revealing footage from places and people(s) difficult to visit; examples are the ↗Grühl – Kiermeier expedition to ↗Käfa (1925/26), the Borgstädt – Ruhe expedition to ↗Dime and parts of the ↗Omo valley (1926/27) or the Italian expedition among the ↗ᶜAfar or Danakil (1928/29). F. had become a means to successfully promote and illustrate the work of these expeditions.

An extensive second "block" of F. concerning Ethiopia and Italian-occupied Northeast-Africa (↗Africa Orientale Italiana) was produced shortly before and during the ↗Italian war of 1935–36. Among the many F. that can be mentioned in this regard are Martin ↗Rikli's *Abessinien von heute*: *Blickpunkt der Welt* (1934), Ronald Haine's *The Real Abyssinia* (1935), Walter Mittelholzer's *Abyssinia*, the Italian Istituto LUCE's (L'Unione Cinematografica Educativa) *Il cammino degli eroi* (1937); or the Russian-made *Abissinija* (1935/36). The Soviet cameramen of Soyuskinochronika, Boris Zeitlin and Vladimir Yeshurin, apparently filmed inter alia "the bombardment of the field hospital at Dessie" and caught "one Italian bomber falling at Kakala"; allegedly even a poison gas attack and its victims were recorded (*Monthly Film Bulletin* 4, 1937, 264).

This period is especially interesting not only because much new material was produced by international F. crews, but also because the F. material produced in earlier years was re-used and newly synchronized. For instance, in 1935 the German F. production company Bavaria-Film AG marketed a sound F. from material produced during the silent F. era (*Friedliches Abessinien*, 1935) and made use of the material of the Grühl and Kiermeier expedition.

The F. artist Lutz Becker has made good use of the F.-material of this epoch for his *Lion of Judah* (1981), which according to Roberts (1987: 214) "poignantly counterpoints war footage from both sides and admirably demonstrates the possibilities for the serious reconstruction of history through film".

Aṣe ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's post-war reign saw a number of important F. like the *Images d'Ethiopie/Beelden van Ethiopie* (1947/48) by Paul and Jean Pichonnier, that was shown at the 1949 Cannes F. festival, or the Deutsche Wochenschau made *Abessinien*: *Kaiserreich zwischen gestern und morgen* (1956) that was produced to highlight the efforts of the Ethiopian regime to modernize the country while at the same time caring for the traditions of its people. Influential co-producers of this coloured sound F. were the Ethiopian officials ↗Makʷännən Dästa and Admasu Badima. It was one of the noteworthy F. shown at the 16th ↗International Conference of Ethiopian Studies in Trondheim, Norway in 2007.

Ḫaylä Śəllase was fascinated by F. and cinema and understood how important F. could be

Paul Pichonnier filming a military parade; in: Pichonnier – Pichonnier 1950: 3, from the collection of Guillem Martínez Molinos

for reaching (foreign) policy objectives. There are several filmic portraits of the Emperor that helped to create and temporarily maintain the image of a benevolent modern leader with a colourful personality, e.g., *The Lion of Judah* (1950) by Anthony de Lotbiniere or *Focus on Ethiopia* (1952) by Castleton Knight.

During the final years of Ḫaylä Śəllase's regime until the early years of the ↗Revolution of 1974, however, F. – maybe for the first time – started to impact on politics as some documentary F. revealed the very problematic state of affairs in parts of the country (with regard to drought, corruption, land property and social issues, etc.). British TV journalist Jonathan Dimbleby managed to shoot, export, and broadcast his report on the 1973 Ethiopian ↗famine (*The Unknown Famine*, 1974), which shocked Ethiopian and European audiences alike. In a newspaper article (Dimbleby 2002) the director looked back at his work and took the view that it contributed to the overthrow of Ḫaylä Śəllase's regime: "Crudely recent to include scenes of high life at the imperial palace and retitled *The Hidden Hunger* our footage was used to soften up the Emperor's subjects for a military coup which brought Comrade – later President – Mengistu to power". Later noteworthy reports by Dimbleby for British television were: *Return to Ethiopia* (1974), *Ethiopia*: *A Revolution is Declared* (1975), *Ethiopia*: *Famine and War* (1975).

In the field of ethnographic F., the early 1970s were important years, for instance, Gardner's F. on the ↗Hamär, *Rivers of Sand* (1974), triggered discussions, the first F. on the ↗Mursi by Turton and Woodhead was released, and Klausberger was able to film the Bodi (↗Meʾen; *Die rituelle Blutwaschung Unyjen bei den Bodi, Süd-Äthiopien*, 1973/75).

While some remarkable documentary F. were produced before the Revolution – e.g., Bud Greenspan's *The Ethiopians* (1971) on Ethiopian marathon runners) – the years after the fall of Ḫaylä Śəllase were used effectively by the new regime to produce politically motivated documentary-F.; often together with new partners from socialist countries like the Soviet Union, Cuba, Czechoslovakia or the German Democratic Republic (GDR). *Burden of the Past*: *Path to the Future* (1976) directed by Michel Papatakis was an Ethiopian-Czechoslovakian co-operation. A F. on the rural education campaign (↗*zämäča*; *Call of the Motherland* [1976]) was officially presented by an Ethiopian delegation in the GDR (Bräuer 1976) and East German F.-makers Hubert Kröning and Armin Wünsche produced documentaries for the GDR and Ethiopian television (e.g., *Äthiopien 1977* [1977]; *Mohamed, der Schuhputzer* [1978]; cp. Richter 1980: 140f.).

Many of these F. were shown on Ethiopian television and screened at public meetings. However, for many years the range of Ethiopian TV was extremely limited and the number of (propaganda) documentaries was still small (cp. Müller 1978; Richter 1980: 138). F. production under the Mängəśtu regime was restricted. Many F.-makers' projects could not be realized until the regime had fallen.

Issues in film history research

The main issues are three:

(1) Accessibility and preservation of F. material: A number of F. that are known to have existed are nowadays lost or are inaccessible (e.g., Kurt Lubinski's *Hochzeitsreise nach Abessinien* [1928] or Jacques Stüssy's *Weißer Mann in Abessinien* [1936/37]). There has been no major programme to document, restore and digitalize the majority

of F. that were shot in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa region and that now lie in various F. archives across the world. Preservation programmes, however, are necessary prerequisites for effective historical studies on F.

(2) Adequate representation of peoples and cultures in F.:

Some ethnographic documentaries that were filmed in Ethiopia have raised the question of the (limits of) proper representation of cultures and peoples. An instructive example for a debate on such issues is the discussion on Robert Gardner's *Rivers of Sand* on the traditions of the Hamär between the F.-maker, the involved anthropological experts Jean Lydall and Ivo Strecker, and reviewers like Lionel M. ↗Bender (s. EAE vol. 5; for references and a summary of the debate s. Loizos 1989: 69ff.). The feeling of unease with Gardner's F. and the subsequent debate triggered the production of a number of noteworthy "Hamär F." by Strecker – Lydall – Head (*The Leap Across the Cattle* [1979]; *The Father of the Goats* [1984]; *The Hamar Herdsman and his Music/The Song of the Hamar Herdsman* [1986]; *The Women who Smile* [1990]; *Two Girls go Hunting* [1991]; *Sweet Sorghum* [1994]; *Duka's Dilemma* [2001]; *Bury the Spear* [1993/2001/2004]).

Other issues are caused by the problematic representation of certain ethnic groups in television documentaries relative to "proper" ethnographic F. Some documentaries on the ↗Suri, for instance, can be regarded as examples of attempts to create and reproduce ethnic stereotypes (stick-fighting, lip-plates, ↗body ornamentation [also ↗body modification s. EAE vol. 5]) rather than instructive reports holding aesthetic and intellectual values. This has provoked researchers to speak of the "filmatic exploitation" of a people (personal communication with Jon Abbink; cp. also Abbink 2009).

(3) F. and their impact on the international image of the Horn of Africa:

a look into the F. history of Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa shows that the image of Ethiopia (as well as Eritrea and Somalia) has changed immensely throughout the 20th cent. Ethiopia was once associated with the successful fight against colonialism, the remarkable reign of Ḫaylä Śəllase I, and magnificent monuments along the "historic route" such as the rock-hewn churches of ↗Lalibäla. However, even though there are lots of amazing F. on various aspects of Ethiopian cultures, it can probably be argued that F. have contributed heavily to the international image of Ethiopia as a place where – more than anything else – hunger, violence and epidemics were endemic. Jonathan Dimbleby wrote that in the past the combination of famines and atrocities in the wars of the 1970s/80s "had imprinted on our collective memory an indelible image of Ethiopia as a nation of skeletons and savagery" (Dimbleby 2002).

Repeated reports on Somalia that focus mainly on drought, civil war, piracy, alleged terrorist groups, forced mass migration, etc. tend to have created an equally problematic international image. The case of Eritrea is slightly different, but nor is its international image positive.

The evolution of this intractable image (and an effective means to modify it) is under-researched. Even though the TV and cinema markets are not the only important media sectors that contributed to the formation of a probably unbalanced image, it seems reasonable to assume that they are highly significant.

Src.: personal communication with Jon Abbink, Hamburg 2007.

Lit.: Jon Abbink, "Suri Images: the Return of Exoticism and the Commodification of an African 'Tribe'", *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 49 (196), 2009, 893–924; Anon., Review of "'Abyssinia' (U.S.S.R.) 1936", *Monthly Film Bulletin* 4, 1937, 264; Herbert Birett, *Das Filmangebot in Deutschland 1895–1911*, München 1991, 7, 20; Ferid Boughedir, *African Cinema from A to Z*, Bruxelles 1992 (Collection Cinémédia 16), 116–18; Henri Bousquet, *Catalogue Pathé des années 1896 à 1914*: *1910–1911*, Bures-sur-Yvette 1994; Hans-Dieter Bräuer, "Äthiopien: Einziges Rezept", *Neue Berliner Illustrierte. Die Zeit im Bild* 15, 1976; Guido Convents, *Préhistoire du cinéma en Afrique – 1897–1918*: *À la recherche des images oubliées*, Bruxelles 1986 (Collection Cinémédia 8); Jonathan Dimbleby, "Ethiopia Proves there Can be Life after Death", *The Observer*, Sunday, 28 June 2002; Giuseppe Gariazzo, "Etiopia", in: *Enciclopedia del cinema*, vol. 2: *Ci–Gh*, Roma 2003, 472; Denis Gifford, *The British Film Catalogue*, vol. 2: *Non-Fiction Film, 1888–1994*, London 2000, 70; Peter Loizos, "Rivers of Sand: Versuch einer Neueinschätzung", in: Reinhard Kapfer (ed.), *Rituale von Leben und Tod*: *Robert Gardner und seine Filme*, München 1989, 69–91; Walter Mittelholzer, *Abessinien-Flug – Mit dem dreimotorigen Fokker an den Hof des Negus Negesti*, Zürich 1934; Id., *Die großen Flugabenteuer*, Zürich 1977; Paul Pichonnier – Jean Pichonnier, "Photographes du diable", *Photo-Service Gevaert* 20, 1950, 3–8, here 3 (ill.); Chris Prouty – Eugene Rosenfeld, "Films", in: *PrRosDic* 125–26; Chris Prouty, *A Catalogue of Documentary Films and Film Footage on Ethiopia and Eritrea* (*Compiled for the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Abeba, Ethiopia*), Washington, DC 1996; Andrew D. Roberts, "Africa on Film to 1940", *History in Africa* 14, 1987, 189–227.

Martin Haars

II. Ethiopia and Eritrea in Italian films

As shown above, filmic representation of the Horn of Africa in Italy started with Roberto Omegna. This was followed by Luca Comerio who devoted much attention to the conquest of Libya around 1912: the Italian F. archive carries an anonymous, short silent F. on Eritrean colonial troops, at present entitled *La vita dei nostri ascari eritrei in Libia*.

In Baldassarre Negroni's *Zuma* (1913, 23 min.), the Italian actress Hesperia (Olga Mambelli) played Zuma, an African female slave whose hairstyle and clothes remind us of Eritrean colonial ↗photographs around 1900. Some of *Zuma's* characters were in blackface (white actors performing in black makeup as stereotyped Africans – originally Afro-Americans – commonly used in early vaudeville shows). One of the richest descriptions of Eritrea was filmed in 1922 by ↗Capuchin friars under the title *L'Eritrea* (52 min. 8 sec.). In 1924, the documentary *Aethiopia* (16 min. 13 sec.), directed by Franco Martini and produced by Sindacato di Istruzione Cinematografica (later LUCE), focuses on Guelfo Civinini's expedition to Eritrea and Ethiopia. *Il sentiero delle belve* (78 min.) by Vittorio Tedesco Zammarano was edited in 1932 and advertized as a hunting reportage set in ↗Africa Orientale Italiana, but it was made out of material filmed by Zammarano in Somalia around 1920.

American cinema had dominated Italian screens from the mid 1910s. Until the protectionist legislation inaugurated by the 1938 Alfieri Law, Fascism handled fiction cinema mostly as entertainment: it did not oppose Hollywood's imaginary influence, considering American F. incapable of fomenting social conflict and able to provide models of youth, vitality, and adventure that were compatible with Fascist ideology. On the contrary, from 1925 on, the regime carefully controlled information, Italian self-representation, and popular culture through Istituto Nazionale LUCE. During Fascism, LUCE (still existing today) had educational, propagandistic and patriotic aims. It produced hundreds of documentaries and F. of different natures (science, history, archaeology, medicine, army, folklore, ethnography, geography, demography, tourism, etc.), and also photographs and "cinegiornali" (newsreels that had to be projected by cinemas before any show).

In the late 1920s, LUCE produced documentaries about Italian noblemen visiting the colonies (e.g., *Viaggio di S.A.R. il Principe di Piemonte nell'Eritrea italiana* [1928]; *Spedizione di S.A.R. il Duca degli Abruzzi* [1928, 52 min. 29 sec.]), on Italian expeditions (cp. Corrado ↗Zoli's expedition in *Eritrea settentrionale* [1929, 15 min.]; Raimondo Franchetti's *Spedizione Franchetti nella Dancalia* [1929]), the commemoration of the ↗ᶜAdwa defeat (e.g., *Trasporto in Eritrea delle Salme degli Italiani caduti in Adua* [1926, 28 min.]), and the legacies of the Roman empire (*Ritorno di Roma* [1926, 44 min]). Early colonial documentaries also had some ethnographic content, such as *Il viaggio del Principe Umberto in Eritrea. Da Tessenei ad Agordat* (1928, 9 min.) that showed dancing group scenes, that are similar to those that would appear later in some of the 1930s colonial fiction F. *Viaggio di S.M. il Re in Eritrea* (1932, 38 min. 25 sec.) is already a sound documentary F. like *Aspetti e ricordi di S.A.R. il Duca degli Abruzzi nel suo viaggio in Abissinia* (1932–1937, 8 min. 35 sec.). The production of LUCE sound colonial documentary F. and newsreels increased from 1935 onward (cp. *Da Adua ad Axum. Le tappe dell'avanzata italiana in Africa Orientale* or *Camicie nere in A.O.*). LUCE opened its office in Asmära and groups of cameramen were directed by Luciano De Feo, Corrado D'Errico, and Giuseppe Croce. LUCE carefully and enthusiastically reported the Ethiopian campaign (↗Italian war of 1935–36). In 1936, it produced approximately 20 black and white F. and documentaries connected with the occupation of Ethiopia that tended to portray it as a great, adventurous, noble and civilizing event, like e.g.: *Il cammino degli eroi* (68 min.) directed by D'Errico and projected at the Venice F. festival; *Legionari al secondo parallelo. Diario di un milite della 221^{a} legione fasci all'estero* (35 min.) directed by Romolo Marcellini, it portrays subaltern Italian soldiers overseas; *Sulle orme dei nostri pionieri* (48 min. 18 sec.); *Con la colonna Starace a Gondar e al lago Tana* (17 min. 10 sec.); *Ore di guerra nel cielo africano* (13 min.); *Da Dessiè a Addis Abeba* (21 min. 10 sec.); *Strade romane in terra d'oltre mare* (11 min. 15 sec.).

In 1937–39 noteworthy examples were: *L'Italia imperiale* (53 min. 45 sec.), celebrating the first anniversary of the Fascist empire, and *Attività mineraria in Eritrea* (18 min. 10 sec.). *Cronache dell' Impero*, a supplementary colonial newsreel. In 1939, G. Martucci directed a propagandistic LUCE F. on Addis Abäba's renewal, *La fondazione della nuova Addis Abeba* (20 min. 38 sec.), that shows images of various peoples and sites, accompanied by propagandistic statements in Italian; this F. enthusiastically praises the Italians' deeds in Ethiopia (including Guglielmo ↗Massaja's) that allow the local population to overcome fatal diseases, illiteracy, ↗slavery, and misery, caused by the "barbaric" and "brutal" Ethiopian kingdom (as it is described by many Italian sources of this period).

As far as sound fiction F. are concerned, several Italian "colonial F." of the 1930s are stories of Italians' sacrifice and redemption through colonialism in Africa; including the elegant *Lo squadrone bianco* (1936, 96 min.) directed by Augusto Genina – the story of an Italian military outpost in the Sahara desert – that welcomes the conquest of Ethiopia, however focusing on the previous Italian conquest of Libya (1911–12). The rhetoric in *Scipione l'Africano* (1937, 115 min.), directed by Carmine Gallone, and partly supported by LUCE, implicitly glorifies the proclamation of the fascist empire, through the exaltation of Rome and Scipio's feats in North Africa. Through the portrayals of relations and reconciliations between generations, in Italian F. focusing on Ethiopia, the new, pure, righteous, young generation accomplishes what the previous generation did not manage to do, thus implicitly avenging the ᶜAdwa defeat. This is the case of the first fiction movie that focuses on the Ethiopian Campaign *Il grande appello* (1936, 85 min.) by Mario Camerini and co-written by Mario Soldati, as well as *Luciano Serra pilota* (1938, 106 min.), directed by Goffredo Alessandrini, supervised by Vittorio Mussolini, and interpreted by Amedeo Nazzari. Flavio Calzavara's *Piccoli naufraghi* (1939, 84 min.) portrays 13 boys (one African included) who furtively manage to sail from Italy to the Horn of Africa, hoping to join the conquest of Ethiopia. *Il grande appello* – a family drama with nationalistic intention – displays some wide pictures of the landscapes and peoples of the African Horn, as it happens with other Italian F. set in colonial Northeast-Africa: Marcellini's *Sentinelle di bronzo* (1937, 83 min.), Guido Brignone's *Sotto la Croce del Sud* (1938, 78 min.), and Alessandrini's *Abuna Messias* (1939, 96 min.), starring the Ethiopian actress Bərḵä Zäytu Täkle (Berchè Zaitù Taclè), dubbed by Giovanna Scotto. *Abuna Messias* is an expensive, paternalistic F., partly funded by the Catholic establishment, that narrates Cardinal ↗Massaja's second mission in Ethiopia in mid-19th cent. Paradoxically, although *Abuna Messias* is a conservative F. with many performers in blackface, it seems to anticipate the postcolonial historiographic assumption that, in most cases, a local agency and an African will were fundamental for European colonialism to take off. Other F. as well, called on Italian foreign policies, in order to justify colonialist aspirations. *Sentinelle di bronzo* touches on the controversial point of the legitimacy of the Italian aggression against Ethiopia (denounced by the ↗League of Nations). The F. vaguely refers to the ↗Wälwäl incident of 1934 and asserts that the occupation was right and positive, because Italy brought order and justice to Somali regions unjustly threatened by Ethiopia. *Sentinelle di bronzo*, turning the Italian actress Doris Duranti into a desirable African-Muslim girl, implicitly speaks of Italian colonial and expansionist tactics in the Horn of Africa, where Rome favoured, for its own profit, the Muslim minorities against the Orthodox Christian majority. *Sotto la Croce del Sud*, filmed in Africa Orientale Italiana, displays the symbolic and regenerating role played by Italy in the Horn of Africa by sketching a benevolent portrayal of the efforts carried out by Italian "pioneers" to start agricultural farms and settle on the Abyssinian plateau. However *Sotto la Croce del Sud* is also a pastiche of international F. genres in vogue at the time; here, aesthetic and political canons are repeatedly subverted, thus constructing highly ambiguous images of "Italians", "foreigners", "settlers", "Africans", and "*meticci*" ("half-casts") that the Fascist press sometimes found unacceptable. *Sentinelle di bronzo* and *Il grande appello* put on Italian screens the popular, notoriously attractive and sexually available north-east African young women (the famous "Faccette nere") that were essential elements of Italian colonial imagery. But, while *Il grande appello* simply shows the girls sitting at the tables of a bar, *Sentinelle di bronzo* exceptionally possesses a long nude scene: sexy, joyful, naked African girls bathe themselves in a river. While commercial colonial "erotic-love novels" did not survive the rise of State racism that toward the end of 1930s banished "interracial" relationships and their representation, "colonial cinema" was able to get round the fascist racist legislation, whose directives are anyhow discernible in several colonial F.

After ↗World War II, in the postcolonial period, *Angelo tra la folla* (1950, 96 min.) by Leonardo De Mitri deals with the adventures of an Eritrean-Italian boy, the orphan of an Italian colonist who has been sent to Rome. Luciano Emmer's *Cavalcata di mezzo secolo* (1952, 85 min.) is a documentary F. on the first half of 20th cent. that focuses, among others, on the Ethiopian Campaign. Calzavara's *La pattuglia dell'Amba Alagi* (1953, 98 min.) is a F. on the Italian memory of war in Africa Orientale.

In *La mia signora* (1964, 103 min.), Luigi Comencini's sketch *Eritrea* stars Silvana Mangano in the role of an Italian prostitute called Eritrea. *Magia nuda* (1974, 99 min.), by Castiglioni and Guerrasio is a F. about magic worldwide, Ethiopia included. Most importantly, Pier Paolo Pasolini filmed in Eritrea approximately one third of *Il fiore delle Mille e una notte* (1974, 130 min.), as we deduce from the features and the clothing of numerous extras and characters, including the scene of the queen and the king betting on the love between a girl and a young man, called by Pasolini Sitt and Hasan. The F. main female character is Ines Pellegrini (probably a stage name), an African-Italian young woman Pasolini met in Asmära; she also appears in Pasolini's last F. *Salò o le 120 giornate di Sodoma* (1975, 117 min.). Pasolini refers to former Italian colonies also in *La rabbia di Pasolini* (1963–2008, 82 min.), which is a sort of posthumous remake of *La rabbia* (104 min.), directed by Guareschi and Pasolini in 1963. After Pasolini's death, Ines Pellegrini only interpreted genre movies and erotic comedies, such as *Una bella governante di colore* (1976). But the most famous Eritrean actress in Italian cinema is Zeudi Araya (Zäwdi Arᵓaya), who interpreted numerous 1970s–1980s genres F., including *La ragazza dalla pelle di luna* (1972, 90 min.).

Nipoti miei diletti (1974, 100 min.) by Franco Rossetti narrates an incestuous relationship and the "dream" of the Ethiopian Campaign. In 1976, Antonio Climati and Mario Morra realized the documentary F. *Savana violenta* (95 min.) that includes the capture of zebras in Ethiopia. *Dal Polo all'Equatore* (1986, 96 min.) is an experimental F. by Gianikian and Ricci Lucchi that explores the imperial nature of photography by re-editing Comerio's footage from travels around the world. In 1989, Giuliano Montaldo directed *Tempo di uccidere* (110min.) that takes inspiration from Ennio Flaiano's homonymous novel (1947), set in the Horn of Africa during the Ethiopian campaign. In 1998, Montaldo, using LUCE F. material, directed a documentary F. on Fascism, *Le stagioni dell'aquila* (88 min.) that also deals with the occupation of Ethiopia. *Abissinia* (1993, 87 min.), by F.R. Martinotti, is not set in the Horn of Africa; the title of the F. refers to the nickname given by locals to the desolate outskirts of Rimini. In more recent years, when the languages of video and F. have tended to merge, Theo Eshetu, an Ethiopian-Dutch F.- and videomaker who has lived most of his life in Italy, realized *Il sangue non è acqua fresca* (1997, 58 min.) that focuses on his Ethiopian family heritage through the story of his grandfather and former minister in Ethiopia, ↗Täklä Ṣadəq Mäkʷəriya. *Come un uomo sulla terra* (2008, 52 min.) is a documentary F. directed by Andrea Segre, Dagmawi Yimer (Dagmawi Yəmär), and Riccardo Biadene (occasionally also shown in Italian cinemas) that narrates the dramatic journey through Africa of migrants from the Horn of Africa, who strive and suffer to reach Italy via Libya.

Lit.: Immacolata Amodeo, "In the Empire's Eyes: Africa in Italian Colonial Cinema between Imperial Fantasies and Blind Spots", in: Harald Fischer-Tiné – Susanne Gehrmann (eds.), *Empires and Boundaries*: *Rethinking Race, Class, and Gender in Colonial Settings*, London – New York 2009, 166–82; Adriano Aprà, "Mario Camerini: dalla realtà alla metafora", in: Orio Caldiron (ed.), *Storia del cinema italiano*, vol. 5: *1934/1939*, Roma – Venezia 2006, 225–35; Mino Argentieri, *L'occhio del regime. Informazione e propaganda nel cinema del fascismo*, Firenze 1979; Ruth Ben-Ghiat, "The Italian Colonial Cinema: Agendas and Audiences", in: Ruth Ben-Ghiat – Mia Fuller (eds.), *Italian Colonialism*, New York 2005, 179–91; Gian Piero Brunetta, *Intellettuali Cinema e Propaganda tra le due Guerre,* Bologna 1972; Id., "L'ora d'Africa del cinema italiano", in: Id. – Jean Antoine Gili, *L'ora d'Africa del Cinema Italiano 1911–1989, Materiali di lavoro*, Rovereto – Trento 1990, 9–37; Id., *Cent'anni di cinema italiano*. 1. *Dalle origini alla Seconda guerra mondiale, Laterza*, Roma – Bari 1995 [1991]; Id., *Guida alla storia del cinema italiano, 1905–2003*, Torino 2003 [*The History of Italian Cinema*: *a Guide to Italian Film from its Origins to the Twenty-First Century*, tr. by Jeremy Parzen, Princeton 2009]; Maria Coletti, "Il cinema coloniale tra propaganda e melò", in: Caldiron 2006, 354–62; Alessandra Cori, *Il cinema di Romolo Marcellini. Tra storia e società dal colonialismo agli anni '70*, Recco 2009; Barbara Corsi, "Istituto Luce. Inventario generale dei documentari e dei cinegiornali a soggetto colonial", in: Brunetta – Gili 1990, 109–12; Luigi Freddi, *Il cinema*, Roma 1949; Piero Garofalo – Jaqueline Reich (eds.), *Re-Viewing Fascism*: *Italian Cinema, 1922–1943*, Bloomington, IN 2002; Jean Antoine Gili, "I film dell'Impero fascista", in: Brunetta – Gili 1990, 39–112; James Hay, *Popular Film Culture in Fascist Italy*: *the Passing of the Rex*, Bloomington, IN 1987; Marcia Landy, *Fascism in Film*: *the Italian Commercial Cinema, 1931–1943*, Princeton, NJ 1986; Giovanna Trento, *Pasolini e l'Africa, l'Africa di Pasolini. Panmeridionalismo e rappresentazioni dell'Africa postcoloniale*, Milano – Udine 2010; Ead., "From Marinetti to Pasolini: Massawa, the Red Sea and the Construction of 'Mediterranean Africa' in Italian Literature and Cinema", *NEASt* new ser. 12, 1, 2012 (new ser.), 269–303.

Giovanna Trento

III. Ethiopia and Eritrea in germanophone films

For the period between the mid-1920s until the mid-1950s German archival sources (Bundesfilmmarchiv/BFA Berlin; http://filmportal.de) indicate the production of a dozen long F. related to the subject:

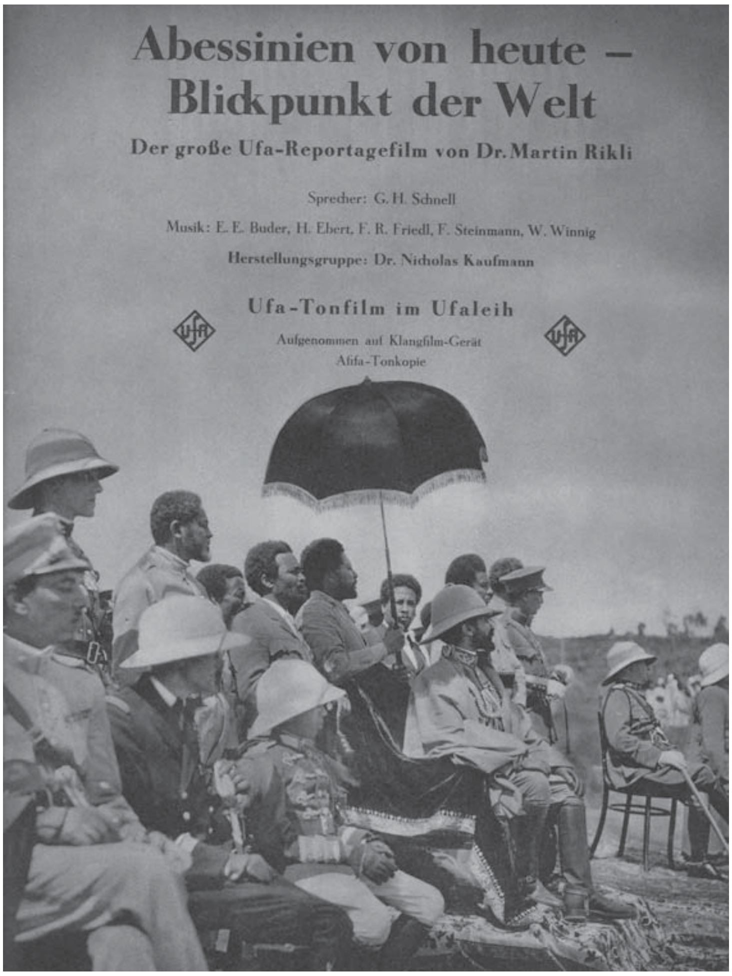
1) digitalized copies available at the BFA (Berlin): Hermannsburger Mission, *Mit der Hermannsburger Mission in Abessinien* (1935); Johann Albert Menno (Jam) Borgstädt, *Im Schatten des Goldenen Löwen* (1935, 78 min.); Martin Rikli, *Abessinien von Heute – Blickpunkt der Welt* (1935, 101 min.).
2) nitrofilm copies at the BFA: Ernst Garden, *Auf Tierfang in Abessinien* (1926); Paul Hartlmaier, *11000 km Ostafrika* (1939).
3) digitalized copy available at the Swiss Filmarchiv: Walter Mittelholzer, *Abessinienflug* (1934).
4) videocopy on the market: Admasu Badima – Dej. Makonnen Desta – Manfred Purzer, *Äthiopien – Kaiserreich zwischen Gestern und Morgen* (1956, 101 min.).
5) status unknown: St. Petrus Claver Sodalität (Breslau), *Streifzug durch Abessinien* (1926); Jam Borgstädt, *Abessinien, das Land der Somalis und der Amharen* (1926); Max Grühl, *Aus dem Reiche des Königs der Könige* (1926/27), Kurt Lubinski, *Hochzeitsreise nach Abessinien* (1928); Paul Hartlmaier, *Amba Ras* (1953); Wilhelm Schmah, *Wunderland Abessinien* (1956, 59 min.).

Additionally, the BFA holds some older material as well as non-digitalized copies of German newsreels (UFA-Wochenschau, DEULIG Tonwoche), in particular covering the Italian war 1935–36.

On the ideological level, early German documentaries and entertainment F. marked a switch from the public display of exotic people, shown in Zoological Gardens and at public fairs of pre-World War I ↗Germany, to the genre of exotic F. located in Africa during the 1920s. Both genres had colonial and racist underpinnings (Schöning 1997). Remarkable figures during this period were the director Ernst Garden and his cameraman Paul Lieberenz, who in their 1926 F. worked with advisers such as Lutz Heck, academic director of the Berlin Zoological Garden from 1932 to 1945, and Oskar Neumann, ornithologist and traveller in Ethiopia.

During the mid-1920s, documentary F. on Ethiopia by such filmmakers as Max Grühl and Jam Borgstädt contributed to spreading the image of a land of easy fortunes, open to fortune-hunters. At the end of the 1920s, the trope of the "Ethiopian Journey" conveyed by many F. became a symbol for fraudulent schemes and for luring investors and prospective tourists into unfulfilled dreams of gain and adventure (Zitelmann 1999: 137).

The regional scope of F. on Ethiopia was broad. Borgstädt recorded his impressions in Somali-settled territories, ↗Wälläga and Ǧimma (BIFK 2378). The team of Garden and Lie-



Abessinien von heute –
Blickpunkt der Welt
Der große Ufa-Reportagefilm von Dr. Martin Rikli
Sprecher: G. H. Schnell
Musik: E. E. Buder, H. Ebert, F. R. Friedl, F. Steinmann, W. Winnig
Herstellungsgruppe: Dr. Nicholas Kaufmann
Ufa-Tonfilm im Ufaleih
Aufgenommen auf Klangfilm-Gerät
Afifa-Tonkopie

Advertisement for Martin Rikli's film of 1935 *Abessinien von heute – Blickpunkt der Welt*; from the collection of Martin Haars berenz focused on ↗Arsi and Ǧimma (Bairu Tafla 1981: 67) and Mittelholzer on the ↗Ittuu. Max Grühl filmed in ↗Käfa during a four month expedition there in 1926, which was sponsored by the Munich based F. company EMELKA (PAA, 47156). For their part, the Hermannsburger Mission's F. described the road between Addis Abäba and Wälläga, the early days of ↗Aʾira (s. EAE vol. 5), including a visit of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Habtä Maryam Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer, and (partly staged) impressions on ↗Oromo culture.

The most productive period of documentaries on Ethiopia (Borgstädt, Rikli, Hermannsburger Mission, Mittelholzer) was during 1934–36. Then documentaries served to steer public opinion on German ambiguous policy during the Italian-Ethiopian war 1935–36 (Zitelmann 1999: 138ff.). Thus, Borgstädt and Rikli presented "tradition" and "modernity" as dual aspects of "independent Ethiopia" (BIFK 2378, 2379). Both F. were withdrawn from public circulation when the Italian victory approached (Anon. 1997: 5).

In ↗Austria, which was in 1935 under Austrofascism, with clear pro-Italian leanings, Rikli's film was banned from the start (Orlando 1993: 63). Here a certain propagandistic impact was produced by the German dubbed version of the Italian propaganda documentary by Corrado D'Errico *Il cammino degli eroi* (1936), which was presented as *217 Tage Abessinien* (*Von Rom bis Addis Abeba*) (Wiener IFK, 1426; film copy at Zentrales Landesarchiv Niederösterreich, St. Pöltgen).

During the 1930s the tension between the representation of Ethiopia as an independent state on one side, and colonial aspirations in Africa on the other side, reveals a subtext common in many documentaries. Paul Hartlmaier's F. transported this shifting attitude into the 1950s. His F. in 1939 was sympathetic towards Africa Orientale Italiana and counted with the support of Goebbels' Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda (PAA, R 65574). However, when the F. was reedited in 1953 as *Amba Ras*, it was presented as a eulogy of the Ethiopian Empire. In 1956 a team that included *däǧǧazmač* ↗Mäkʷännən Dästa produced a distinctive patriotic F. combining tradition and modernity.

Some of the early filmmakers also produced short topical and educational documentaries: Borgstädt on iron-production among the Dime (Haberland 1964); Grühl on trade, ↗*ənsät*, and European settlers in Ethiopia; Rikli on modern education, the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Church, Addis Abäba, the Ethiopian army, and *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I.

Many of the long F. were accompanied by illustrated brochures, published in Berlin (Illustrierter Film-Kurier, IFK) or Vienna: Garden (BIFK 419); Mittelholzer (Wiener IFK 926); Borgstädt 1935 (BIFK 2378); Rikli (BIFK 2379). In addition, many of the directors or cameramen published popular travel- and photo-books about their Ethiopian journeys (Grühl 1929; Hartlmaier 1953; Lieberenz 1935, 1946; Lubinski 1929, 1935; Mittelholzer 1934; Rikli 1935, 1947). Borgstädt (1935) wrote a small article praising *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II as a colonial hero. An adviser in Borgstädt's second film, Hans Jannasch, a German settler and adventurer in Ethiopia (Bairu Tafla 1981: 61, 164, 171f.), provided with his *Im Schatten des Negus* (Jannasch 1930) a written blueprint for the *Im Schatten des goldenen Löwen* (1935, 78 min.) evoked by Borgstädt. Material of the Hermannsburger Mission documentary on the early days of the missionaries' work in Ethiopia was also used in two publications by Dietrich Waßmann (1935; 1938).

Src.: Bundesfilmarchiv (BFA), *http://www.bundesarchiv.de/benutzungsmedien/filme/search* (last access July 2011); Jam [Johann Albert Menno] Borgstädt, "Menelik", in: Paul Leutwein, *Kämpfe um Afrika*: *Sechs Lebensbilder*, Lübeck 1936, 210–41; Max Grühl, *Vom heiligen Nil ins Reich des Kaisergottes von Kaffa*: *Reiseskizzen*, Berlin 1929; Paul Hartlmaier, *Amba Ras. Eine Reise durch das Kaiserreich Äthiopien*, Frankfurt 1953; Illustrierter Film-Kurier (IFK) 419, Berlin 1926; IFK 2378, Berlin 1935; IFK 2379, Berlin 1935; IFK 926, Wien 1935; IFK 1426, Wien 1936; Hans Jannasch, *Im Schatten des Negus, 24 Jahre in Abessinien*, Berlin 1930; Paul Lieberenz, *Das Rätsel Abessinien*, Berlin 1935; Id., *Abenteuer mit der Filmkamera*, Berlin 1946; Kurt Lubinski, *Hochzeitsreise nach Abessinien, eine Expedition zu Zweien*, Leipzig 1929; Id., *Abyssinie*: *Land en Volk*, Amsterdam 1935; Walter Mittelholzer, *Abessinien-Flug. Mit dem dreimotorigen Fokker an den Hof des Negus Negesti. Mit einem Vorwort von Bundespräsident Pilet*-*Golaz*, Zürich 1934; Martin Rikli, *Wie ich Abessinien sah*, Berlin 1935; Id., *Seltsames Abessinien*: *Als Filmberichterstatter am Hofe des Negus*, Zürich 1947; Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (PAA) – Deutsche Gesandtschaft Addis Abeba (Weiss) an Auswärtiges Amt, 20.10.1927, unpublished; ibid., Aufzeichnungen betreffend Herrn Max Grühl, 13.12. 1933 (47156 – Wirtschaftliche Beziehungen Abessinien Deutschland), unpublished; ibid., Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda an Auswärtiges Amt, 22.11.1938 (R 65574 – Afrikareisen deutscher Professoren 1938), unpublished; Dietrich Waßmann, *Das Oromovolk auf unserem abessinischen Missionsfelde*: *Seine Sitten und Gebräuche*, Hermannsburg 1935; Id., *Pionierdienst unter den Galla in Westabessinien*, Hermannsburg 1938.

Lit.: FELIX AEPPLI, “Wieder zu entdecken: Walter Mittelholzer, Foto-, Flug- und Filmpionier”, *Memorial Bulletin* 16, 2010, 34–35; ANON., “Hans Borgstädt, Lizenz Nr. 7: Der Mann hinter KOSMOS”, *Hamburger Flimmern* 3, 1997, 4–7; PETER BUCHER, *Wochenschauen und Dokumentarfilme 1895–1950 im Bundesarchiv-Filmarchiv*, Koblenz 1984; EIKE HABERLAND, “Dime. Nordost-Afrika (Süd-Äthiopien). Eisengewinnung”, in: INSTITUT FÜR WISSENSCHAFTLICHEN FILM, *Encyclopedia Cinematographica*, Göttingen 1964, E338/ 1961; ARIANE HEIMBACH, “Die inszenierte Wildnis – Exotische Tierwelt im Film”, in: SCHÖNING 1997, 158–66; JOODS HISTORISCH MUSEUM, *Kurt Lubinski, 1899–1969*: *Fotograaf in Exil*, Amsterdam 2008; SYLVIA ORLANDO, *Die ‘aktive’ und ‘passive’ Rolle des austro-faschistischen Österreich in der internationalen italienisch-äthiopischen Krise* (*Ende 1934–Mitte 1936*), M.A. thesis Universität Wien 1993; HELMUT REGEL, “Der Schwarze und sein ‘Bwana’. Das Afrikabild im deutschen Film”, in: SCHÖNING 1997, 62–71; JÖRG SCHÖNING, *Triviale Tropen. Exotische Reise- und Abenteuerfilme aus Deutschland 1919–1939*, München 1997; BAIRU TAFLA, *Ethiopia and Germany: Cultural, Political and Economic Relations 1871–1936*, Wiesbaden 1981 (AeF 5); GERLINDE WAZ, “Auf der Suche nach dem letzten Paradies: Der Afrikaforscher und Regisseur Hans Schomburgk”, in: SCHÖNING 1997, 95–109; THOMAS ZITELMANN, *Des Teufels Lustgarten. Themen und Tabus der politischen Anthropologie Nordostafrikas*, Habilitation thesis, Freie Universität Berlin 1999.

Thomas Zitelmann

IV. Ethiopia in French films

The director Charles Martel was commissioned by Jules de Foberville to film in Ethiopia for the production company Le Lion, and shot 3,400 meters of scenes during a one year travel in Ethiopia (1909/1910) about which he reported during a conference at the Société de Geographie in 1910 (cp. also Introduction). An edition of the materials, entitled *L’Abyssinie au temps de Ménélik* (24 min.) is kept in the Archives françaises du film (a division of the Centre national de la cinématographie et de l’image animée).

In 1917, Amédée Eywinger accompanied for the Sections Photographiques et Cinématographiques des Armées, a French, Italian and Russian diplomatic delegation to the coronation ceremony of empress ↗Zäwditu. Two different editions of the film exist: the first one is entitled *Addis Abeba* (7 min.) and is kept by the Etablissement de Communication et de Production Audiovisuelle de la Défense, at Ivry-sur Seine; the second one is entitled *Fêtes du couronnement de la reine Zaoditou* (13 min.) and is kept by the Musée Albert Kahn, at Boulogne-Billancourt.

This museum keeps also the unique copy of the film called *La Mission Charles Michel-Côte, Éthiopie-Soudan, 1920* (29 min.), directed by Edmond Famechon and produced by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 7,000 to 8,000 meters of film were shot. The last roll of film is missing which might probably be lost.

Later the Dakar–Djibouti French expedition (1931–33; ↗Mission Dakar-Djibouti) which included prominent Ethiopianists such as the well-known Marcel ↗Griaule, Michel ↗Leiris, Deborah ↗Lifchitz, the Anthopologist André Schaeffner (1895–80), and the painter Gaston-Louis Roux (1904–88) collected valuable data contained in approximately some 6,000 pictures and 1,600 metres of films roll. The materials are part of the collections of the former Musée de l’Homme in Paris where Schaeffner and Leiris played a prominent role after World War II. Indeed French documentaries on Ethiopia are scarce. For the contemporary period, one may mention Ivo Strecker’s *Sacrifice et divination chez les Hamar du sud de l’Éthiopie* (1985, 44 min.), and Hugo Ferran’s *La Royauté Maalé* (to appear with Christensen Fund, UNESCO and French CNRS support) as well as *Ethiopia*: *on the trail of the first Christians* (2011) by Jean-Louis Saporito. Other important examples are films by Makeda Ketcham (Makədda Käččam), like *Mémoires, paroles et visages du chemin de fer franco-éthiopien* (2012). Among the non-scholarly travellers’ films for the conference organization Connaissance du Monde are Freddy Tondeur’s 1977–78, *Éthiopie, les mitraillettes de Saba* and Christian Monty’s *Éthiopie, 10 millions de montagnards* (1967, 18 min.).

The first fiction F. was Léon Poirier’s *La Voie sans disque* (1933, 109 min.) adapted from the novel by André Armandy published a year before. This film was shot out of studio and at the French Somali Coast as well as in Ethiopia (around ↗Awaš and Addis Abäba) with local recruited walk-ons. The action takes place in 1917. A restored and digitized copy is available at the Archives du film français and can be watched at the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Other notable feature F., realized in France are inter alia *Va, Vis et Deviens* (2005) about the Operation Moses, and the “French Cinema” contribution, *Si le vent soulève les sables* (2006) based on the novel *Le Chamelle* by Marc Durin-Valois portraying civil plight in war-torn Somali territories.

Lit.: YOUEN BERNARD, “Le Record du Monde Cinématographique: l’Abyssinie au temps de Ménélick (1910)”, in: *1895*: *Association française de recherche sur l’histoire du cinema* 18, Paris 1995, 217–21.

Hugues Fontaine – Didier Morin

V. Ethiopia in visual anthropology

A great number of ethnographic documentaries have been produced based on anthropological inquiry and long-term fieldwork among Ethiopian cultures and societies. A number of F. were produced in collaboration between an anthropologist as a specialist of a given culture and a professional F.-maker. One of the most acknowledged example is that of anthropologist David Turton and Leslie Woodhead (Woodhead – Turton 1974; 1982; 1985; 1991a; 1991b). Since 1974, they have been making insightful documents on the cultural events and episodes of the ↗Mursi people as well as their relations with the neighbouring ethnic groups, which have been aired in the Disappearing World Series of Granada Television in the United Kingdom. Ivo Strecker and Jean Lydall have collaborated with filmmakers and made distinguished ethnographic F. series (Lydall – Head 1990; 1991; 1994; Strecker 1979; 1984; 1986; 1995; Strecker – Lydall 1995) over a long period of time particularly on the ↗Hamär. In particular, Lydall and her daughter, Kaira Strecker's, *Duka's Dilemma* (2001) has been acclaimed as one of the epoch-making works of visual ethnography. It follows the personal and intimate drama of the crises of a Hamär family arising from the relationship between co-wives.

The recent development of digital technology as well as the dramatic growth of visual anthropology festivals and conferences has further furnished the production of ethnographic F. As a result the mode of audio-visual narrative has diversified. Ethnographic F. are now used as educational resources in higher education and are widely circulated in international visual anthropology scholarly circles such as Coordinating Anthropological Film Festivals in Europe (CAFFEE) and Nordic Anthropological Film Association (NAFA). Among some of the most widely screened F. in anthropological F. circles are the following:

Chaalo. The Voices of Morning (2004), which portrays a mystic religious cult figure in Oromo; *Lalibaločč. Living in the Endless Blessing* (2005), which documents the interaction between the ↗*Lalibäločč* and the locals in ↗Gondär; *The King Never Dies* (2007), which recounts the challenging moments of the continuity of the ritual among the ↗Konso and *Morokapel's Feast. The Story of a Kara Hunting Ritual* (2007), which deals with intense debates about traditional rights and ownership of a leopard skin among the ↗Kara.

Some of the F. (e.g., Strecker – Pankhurst 2004; Kawase 2006; Girke – Köhn 2007) have raised

Scene from the shooting of the 1974-film "The Mursi" by Leslie Woodhead (with David Turton) with the cameraman Michael Dodds in the foreground; photo 1974 by Chris Wangler, courtesy of Leslie Woodhead significant issues on the degree of interaction between anthropologist and subject and about the researcher's roles and responsibilities of advocacy in and outside the research field.

It is noteworthy that several works were created by Ethiopian scholars in the Visual Cultural Studies programmes at the University of Tromsø. These include *Awura Amba* (2009), which recounts the story of a local self-sufficient egalitarian community in south Gondär working and living together, and *Ensete, Soul of the Gurage* (2009), which is about the various roles the *ənsät* plant plays in ↗Gurage society. It is also important to mention Ethiopian filmmakers such as Gondär-born Samson Giorgis (Samson Giyorgis) who has been based in France since the 1980s. He has directed documentary F. on Ethiopia and its cultural identity. Samson deals with ethnomusicological documentation, *Ethiopian Polyphonies Doko Songs/Harari Songs* (2001), and *The Return of Obelisk* (2007), which focuses on the cultural significance of a historical monument, the Aksum Obelisk, and its return to Ethiopia from Italy. *Shooting with Mursi* (2010), which was directed and produced by Ben Young and Mursi-born filmmaker Olisarali Olibui, has been widely discussed at anthropological festivals for its self-portrayal of an indigenous people. A F. panel was held for the first time during the 16th ↗International Conference of Ethiopian Studies in 2007 at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology in Trondheim. This event, which particularly focused on historical/anthropological F. on Ethiopia from the past to the present, led to interdisciplinary debates on the subject and techniques in which scholars approached F. subjects audio-visually.

Src.: Selected filmography: Felix Girke – Steffen Köhn, *Morokapel's Feast*: *The Story of a Kara Hunting Ritual*, 26 min., IVE Institut für Visuelle Ethnographie, Göttingen 2007; Haile Seifu Woldeyohannes, *Ensete*, *Soul of the* Gurage, 33 min., Visual Cultural Studies Program, The University of Tromsø 2010; Itsushi Kawase, *Lalibalocc. Living in the Endless Blessing*, 24 min., Nordic Anthropological Film Association 2005; Id., *Room 11, Ethiopia Hotel*, 24 min., Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland 2006; Pierre Lamarque – Élise Demeulenaere, *The King Never Dies/Le roi ne meurt jamais*, 73 min., Doc Net Film 2007; Jean-Marc Lamoure – Thomas Osmond, *CHAALO, les voix du deuil/CHAALO, the Voices of Mourning*, 54 min, Chinguitty Films, Abderrahmane SISSAKO 2004; Jean Lydall – Joanna Head, *The Women Who Smile*, 50 min., BBC 1990; Id., *Two Girls Go Hunting*, 50 min., BBC 1991; Iid., *Our Way of Loving*, 60 min., BBC 1994; Jean Lydall – Kaira Strecker, *Duka's Dilemma*: *a Visit to Hamar, Southern Ethiopia*, 87 min., Göttingen, IWF 2001; Samson Giorgis [Samson Giyorgis], *The Return of the Obelisk*, 64 min., Yalem Films/Margo Films 2007; Id. – Guillaume Terver, *Ethiopian Polyphonies Doko Songs/Harari Songs Polyphonies Ethiopiennes Chants Dokos/ Chants Hararis*, 52 min., Bel Air Média 2001; Ivo Strecker, *The Leap across the Cattle*, 45 min., Institut für den Wissenschaftlichen Film, Göttingen 1979; Id., *Father of the Goats*: *Sacrifice and Divination in Hamar*, 45 min., ibid. 1984; Id., *Song of the Hamar Herdsman*, 45 min., ibid. 1986; Id., *Worry and Hope in the Face of Drought. Modes of Subsistence among the Hamar*, 30 min., ibid., 1995; Id. – Alula Pankhurst, *Bury the Spear!*, 72 min., Documentary Educational Resources 2004; Id. – Jean Lydall, *Sweet Sorghum*: *an Ethnographers' Daughter Remembers Life in Hamar*, 30 min., Institut für den Wissenschaftlichen Film, Göttingen 1995; Tigist Kebede Feyesa, *Awura-Amba Zumra's Dream Land*, 35 min., Visual Cultural Studies Program, The University of Tromsø 2010; Leslie Woodhead – David Turton, *The Mursi*, 52 min., Disappearing World, Granada Television, Manchester 1974; Iid., *The Kwegu*, 52 min., Disappearing World, Granada Television, Manchester 1982; Iid., *The Migrants*, 52 min., Disappearing World, Granada Television, Manchester 1985; Id., *The Land is Bad*, 52 min., Disappearing World, Granada Television, Manchester 1991a; Id., *Nitha*, 52 min., Disappearing World, Granada Television, Manchester 1991b.

Itsushi Kawase

VI. Developments in regional film-making

F. production by local teams without a marked influence of foreign F.-makers is relatively recent (cp. also ↗Cinema). A number of notable F. produced by Ethiopian F. pioneers first appeared in the late 1960s, for instance Solomon Bekele's (Sälomon Bäqqälä) F. *The Rotten Existence* (1968/70) with a critical view of corruption, or *Hirut, abbatwa man näw* ('Hirut, who is her father?', 1965/66) by Ilala Ibsaa and Jokaris Lambros (the latter is discussed in Warren 1978: 57).

Due to political and economic issues in the following decades, however, a F. industry did not develop. Although, in the first decade of the 21th cent. the market for low budget video productions grew rapidly, quality feature F. production for cinema was still limited (cp. also ↗Theatre).

Among the influential figures in the creative F. scene in Ethiopia one should mention inter alia: Sälomon Bäqqälä, Afework Manna (Afäwärq Manna), Yemane Demissie (Yämanä Däməsse), Theo Eshetu (Teʾo Ǝšätu), Samson Giorgis (Samson Giyorgis), Salem Mekuria (Sälam Mäkʷəriya), Makeda Ketcham (Makədda Käččam), Tewodros Teshome (Tewodros Täšomä), Michel Papatakis (Mikaʾel Papatakis), Aida Ashanafi (Aʾida Ašänafi), Ermias Woldeamlak (Ǝrməyas Wäldäʾamlak), or Zelalem Woldemariam (Zäläʿaläm Wäldämaryam) (for basic filmographic references for many of these F.-makers s. FESPACO 2000); special mention is due to the important F. director of Ethiopian origin Haile Gerima

(Ḫaylä Gärima) who produced a number of internationally highly esteemed F. on Ethiopian topics like *Mərt sost ši amät* (‘Harvest: 3000 Years’, 1976), *Adwa: an African History* (1999) or *Ṭeza* (2008) (s. Pfaff 2004: 203ff.; Davis 1975: 18ff.; Howard 1985: 28ff.).

As for Eritrea, whose F. industry is yet in the process of (re-)formation, one may mention the F.-makers Alemazitu Berhane (Alämazitu Bərhane), Ambessa Jir Behe (Ambäsa Ǧər Bəḥe), or Isaias Tsegai (Isayəyyas Ṣäggay).

Nowadays, F. production clusters have emerged in urban centres in the region, even though production for the television and cinema market still has strong limitations. A report on the present Ethiopian television and audiovisual media sector was produced by Anaïs Prosaïc for the French-German TV channel ARTE for the series “Zapping International” in 2007 (last broadcast on 10 December 2008).

New Ethiopian short F. and feature F. are regularly presented at F. festivals, both at a national level (e.g., at the relatively young annual Addis International Film Festival) and at the international level (e.g., the short F. *Mängäd* (‘Road’) [2006] directed by Daniel Taye Worku [Danəᵓel Tayyä Wärqu] and produced by Solomon Bäqqälä was screened at the 57th Berlin International Film Festival and the Cannes International Film Festival in 2006).

Films in Somalia and Djibouti

In Somalia F. started with Hadj Mohamed Giumale’s (Xaaji Maxamed Jum^{c}ale) pioneering work *Miyi iyo magaalo* (‘Bush and Village’, 1968) which is a story about a couple that abandons nomadic life for a future in the city. He was followed by Idriss Hassan Dirie (Idris Xasan Diriiye) who completed *Dan iyo xarrago* (‘Necessity and extravagance’, 1973; for a review article s. *Afrique-Asie* 36, 1973: 48). Other noteworthy Somali productions were *The Somali Darwish* (1984) by Amar Sneh and Said Salah (Sayid Saalax), the short F. *Geedka Nolosha* (‘The Tree of Life’, 1987) by Abdulqadir Ahmad Said (^{c}Abdulqaadir Axmeed Sa^{c}iid) or *Fire Eyes* (1994) by Soraya Mire.

The earliest F. from Djibouti appeared in the 1980s: the first internationally reviewed F. was *Le grand Moussa* (1984) made by Ahmad [Axmed] Dini (s. Bingo 377, 1984: 27) and accompanied by *Frele biche/Belle biche* (1984) by Moussa Farah.

Lit.: ANON., Review of “‘Dan Iyo Xarago’ le premier film somalien”, *Afrique–Asie* 36, 1973, 48; ELLIOT DAVIS, “Filming in Ethiopia – The Making of Harvest”, *Filmmakers Newsletter* 8, 6, 1975, 18–19, 38; LE FESTIVAL PANAFRICAIN DU CINEMA ET DE LA TELEVISION DE OUAGADOUGOU [FESPACO] / L’ASSOCIATION DES TROIS MONDES (eds.), *Les Cinemas d’Afrique – Dictionnaire*, Paris 2000; STEVE HOWARD, “A Cinema of Transformation: The Films of Haile Gerima”, *Cineaste* 14, 1, 1985, 28–29, 39; FRANÇOISE PFAFF, “From Africa to the Americas: Interviews with Haile Gerima (1976–2001)”, in: EAD. (ed.), *Focus on African Films*, Bloomington, IN 2004, 203–20; ERIKA RICHTER, “Sozialistisches Äthiopien. Gespräch mit Afework Manna und Deribew Temesgen”, in: HOCHSCHULE FÜR FILM UND FERNSEHEN DER DDR (ed.), *Film im Aufbruch: Zu neueren Filmentwicklungen in Afrika und in arabischen Ländern – zusammengestellt und kommentiert von Erika und Rolf Richter*, Potsdam 0001980 (Filmwissenschaftliche Beiträge 21, 3), 138–42; NANCY SCHMIDT, *Sub-Saharan African Films and Filmmakers: an Annotated Bibliography*, London 1988; ANITA WARREN – HERRICK WARREN, “The Film Artist in a Developing Nation: Ethiopia”, *Horn of Africa* 1, 1, 1978, 57–58.

Martin Haars

Freemasonry

Ethiopia in Masonic symbolism

Ethiopia holds an important place in modern Masonic symbolism, as well as in Masonic rituals and several legends. The most important legend is that of Hiram Abiff, one of the three kings responsible for the construction of ↗Solomon’s Temple: “So Hiram made an end of doing all the work that he made king Solomon for the house of the Lord” (1 Kgs 7:40). Three of his workers, called Jubela, Jubelo and Jubelum, murdered him with a 24-inch gauge for the first, a square for the second, and a mallet for the third, which are the different tools of the different Masonic degrees. Once they had done their task, the three tried to flee to “Ethiopia” from an Egyptian port, and this is where the legend of Hiram becomes linked to the Egyptian legend of Osiris, to ask the pardon of the wise Queen of Sheba (↗Makədda).

In Masonic symbolism, “Ethiopia” represents the origin of an ethical system. For Masons, the word “Ethiopia” signifies “ethical vision” or “ethical focus”. One of the reasons Hiram’s workers wanted to go to “Ethiopia” was to revise their moral outlook. They lost sight of the “Great Blueprint and the destiny of Man”. The legend of the Columns of ↗Enoch (in F. the seventh patriarch before the Great Flood, great grandfather of Noah) is considered as the founding religious text of F. Thus, James ↗Bruce, a member of the Canongate Kilwinning Lodge, Edinburgh, during his voyage to Ethiopia (which was also a quest for Masonic truth) searched for an Ethiopian version of this book. He brought back three copies of the Book of Enoch (*Mäṣḥafä Henok*) to Europe.

The Masonic lodges which existed in the region before 1909 were located in Egypt or in Aden (Aden Felix N° 355 and Aden Lodge N° 7845). Four Freemason lodges existed in the Horn of Africa. Three were of French allegiance and one of Italian allegiance. The first of the Grande Loge de France, was the lodge Djibouti–Diré-Daoua N° 433 (1911–40), Orient Djibouti. Its founder was Laurent Depui (1878–1947), a soldier who became the first Worshipful Master. It comprised a membership solely of colonial origin, mostly French, but also some Armenian and Greek, civil servants and workers of the Chemin de fer franco-éthiopien (thus the name of the lodge; ↗Railways). There were not more than 24 members in 1914 dwindling down to five by 1932. The most illustrious of these was Henri de ↗Monfreid, who was a member from 1912 to 1915, the year of his expulsion. The second lodge in Djibouti was the lodge N° 204 du Droit Humain of allegiance to the Grande Loge Mixte et Internationale. It quickly became part of Lodge Djibouti–Diré-Daoua N° 433. The third French lodge of the Grand Orient de France was the lodge La Lumière d'Éthiopie, Orient Addis Abeba (1909–24). It mostly consisted of merchants of ↗Armenian, Syrian, and ↗Greek origin, as well as some French civil servants, such as its founder, Honoré-Marius Roux (1874–1954), French consul in Addis Abäba. Well-known people were also members of the lodge, such as Alexis Desvages, editor of the ↗*Courrier d'Éthiopie*; Abraham Koeurhadjian, an Armenian of French culture and a confident of *ras* Täfäri (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I); Stelio Bollolakos, the owner of l'Hôtel Impérial in Addis Abäba, which was used as the "temple" for Freemason dress in Ethiopia. The only member of Ethiopian origin was Charles-William Martin alias ↗Wärqənäh Əšäte who was the treasurer of the lodge in 1911. Where and when he became initiated in F. is not known. This lodge did not hide that it was a tool of French influence in Ethiopia to spread the "Lumière [i.e. 'civilisation'] jusqu'au cœur des populations arriérées et encore plongées dans les ténèbres" as was stated in the preamble of its policies and procedures. The fourth lodge, part of the Grande Oriente d'Italia, was in Asmära.

The Grand Lodge of Ethiopia was founded in 2010. It works according to the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of F. (Rite Ecossais Ancien et Accepté). In Djibouti, there is a Grande Loge National de Djibouti with allegiance to the Grande Loge National de France.

Src.: *Blog maçonnique, le web log de la franc maçonnerie*, online: www.hiram.be [last access 25 January 2012].

Lit.: Lukian Prijac, "Aperçus sur la franc-maçonnerie française à Djibouti de 1911 à 1940", *Pount* 1, 2007, 101–29; Id., "Aperçus sur la franc-maçonnerie française en Éthiopie de 1909 à 1924", *ibid.* 3, 2009, 34–65; Sorabjee Pallonjee Patel – H.W. Twidle, *Freemasonry in Arabia Felix*, Edinburgh 1964; Rudolph R. Windsor, *From Babylon to Timbuktu*: *a History of the Ancient Black Races Including the Black Hebrews*, Windsor 1988; René Guénon, *Speculative Mason* 27, avril 1935, 78; Anon., *La Bible*: *Écrits intertestamentaires*, La Pléiade 1987.

Lukian Prijac

Fukui, Katsuyoshi

F. (b. 18 November 1943, Otsuka, Shimane Prefecture, d. 26 April 2008, Kyoto) was a leading figure in the anthropological study of southern Ethiopia and the main architect of a remarkable growth in ↗Ethiopian Studies in Japan since the 1980s (s. also ↗Research, ethnological and ethnographical). Through his own research and writing, through the work of the many younger scholars whom he inspired and encouraged, and through tireless bridge-building between Japanese and foreign academics, he helped to put the study of southern Ethiopia and of Northeast Africa firmly on the map of Japanese anthropology.

Already as an undergraduate F. spent nearly a year amongst the agro-pastoral Iraqw of northern Tanzania (↗Pastoralism) and while he was a master's student he made a short visit to Ethiopia for ethno-botanical research. F. graduated from the Faculty of Agriculture, Kyoto University, in 1967 and completed a master's degree in the same faculty in 1969. Also in 1969 he formed the "Kyoto University Slash-and-Burn Cultivation Study Group" and began a study of shifting cultivation in Kochi Prefecture, western Japan, leading to the publication of his first book in 1974. In 1973 he obtained a doctoral degree from the Graduate School of Agriculture at Kyoto, with a thesis on the "Classification of the vernacular names of cultivated plants in Ethiopia and an historical analysis of their dissemination" (in Japanese). In the same year he married Masako Toyama and began field research amongst the agro-pastoral Bodi (↗Meʾen) of south-western Ethiopia who remained the chief ethnographic focus of his research and writing for the remainder of his life.

In 1971, F. was appointed an assistant professor in the Research Institute for the Languages

Katsuyoshi Fukui during research in northern Thailand, near the border with Laos; photo 2000 by Lyurang Wan, courtesy of the author

and Cultures of Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. In 1976 he moved to the then newly established National Museum of Ethnology (Minpaku) in Osaka and in 1993 he became Professor in the Graduate School of Human and Environmental Studies at Kyoto University. He remained in this post until he retired in 2007.

F.'s early research on botanical classification, shifting cultivation and East African agropastoralism led him to a lifelong preoccupation with the concept of "nature" as a cultural construction and with the relations between plants, animals and humans. His theoretical concerns were always firmly rooted in detailed and systematic empirical research. One of the first products of his fieldwork amongst the Bodi was a prize-winning essay on cattle-colour symbolism (1979). This was followed by his monograph on ↗colour and pattern in 1991 and in 1996 by a meticulously researched study of the cultural selection of cattle-colour diversity, also amongst the Bodi. Another long-term interest of F. was in the causes and determinants of inter-ethnic conflict, a subject on which he organized two international conferences. Indeed, his tireless energy in promoting communication and collaboration between Japanese and foreign scholars was another notable feature of his contribution to the anthropology of East Africa and to Ethiopian Studies in Japan. The conferences he organized resulted in a series of co-edited books (1979; 1994; 1996) and the three-volume proceedings of the 13th ↗International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, held in Kyoto in 1997 (PICES 13).

One of F.'s most important contributions to Japanese anthropology was the inspirational influence he had on younger scholars. Through a series of research projects which he led from the mid-1980s until retirement, he provided encouragement, guidance and financial support for promising Japanese scholars. He also recognized the importance of creating institutional structures to support this growing community of scholars, and was a leading figure in the founding, in 1992, of the Japan Association for Nilo-Ethiopian Studies, of which he was President between 2001 and 2007.

He is survived by his wife, Masako, his daughter Michiko, his son Takahiro and three grandchildren.

Src.: KATSUYOSHI FUKUI, *Yakihita no mura* ('A Shifting Cultivation Village'), Tokyo 1974; ID., "Cattle Colour Symbolism and Inter-tribal Homicide among the Bodi", in: ID. – DAVID TURTON (eds.), *Warfare among East African Herders,* Osaka 1979 (Senri Ethnological Studies 3), 147–78; ID., *Ninshiki to Bunka – iro to moyou no minzokushi* ('Culture and Cognition: an Ethnography of Colour and Pattern'), Tokyo 1991; ID. – JOHN MARKAKIS (eds.), *Ethnicity and Conflict in the Horn of Africa,* London 1994; ID., "Co-evolution between Humans and Domesticates: the Cultural Selection of Animal Coat-colour Diversity among the Bodi", in: ROY ELLEN – KATSUYOSHI FUKUI (eds.), *Redefining Nature: Ecology, Culture and Domestication,* Oxford – Washington, DC 1996, 319–85; *PICES* 13 [eds. KATSUYOSHI FUKUI – EISEI KURIMOTO – MASAYOSHI SHIGETA 1997].

Lit.: MASARU AKASAKA et al. (eds.), *Furonthia wo motomete – Jinruigakusha Fukui Katsuyoshi no chosen* ('Quest for Frontiers: Challenges of the Anthropologist Katsuyoshi Fukui'), Kyoto 2010; DAVID TURTON, "In memoriam Katsuyoshi Fukui (18 November 1943–26 April 2008)", *Aethiopica* 12, 2009, 224–29.

David Turton

G

Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Gilay

Blatta G. (**ገብረ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ጊላይ**; also known as Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Gila-Maryam by the Italian administration; b. ca. 1860, Ṣäʿada Krəsṭiyan, Ḥamasen, d. 1914, Addis Abäba) was an important politician and diplomat in the service of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, who played a crucial role after the Battle of ↗ʿAdwa.

G. received his traditional education at ↗Däbrä Bizän and as a well-educated intellectual became an official interpreter of the Italian government in ↗Eritrea in 1897. He played an important role in the negotiations between ↗Italy and Ethiopia as well as in the peace talks (↗Addis Abäba Treaty of 1896) after the Battle of ʿAdwa, frequently crossing the border as an official member of the Italian diplomatic team and having access to secret information.

G. held this position for just two years until he was accused by the Italians of political espionage and summarily tried and convicted in 1899. The political situation of 1899 was very critical since rumours about a possible occupation of Eritrea by Ethiopian troops became increasingly frequent. *Blatta* G. was depicted as a traitor who agitated anti-Italian feelings. Several papers confiscated from his home, letters written in code to important political figures such as *ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel, *ras* ↗Mängäša Yoḥannəs and Mənilək II, appeared to be irrefutable proof of his guilt. The "letter to Mənilək" (cp. Taddia 1994: 493–516) was examined very carefully by the Italian administration and immediately translated.

G. was among the about 100 prisoners who succeeded in escaping the colonial penitentiary of Nokra in 1899 and reached Təgray. Subsequently he moved to Addis Abäba where he became a valuable political adviser at the court of Mənilək and began the most significant intellectual phase of his life.

G. soon became a critic of the Ethiopian ruler and wrote numerous poems of protest, secretly distributed every Sunday, against sacrificing Eritrea and for having negotiated with the Italians over the border. His anti-Italian feelings gave rise to many discussions with ↗Afäwärq Gäbrä Iyäsus who supported the Italian cause.

Blatta G. wrote several books. Among the most important were an anonymous booklet and an unpublished text of memoirs, containing historical and religious information about Ethiopia.

Because of G.'s criticism of Mənilək's courtiers and bureaucrats he was eventually exiled and sent to ↗Harär, though he returned to the capital and spent the last years of his life in Addis Abäba.

G. is remembered both in Addis Abäba and in Asmära as an opposition leader, writer, interpreter, adviser and moralist.

Src.: Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Gilay, [selected poems], in: John Inglis Eadie, *An Amharic Reader*, Cambridge 1924, 193–203; Id., [Memoir], ms., Rome, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archive, Archivio Eritrea, pacco 78, fasc. 3; Id., [letters and notes], Rome, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archive, Archivio Eritrea, pacco 293, Serie i, fasc. 4, "Documenti compromettenti inviati al R. Commissario civile dell'Eritrea".

Lit.: Bahru Zewde, *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia*, Oxford 2002, s. index; Berhanou Abebbé (ed.) – Kidanä Wäld Kəfle, **ሀይማኖተ ፡ አበው ፡ ቀደምት ።** *La Foi des Pères Anciens*, 1: *Texte éthiopien. Enseignement de Mamher Kefla Giyorgis* …, Stuttgart 1986 (SKK 79), 287ff.; Marcel Cohen, "La naissance d'une littérature imprimée en Amharique", *JA* 24, 2, 1925, 349–71; Luigi Fusella, "Una scaramuccia poetica fra Afawarq Gabra Iyasus e il Blatta Gabra Egziʾabeher", in: *SegBodLes* 143–56; Paul Mérab, *Impressions d'Éthiopie, L'Abyssinie sous Ménélik*, Paris 1929, 367ff.; Irma Taddia, *Un intellettuale tigrino nell'Etiopia di Menelik: Blatta Gabra Egziʾabeher Gilay (1860–1914)*, Milan 1990, 172ff.; Ead., "Ethiopian Source Material and Colonial Rule in the Nineteenth Century: the Letter to Menilek (1899) by Blatta Gäbrä Egzi'abeḥēr", *JAH* 35, 1994, 493–516; Alain Rouaud, *Afa-Warq: un intellectuel éthiopien témoin de son temps 1868–1947*, Paris 1991; Tekeste Negash, *No Medicine for the Bite of a White Snake: Notes on Nationalism and Resistance in Eritrea 1890–1940*, Uppsala 1986, 1–21.

Irma Taddia

Gäbrä Krəstos Täklä Haymanot

G.K. (**ገብረ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ተክለ ፡ ሀይማኖት**; b. 1880, Waqi, Aksum, d. 20 October 1932, Addis Abäba) was an early 20th-cent. Ethiopian author, journalist and educator.

The eldest son of a local evangelical leader *aläqa* Täklä Haymanot Məhərka, G.K. was educated at the Swedish Evangelical Mission Boy's

Gäbrä Krəstos Täklä Haymanot; photo from the 1920s, from Arén 1999: 192

school in Asmära (↗Evangeliska Fosterlands Stiftelsen). In addition to his native Təgrəñña and Amharic, G.K. mastered French, Italian and English. In 1900, he became teacher at the same school. On 20 February 1913 he married Yəhdäga Gäbrä Hawaryat.

In June 1920, G.K. moved to Addis Abäba. There, he was welcomed by Olof (Ole) Eriksson, who had arrived to the Ethiopian capital in May of the same year, after having been expelled from Asmära (cp. ↗*Bərhan Yəkun*) in 1915 (Colonia ↗Eritrea). Besides teaching older boys, G.K., together with a fellow missionary Yoḥannəs Wäldä Maryam, assisted Eriksson in his translation work as well as in the revision of Martin ↗Flad's translation of *Dr. Barth's Bible Stories*.

In September 1921, G.K. became director of *ras* Täfäri's new ↗*Bərhanənna Sälam* printing press, taking over from an Italian manager. He subsequently became the first editor-in-chief of the *Bərhanənna Sälam* newspaper, supported by ↗Märsəᶜe Ḫazän Wäldä Qirqos as assistant editor. His dedication and industriousness became proverbial (cp. Bahru Zewde 2002: 189).

In the years immediately preceding the Italian invasion, G.K. wrote, together with ↗Täᵓammərat Amanuᵓel, a series of articles denouncing Fascism. The Italian Embassy filed a lawsuit against them. The two were put under arrest; however, *ras* Täfäri (later ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), who presided the court, did not take the conviction seriously. The two were allowed to secretly spend the nights at the home of *afä nəguś* ↗Näsibu, and were released after a short time.

G.K. did not live to see the Italians enter Addis Abäba; they did, however, remember the offense, and forced G.K.'s widow and children from their house (Həywät Ḫədaru 1974/75: 409f.). His son Gad, who also fought in the ↗Italian war 1935–36 (Arén 1999: 466), reclaimed the house after the liberation.

G.K. left an important contribution to Ethiopian intellectual life. Besides compiling editorials for the *Bərhanənna Sälam* (cp., esp., the maiden issue, where he dwelt upon the education role of the periodical), G.K. wrote a number of books on subjects ranging from history and geography to arithmetic manuals. He also authored a number of hymns in the ↗Ethiopian Evangelical Mekane Yesus Church hymnbook still in use today. His *Aç̣ç̣ər yäᶜaläm tarik* (1924/25) was used as schoolbook in the early days of the Täfäri Mäkʷännən School. It was the first to present to the Ethiopian public the broad sweep of world history, covering the Jewish, Chinese, Indian, Japanese and Western civilizations, and concluding by an optimistic picture of Ethiopia's induction into the modern age through its Crown Prince. G.K. dedicated his life to "fostering the spread of learning and popular literacy through the institutions at the heart of Ethiopia's emerging public culture" (De Lorenzi 2008: 346).

Src.: *Bərhanənna Sälam* 1925–32 [esp. G.K.'s editorial: 23 *Taḫśaś* 1917 A.M. = 1 January 1925; obituary by Kəfläzgi Yəhdägo: 17 *Ṭəqəmt* 1925 A.M. = 27 October 1932]; Gäbrä Krəstos Täklä Haymanot, **የቍጥር ፡ ትምህርት ፡ ባማርኛ** (*Yäqʷəṭər təmhərt bamarəñña*, 'Arithmetic in Amharic'), Addis Abäba 1914 A.M. [1921/22 A.D.]; Id., **አጭር ፡ የዓለም ፡ ታሪክ ፡ ባማርኛ** (*Aç̣ç̣ər yäᶜaläm tarik bamarəñña*, 'A Short History of the World, in Amharic'), Addis Abäba 1917 A.M. [1924/25]; *hakim* Wärqənäh Əšäte (with contribution from G.K.), **የዓለም ፡ ጂኦግራፊ ፡ በአማርኛ** (*Yäᶜaläm ǧiᵓografi bäᵓamarəñña*, 'World Geography in Amharic'), Addis Abäba 1920 A.M. [1927/28 A.D.].

Lit.: Gustav Arén, *Envoys of the Gospel in Ethiopia*: *In the Steps of the Evangelical Pioneers 1898–1936*, Stockholm – Addis Abeba 1999, 191, 192 (ill.), 241, 466; Bahru Zewde, *Pioneers of Change*: *the Reformist Intellectuals of Early Twentieth Century*, Oxford 2002, 189; James de Lorenzi, "'Listening for History' in an Amharic *Histoire Universelle*: Gabra Krestos Takla Haymanot, Cosmopolitanism, and World Historiography, 1892–1932", *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 28, 2, 2008, 342–50; Həywät Ḫədaru, **ያቺ ፡ ቀን ፡ ተረሳች** (*Yači qän tärässačč*, 'That Day was Forgotten'), Addis Abäba 1967 A.M. [1974/75 A.D.], 409; Johannes Launhardt, *Evangelicals in Addis Ababa* (*1919-1991*): *with Special Reference to the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus and the Addis Ababa Synod*, Münster 2005, 34f.; Märsəᶜe Hazän Wäldä Qirqos, **የዘመን ፡ ታሪክ ፡ ትዝታዬ** … 1896–1922 (*Yäzämän tarik təzzətaye … 1896–1922*, 'My Memories of the History of the Time … 1896–1922'), Addis Abäba 1999 A.M. [2006/07 A.D.], 240, 283, 276; Taamrat Emmanuel, "An Early Essay on Amharic Literature", *Bulletin de la Maison des Études Éthiopiennes* 11, 1997, 29–68, here 30.

Kumlachew Fantahun

Ǧa^{c}far al-Mīrġanī

Ǧ. (Ǧa^{c}far b. [Muḥammad] Bakrī b. Ǧa^{c}far al-Ṣadīq b. Muḥammad ^{c}Uṯmān al-Mīrġanī, جعفر بن [محمد] بكري بن جعفر الصديق بن محمد عثمان الميرغني; b. 1871, [?], d. 1943, Täsänäy, Eritrea) was the leader of the Eritrea "branch" of the *Ḫatmīya* ↗Islamic brotherhood for most of the first half of the 20th cent.

Of G's first 30 years we know only that he spent his youth in Umm Durmān during the Mahdīya in the ↗Sudan (O'Fahey 1994: 208). An Italian colonial report notes that together with his brother Ḥasan, Ǧ. was taken prisoner by the ↗Mahdists in a battle. Ǧ. makes his appearance in the historical record following the death of his great uncle, ↗Hāšim al-Mīrġanī – until then the head of the *Ḫatmīya* in Eritrea – in 1901. Governor Ferdinando ↗Martini's attempts to persuade Hāšim to relocate to ↗Kärän in order to exercise his authority over Italian Eritrea's Muslims had failed. Following Hāšim's death the Italian authorities directed their efforts to Ǧ., who had until then resided in ↗Kassala, and with whom they were more successful. After a brief stay in ↗Massawa in 1902, Ǧ. settled in Kärän where he became the official representative of the *Ḫatmīya* in Eritrea (Bruzzi 2006: 437f.).

Colonial intervention in *Ḫatmīya* affairs and the establishment of Ǧ. in Kärän generated tensions over leadership, authority and legitimacy especially with his aunt, *šarīfa* ^{c}Alawīya (daughter of the late *sayyid* Hāšim) who was based in Massawa where she exercised great influence. These tensions bred internal divisions and factionalism in the Eritrean branch of the *Ḫatmīya*. As the daughter of Hāšim and granddaughter of the founder of the *Ḫatmīya*, ^{c}Alawīya contested Ǧ.'s "engineered" leadership in Eritrea. Colonial intervention seems to have disrupted the hereditary transmission of authority in the Mīrġanī family. It also shaped and fuelled the division between the Sudanese and Eritrean branches of the *Ḫatmīya* and revealed cleavages revolving around gender and generational gaps.

Tensions came to a head in early 1910 when ^{c}Alawīya requested the authorities to assign her a residence in Kärän as well as the payment of a monthly allowance. The problem between Ǧ. and ^{c}Alawīya was also played out among their respective followers. In that context a point of great conflict revolved around the authority to appoint new *ḫalīfa*s (here 'representatives') and collectors of oblations. ^{c}Alawīya contested her perceived sidelining which took away from her this capacity. Yet, in December 1910 reconciliation between the two parties was reached: ^{c}Alawīya recognized Ǧ.'s official leadership but it was also decided that adepts of the *Ḫatmīya* order in Eritrea were free to follow representatives of their choice regardless of internal loyalties.

Around the same period and in connection to these rivalries, the Italian authorities considered transferring Ǧ. to Massawa or to Asmära but such plans did not materialize and he remained in Kärän. Some tension subsisted between the authorities and Ǧ. as to the elimination of his ("foreign") Sudanese *ḫalīfa*s and the appointment of local *ḫalīfa*s recognized by the Italian administration (Bruzzi 2006: 438–45).

According to colonial correspondence and reports, Ǧ. assisted the Italian authorities in mobilizing ↗*askari* and legitimizing the conquest of ↗Libya (1911). Italian propaganda included Ǧ.'s statements undermining the legitimacy of the Ottomans as "true" and "legitimate" Muslims (Bruzzi 2006: 446). Ǧ. worked within a framework of accommodation to Italian colonial rule which led to the consolidation of his power and authority in Eritrea at large. Less is known about his activities and positions in the 1920s and 1930s under the fascist authorities in Eritrea.

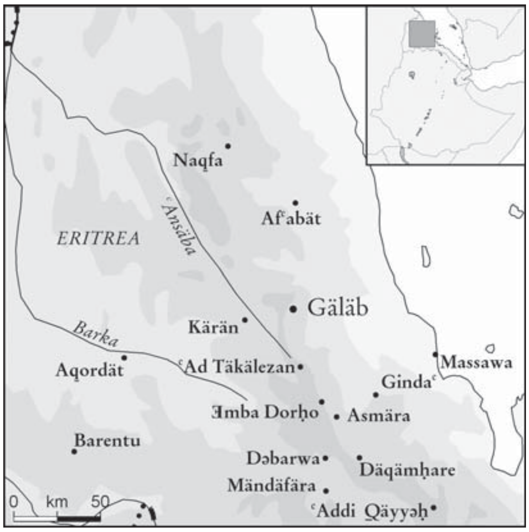
Ǧ. was buried in Ḫatmīya (al-Sanīya) near Kassala. His son *sayyid* ↗Bakrī (EAE vol. 5) continued to exercise authority in Kärän. In December 1946 Bakrī was elected President of the Eritrean ↗Muslim League (Bruzzi 2006: 448).

Lit.: SILVIA BRUZZI, "Il colonialismo italiano e la Hatmiyya in Eritrea (1890–1941). *Sayyid* Ga^{c}far al-Mirgani e *Sarifa* ^{c}Alawiyya nelle fonti coloniali italiane", *Africa* (Roma) 61, 3–4, 2006, 435–53; HillBD 189; JONATHAN MIRAN, *Red Sea Citizens: Cosmopolitan Society and Cultural Change in Massawa*, Bloomington, IN 2009, 184ff., 237; REX SEAN O'FAHEY (ed.), *Arabic Literature of Africa,* vol. 1: *The Writings of Eastern Sudanic Africa to c. 1900*, Leiden 1994, 208; TrIslam 245.

Jonathan Miran

Gäläb

G. (**ገለብ**) is a small town situated in the ↗^{c}Ansäba valley of Eritrea, 47 km north-east of the regional capital ↗Kärän. It is the main centre of the ↗Mänsa^{c} clan of the ↗Tǝgre who live between



the coast and the ↗Rora Mountains. G. is important for the history of ↗printing and education, due to the early presence of a Protestant mission (↗Evangeliska Fosterlands Stiftelsen). The town has ca. 1,200 inhabitants (Saba Issayas 1996), but at times many more, according to the season.

G. is situated not far from the old boundary of ↗Ḥamasen, in the fertile historical district of Mänsaᶜ Bet Abrəhe. Archaeological findings in G. point to an important role of this area as a "bridge" between the Sudanese cultures and the Ethio-Eritrean highlands, to which it was also linked also in later centuries through a common Christian heritage. Until today, about half of its population professes Christian Orthodox traditions, while the other half are Muslims. Due to missionary activities there are also Protestants and Catholics. The people of G. are traditionally agriculturalists (today ca. two thirds of the permanent population) while some are transhumant pastoralists who move twice a year between the lowlands and the highlands. The latter are Muslims while the Christians are sedentary and live in stone or brick houses and are following the ↗*ṣəlmi* land tenure system, in which land is owned by patrilineal families (Saba Issayas 1996).

One of the most important Təgre sub-clans of G. are the ᶜAd Habay (belonging to the Zawra), who trace their origin to an apical ancestor, Haboy, from ↗ᶜAd Təmaryam (Sundström n.d.) and who became the ↗*təgre* 'bondsmen' or 'serfs' of a noble group. The ᶜAd Kedraš are a Zawra *təgre* serf group in G. and Məhəlab. Another sub-clan in G. are the ᶜAd Hišal, a sub-unit of the ᶜAd Gabres sub-clan (ibid.). Two other *təgre* sub-clans of G. are the ᶜAd Mähari and the ᶜAd Bula (one of five lineages of the Bet Abrəhe who had their own chief), and both are from the ᶜAd Lawağ. Another lineage belonging to the five Bet Abrəhe are the ᶜAd Aylay. Originally not Mänsaᶜ but ↗Ḥabab are the ᶜAd Ammar from the ᶜAd Hafärom. The ᶜAd Dobaᶜat are said to have originated from the ↗Sudan. An exiled, formerly noble, group were the ᶜAd Dobloy, who were forced to leave due to heavy conflicts over the local chieftaincy accorded by *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs. Some of them migrated back from Ḥamasen to G. in the late 19th cent., paying tribute like the other *təgre* (ibid.).

The Swedish mission established itself in G. by the early 1870s where it founded a school, supported by the governor of this then Egyptian territory, ↗Munzinger. The school was attended by students of ↗Təgrəñña and Təgre background such as the deacon ↗Täwäldä Mädḫən Gäbrä Mädḫən, who worked on a Bible translation into Təgre in G. Many of the first literary works in the Təgre language were produced in G. For example, the "Spelling and Reading Book", written by the latter together with Täwäldä Mädḫən Gäbru (1889) was produced in G. (but, as with other works produced in G., printed in ↗Ǝmkullu). Other languages were also actively studied at G., with the aim of producing religious texts, such as ↗Onesimos Näsib's Oromo text of ca. 1890. Pupils such as the educational writer ↗Yəsḥaq Täwäldä Mädḫən of the G. school played a crucial role in the later Evangelical Church of Eritrea.

The activities of the missionaries had an important impact on the preservation of the Təgre language and oral literature, as they actively documented the rich heritage of the people of G. and its surroundings. Enno ↗Littmann's principal Təgre informant Naffaᶜ wäd ᶜEtman was from G. Many of the texts collected within the framework of the ↗Princeton University Expedition thus originate from G., especially those from the Mänsaᶜ Bet Abrəhe, LitPEA, vols. 3–4A, nos. 1–265 (s. also Littmann 1911). The missionary Richard ↗Sundström, stationed at G. starting from 1898, collected and documented a number of Təgre tales, songs, poems and oral traditions. One of these texts from G. was published by Littmann in 1904, and there was already a reference to G. in Littmann 1897. Many of these original transcripts by Sundström are now kept in the Carolina Redeviva Library, Uppsala, and some, seemingly incomplete, can be found in the Littmann Nachlass in Vienna. Sundström gave an important part of his collection to Littmann during his visit in 1905 for purposes of scholarship and for eventual publication. Sundström's list still exists. Littmann's and ↗Höfner's Təgre dictionary was created partially on the basis of information from these sources. However, only one text has been published so far (1961) by his collaborator Höfner, on the ↗ᶜAd Šek (s. a longer text on the history of the Mänsaᶜ: Sundström 1913).

G. lies in what today is the *zoba* ᶜAnsäba, in the homonymous district of G. The district of G. is inhabited by ca. 40,000 sedentarists and, according to the season, an additional 40,000 transhumant pastoralists. They speak three languages, Təgrəñña, Təgre and ↗Bilin, cultivate mainly corn, sorghum and barley, and grow fruits and vegetables on their farms (Saba Issayas 1996). In collaboration with civil society partners and UNICEF, the Eritrean government has started a new educational system adapted to the semi-nomadic life of the people of G., changing the pattern set at the establishment of the first school in which education was given almost exclusively to the sedentary population received education.

Src.: SABA ISSAYAS (UNFPA/UNICEF), *Traditional Beliefs and Practices that Affect the Health of Women and Children in Eritrea*, ms., Asmara 1996, passim; Uppsala, Carolina Redeviva Library, Richard Sundström Papers; Wien, Akademie der Wissenschaften, Collection of Təgre Texts, in the Enno Littmann Nachlass; RICHARD SUNDSTRÖM, "Names of Families and Tribes", ms., Carolina Redeviva Library, Uppsala, passim; ENNO LITTMANN, *Studies Concerning the Languages, Literature and History of Abyssinia*: *the Legend of the Queen of Sheba in the Tradition of Axum*, Leyden – Princeton, NJ 1904 (Bibliotheca Abessinica 1); ID., *Tagebuch*: *Abessinische Reise 1905–1906*, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Nachlass Littmann (NL 245 – E. Littmann 88); ID., "Tigrē-Erzählungen", *ZDMG* 65, 1911, 697–708; LitPEA.

Lit.: ArEvang 358f.; ENNO LITTMANN, "Die Pronomina im Tigre", *ZA* 12, 1897, 188–230, 291–316; ID., "Naffaᶜ Wad ᶜEtmān", *Der Neue Orient* 2, 1918, 587–91; RICHARD SUNDSTRÖM, *The History of the Mensa People* [in English and Təgre], Asmära 1913 (^{2}1923).

Wolbert G.C. Smidt

Ǧimma Sänbäte

Fitawrari Ǧ.S. (**ጂማ ፡ ሰንበቴ**, b. ca. 1876, Aleltu, Šäwa, d. 1940, Bulga) was one of the noted leaders of the patriots of northern ↗Šäwa from 1936 to 1940 (↗Resistance). He belonged, through his father, to the Maru sub-clan of the ↗Abbičuu clan of the Oromo while through his mother he came from a ↗Bulga ↗Amhara family. His father had taken part in all the campaigns of expansion of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II and in the Battle of ↗ᶜAdwa.

As a boy Ǧ.S. was sent to the local church of Eğersa Giyorgis. As a young man he served in Addis Abäba as a clerk in court. He was then appointed judge (*wänbär*) of Bulga where he stayed for several years. Probably it was at this time that he was given a rifle by Empress ↗Zäwditu in recognition of his services, including his participation in the Battle of ↗Sägäle. He then returned to Addis Abäba to earn his living as a private (traditional) lawyer.

After the Italian invasion had reached Addis Abäba, patriotic forces moved from there to their native areas in different parts of Šäwa to start the guerrilla struggle. ↗Abbäbä Arägay and Ǧ.S. were among their most prominent leaders (Greenfield 1967: 229). Ǧ.S. quickly raised a force of thousands of followers. In the summer of 1936 they carried out attacks on Italian convoys along the Addis Abäba–Däbrä Bərhan road inflicting heavy casualties and fought against collaborators. In the years 1936 and 1937, Ǧ.S. coordinated his struggle with the patriots of Bulga and operated in Aleltu, Koremaš (where Mənilək had a big ammunitions depot) and Assagərt, Bulga. In early 1937 the Italian forces intensified their pressure and Ǧ.S. had to withdraw to the gorges of the ↗Käsäm valley (Ministero dell'Africa Italiana 1939:168). Family sources confirm this but reject an Italian claim that he had been wounded.

Ǧ.S. took part in the political activities of the patriots of Bulga and ↗Tägulät to crown a king who would coordinate the patriotic movement hopefully in all of Ethiopia (Taddäsä Zäwälde 1967/68: 105; Tabor Wami n.d.: 6). When, finally, their efforts led to the crowning of Mälakä Ṣähay, the son of ↗Iyasu, as Ethiopian king at the end of August 1937, he attended the coronation and was given, like several other Bulga patriots, the title of *fitawrari* (Taddäsä Zäwälde 1967/68: 105; Tabor Wami n.d.: 6). The new king died not long afterwards, thus depriving the movement of a much hoped for leadership.

Italian reinforcements in the region in 1939 led to greater pressure on Ǧ.S.'s guerrilla. In 1940 he suffered from malaria while hiding in the house of a relative near the Käsäm River in Bulga. After the Italian garrison in the area received a tip-off he was discovered, but, refusing to surrender, he was killed in a shoot-out. The plan of the collaborators to cut off his head and display it on various marketplaces was thwarted by patriot forces.

After the liberation Ğ.S.'s patriotism was recognized by *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I and, in 1942, his remains were brought to rest in the basement of the ↗Qəddəst Śəllase Cathedral together with those of other leading patriots of the Italian war. In the same year a school was named after him in Sändafa near Addis Abäba.

Src.: TABOR WAMI, n.d. [unpublished biography of Ğ.S. in the possession of the author].

Lit.: RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia*: *a New Political History*, London 1967, 229; MINISTERO DELL'AFRICA ITALIANA, "L'Attivita militare dopo l'occupazione", *Gli annali dell'Africa Italiana* Anno 2, 3, 1939, 161–76; TADDÄSSÄ ZÄWÄLDE, **ቀሪን ፡ ገረመው ፤ የአርበኞች ፡ ታሪክ** (*Qärin Gärämäw: yäʾarbäññočč tarik, 'Those who survived were amazed: a History of Patriots'*) Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.], 105.

Shiferaw Bekele

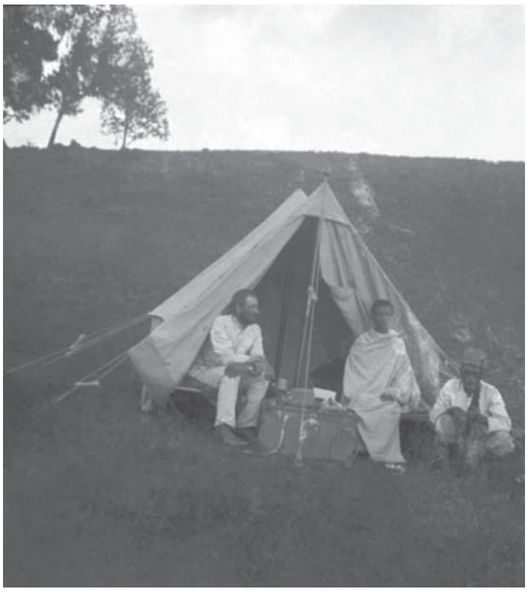
Gumilev, Nikolay

G. (Nikolaj Stepanovič Gumiljov; b. 15 April 1886, Kronshtadt, d. August 1921, Petrograd region [?]) was a prominent Russian poet, known as the founder of the "acmeism" school and of the literary group known as "Guild of Poets". His travels to Africa, and in particularly Ethiopia, significantly influenced his own poetry (though found full appreciation in ↗Russia only in recent time).

G. was born into a family of petty nobility. He started writing poetry in 1902, and in 1905 issued his first collection of poems, the *Way of Conquistadors*. In 1906–07 he travelled in Europe and eventually in Orient (Turkey, Egypt) which deeply impressed him. Inspired on the one hand by the poet Arthur ↗Rimbaud and such Russian travellers as ↗Ašinov, ↗Bulatovich, ↗Mashkov, and on the other hand looking for new adventures and impressions, G. got fascinated by the Horn of Africa.

G. briefly visited ↗Djibouti (the then French Somaliland) in December 1909–January 1910. In September 1910 he finally travelled to Ethiopia. He descended the Nile, then reached Djibouti, and from there, via ↗Dərre Dawa and ↗Harär, arrived in Addis Abäba. In the capital, he met the Russians then present in Ethiopia (Čemerzin, Kohanovskij; also, apparently, Senigov), and Ethiopian nobles (he was even invited once to a banquet in honour of *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu). Not many details about that stay are known (some of them appear legendary, cp. Bronguleev 1995:200ff.). Allegedly, G. was forced to leave in January 1911 after an unlucky incident in which his property and money were stolen from the Hôtel d'Impératrice (today, Ṭaytu Hotel). He is thought to have taken the route via ↗Čärčär and Djibouti with "a local poet *ato* Iosif" (Yosef Zägalan or ↗Yosef Nəguśe?), who helped him in collecting and translating a few popular songs (12 poems, said by G. to be literal translations of indigenous songs). However, there are hints that G.'s trip back was much more extensive, via ↗Ginnir, and then probably through ↗Käfa, to Kenya and Mombasa (s. Luknitskij 2010:234f.; esp. Stepanov 2006b) from where he went to Djibouti by sea and then back to Russia, where he arrived in March 1911.

After two years full of both achievements and frustrations (publications; marriage with Anna Akhmatova, which soon grew unhappy; birth of the son Lev; fierce criticism of G.'s "acmeism"), G. sought a new opportunity to go to Ethiopia. He arranged his next trip with the help of the St. Petersburg Museum of Ethnography (Kunstkammer, directed by Prof. V. Radlov) which entrusted him with the task of collecting samples of material culture from south-east Ethiopia. G. was supposed to enter Ethiopia through Djibouti, reach Harär via Addis Abäba–Djibouti ↗Railway and travel the wide areas between lakes Rudolph (↗Turkana), Margherita (↗Abbayya) and ↗Z^{w}ay, which by then were just incorporated into the Christian Ethiopian Empire and hardly studied. He left St. Petersburg on 7 April 1913, accompanied by his nephew Nikolaj Sverčkov. On 24 April they reached Djibouti



Nikolay Gumilev (left) during travels in Ethiopia with two attendants; photo 1913, from the collection of the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkammer), Russian Academy of Science (2198-1330) (having befriended the newly appointed Turkish envoy ↗Maẓhar *bey* on the way), and then, by train, Dərre Dawa. In May they stayed in Harär where they met (and photographed) *däǧǧazmač* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (the future Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I), and his wife Mänän, and visited one of the first ↗theatre performance in Ethiopia (staged by Indian actors). On 4 June G. and Sverčkov, accompanied by the interpreter Fasika, embarked on the travel to ↗Šayḫ Ḥusayn and Ginnir which turned out to be tremendously difficult (s. the itinerary reconstructed in Brongulejev 1995: 341). On 25 July the travellers reached Laga Hardim, and by the mid-August returned, via Harär, to Djibouti. They returned to St. Petersburg on 20 September.

G.'s diary (published only in 1987; recently donated to the Kunstkammer) contains the story of the preparation of the 1913 trip, sketch of ca. 1,500-km-long route, and brief, partly indecipherable records of what happened on the way. Unfortunately, Sverčkov's diary, allegedly much more detailed and with many photographs, was lost during the Russian revolution of 1917 (Luknitskij 2010: 331).

Ethiopia left deep imprint in G.'s poetry; many of his most famous poems contain African images as well as memories of his Ethiopian travels (some still await proper analysis; e.g., "Aktostih", 1911; collection "Abissinskie pesni", 1911; "Roždestvo v Abissinii", 1911; "Risunok akvarelju", 1911; "Afrikanskaja noč", 1913; "Mik. Afrikanskaja poema", 1918; "Moi čitateli", 1920; "Šatjor" 1921, and others).

G. was arrested on 3 August 1921 on accusation of participation in a monarchist plot ("Tagantsev conspiracy"). He was executed between 24 August (date of decree) and 1 September (report of execution). He was rehabilitated in 1991.

The objects of material culture which G. brought from Ethiopia are of significant scholarly value. In the Kunstkammer they are organized in four collections (nos. 2155, 2156, 2131, 5376 of paintings), with 119 registered objects. They include items of the ↗Harari, ↗Somali and Afran Qalluu (↗Qottuu) and ↗Arsi Oromo (collected in Meetta, Bale, Anniya, Arsi). G. also brought to Russia a collection of nine ↗manuscripts from Harär and ↗Ǧimma (now in the Institute of the Oriental Manuscripts, St. Petersburg, s. Halidov 1986, nos. A 737–39, 741–42, B 1928, C 1169–70; s. also Dobronravin in *PICES* 15, 569ff.), in addition to photographed manuscripts (e.g., the Arabic manuscript containing hagiography of *šayḫ* ↗Ḥusayn; Gori 2008). All in all, 253 ↗photographs taken during the expedition are now preserved in the Kunstkammer, as well as seven religious and folklore ↗paintings (six by painter Mikaʾel Ǝngədawärq).

Src.: ANAS HALIDOV (ed.), *Arabskie rukopisi Instituta Vostokovedenija. Kratkij Katalog* ('Arabic Manuscripts of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Brief Catalogue'), Moscow 1986; NIKOLAY GUMILEV, "Umer li Menilik?" ('Has Mənilək Died?'), *Niva* 5, 1914, 93; ID., "Iskusstvo v Abissinii" ('Arts in Abyssinia'), *Sinij žurnal* 18, 1911, 12; ID., *Polnoe sobranie sočinenij v desjati tomah* ('The Complete Works in Ten Volumes'), ed. by the RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, INSTITUTE OF RUSSIAN LITERATURE, Moscow 1997–2007.

Lit.: VADIM BRONGULEEV, *Posredine stranstvija zemnogo …* ('Midway upon the Journey of Our Life …'), Moscow 1995, esp. 177–204, 229–36, 273–351; APOLLON DAVIDSON, *Nikolaj Gumiljov: poet, putešestvennik, voin* ('Nikolay Gumilev: Poet, Traveller, Warrior'), Smolensk 2001; ID., "Nikolaj Gumiljov v Abissinii" ('Nikolay Gumilev in Abissinia'), *Novaja i novejšaja istorija* 6, 2001, 137–48; PAVEL LUKNITSKIJ, *Trudy i dni N.S. Gumiljova* ('Works and Days of N.S. Gumilev'), St. Petersburg 2010, 207–11, 330–39; NIKOLAY DOBRONRAVIN, "Gumilev's Manuscript Collections (Harar and Jimma)", in: *PICES* 15, 569–71; ALESSANDRO GORI, "Some Arabic Islamic Manuscripts from Shaykh Husayn (Bale, Ethiopia): A Short Description Based on the MAE RAS Photographs", *Manuscripta Orientalia* 14, 2, 2008, 28–35; EFIM REZVAN, "Harar i musulmanskaja knižnost' jugo-vostočnoj Efiopii" ('Harar and Muslim Literature of South-East Ethiopia') (in preparation); EVGUENIJ STEPANOV, "Neakademičeskie kommentarii [1, 2, 3]" ('Non-Academic Commentaries [1, 2, 3]'), *Toronto Slavic Quarterly* (*Academic Electronic Journal in Slavic Studies*) 17, Summer 2006a; *ibid.* 18, Fall 2006b; *ibid.* 20, Spring 2007.

Denis Nosnitsin

Gʷalu

Däǧǧazmač G. (ጓሉ; d. Däbrä Tabor) was an early 19th-cent. ruler of ↗Goǧǧam.

G. was powerfully connected: he was the son of *ras* ↗Märəd Ḫaylu and thus a grandson of *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Yosedeq and great-grandson of ↗Wälättä Ǝsraʾel, daughter of Empress Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa). A chronicler calls him a *Qʷaräñña*, the name by which Məntəwwab's governing clique was known (↗Qʷara; Täklä Iyäsus ms. IES 254, fol. 55). G. is principally to be noted for the role he played in linking the very active political careers of his grandfather, father and of his son, ↗Tädla Gʷalu.

The chronicle has him taking over his father's position after Märəd's death in 1799 (ibid. fols. 52f. = Girma Getahun ch. 22A). However, our only closely dated source has him emerge, with the support of *ras* ↗Gugsa, in 1805/06 as a challenger to *däǧǧazmač* ↗Zäwde of Damot (Rüppell 1840:391). In any event, Zäwde was his principal rival and *däǧǧazmač* Elyas of Agäw Mədər was an important ally. Zäwde was married to G.'s paternal aunt, Dənqənäš Ḫaylu, and G. was involved in breaking up this marriage, following which Dənqənäš took up with *blatta* Kʷəlalit, a lieutenant of G. (BlunChr 480). This, briefly, became a *cause célèbre*. In the struggles which followed the fall of Zäwde towards the end of 1813, G. lost out to Zäwde's son ↗Goššu Zäwde. The chronicler notes that G. ruled Goǧǧam for three years.

G. died in Däbrä Tabor and was buried at Dima. After his death, his son Yəmär Gʷalu tried to regain control over Goǧǧam but lost to Goššu Zäwde's son ↗Bərru Goššu (Girma Getahun 1991, ch. 22B).

G. is said to have completed Ṭaba Nolawi, a church founded by his father, Märəd, in the area of Fənotä Sälam in Damot. He arranged it in the same way his father had foreseen for another church he had founded, Yäwəš Mikaᵓel (south of Däbrä Marqos). According to Täklä Iyasus's Chronicle, Yäwəš Mikaᵓel later served model for Mənilək's foundation at ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo (ibid. ch. 34).

Unlike his father, who would befriend peasants and restrain his soldiers from plundering them, G. favoured his soldiers, who oppressed the peasants (Täklä Iyäsus ms. IES 254, fols. 52f.).

Src.: BlunChr 480; BTafA 447ff., 926, 972; CRReal 879; EDUARD RÜPPELL, *Reise in Abyssinien*, vol. 2, Frankfurt am Main 1840, 391; *aläqa* TÄKLÄ IYÄSUS [TÄKLÄ ZÄBÄḪƎRÄ GOǦǦAM], **የጎጃም ፡ ታሪክ** (*Yägoǧǧam tarik*, 'The Goǧǧam Chronicle'), n.d., ms. IES 254, fols. 52f., 55 (partial ed., tr.: GIRMA Y. GETAHUN, *The Goǧǧam Chronicle*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford 1991; ed. available from *www.britac.ac.uk/pubs/src/fha/goggam/index.cfm*, here ch. 22).

Donald Crummey

H

Ḥabäša

The term Ḥ. (Tgn. ሐበሻ, Amh. ሃበሻ Habäša or አበሻ Abäša) is predominantly a self-designation used by the Christian highlanders inhabiting the regions between Asmära and Addis Abäba, i.e. mainly by ↗Təgrəñña- and ↗Amharic-speakers (the territorial core being the ↗Märäb Məllaš, ↗Təgray, ↗Bägemdər, ↗Goǧǧam, ↗Wällo and ↗Šäwa), with an ethnic connotation, despite a certain ambiguity and vagueness of the term. Depending on the specific region, it is either fully accepted as an actual local ethnic term and in this case used as a self-denomination, or it appears rather in a vague general sense, used mainly in idiomatic expressions differentiating the "we-group" (i.e. depending on the perspective of the speaker: the highlanders, lighter-skinned people, darker-skinned people, the Ethiopians, the Eritreans etc.) from "others".

Cultural label

This general cultural meaning is reflected by numerous popular expressions, such as (Amh.), *yähabäša ləbs* ('[cultural] clothes of the Ḥ.'), *yähabäša qäṭäro* (lit. 'appointment of the Ḥ.', i.e. being late), *yähabäša mädhanit* (lit. 'Ḥ. medicine', i.e. traditional medicine), etc. Especially in the modern urban context these national-cultural connotations have made the term very popular, e.g., as a name for restaurants serving traditional highlanders' food (*yähabäša məgəb*, 'Ḥ. food'), beauty salons, barbers etc. From the highlanders' perspective the cultural features of the Ḥ. were often identified with their respective region's "culture", totally forgetting about today's plurality of cultures even within their regions and thus unconsciously reproducing an age-old, deeply enrooted idea of domination by the Ḥ. highlanders.

Political designation

In its political meaning, the term is often linked with the idea of belongingness to a polity. In the Eritrean context, for example, Ḥ. may designate in informal parlance "the Eritreans", while in Ethiopian context it is popularly often understood as meaning "Ethiopian", while its connotations still remain largely ethnic-cultural (this modern identification with the respective states is a reflection of the older fact, that the Christian highlanders, i.e. the Ḥ., were those who de facto were linked with state structures). This identification, in turn, is often rejected by some of the populations of these states who would claim not to be Ḥ., such as ↗Kunama or ↗ᶜAfar in Eritrea, or ↗Oromo, ᶜAfar, ↗Somali or ↗Beni Šangul (↗Berta, ↗Gumuz) etc. in Ethiopia, which reconfirms the rather ethnic meaning of the term. However, the rejection is not general; the identification with a common "national" culture is widespread especially in more modern urban contexts, so that also Amharic-speaking Oromo often now call themselves *Abäša*.

Ethnonym

Depending on the region, the term Ḥ. can take an explicitly ethnic connotation or even an exclusive ethnic meaning. Areas where this is prominent (cp. recent research by Smidt 2005; 2012) are the Eritrean and Təgrayan highlands, among the Təgrəñña-speakers. While virtually all Təgrəñña-speakers use Ḥ. as a self-designation, some use it in a strong ethnic sense; less so in urban centres such as Aksum, but usually more in rural areas, seemingly roughly corresponding to the territory of the core of the Aksumite kingdom (in peripheries such as ↗Rayyaa the term is less used). Such populations do not yet use the modern ethnic self-designations *Təgrəñña* (used in Eritrea) or *Təgray/Təgraway* (now widely accepted in Təgray), but prefer "Ḥ." or the local group's name, such as *ᶜAgamä*, *Wälqayte*, *Ḥamasenay*, *Ṣänᶜadäglä*, *Märätta*, *Däqqi Täsfa* etc. Consequently, an ethnically mixed *wäräda* west of ↗Šire has been named Kunama-Ḥabäša *wäräda*, following the local usage of Ḥ. as a purely ethnic term. In a rural context, the term Ḥ. also appears as a language designation, meaning Təgrəñña. It is sometimes, but not necessarily preceded by the term *qʷanqʷa* ('language'). This follows the widespread tradition of using an ethnic term also for the language (this language designation was also used by a local linguist as an alternative to "Təgrəñña", cp. Agosṭinos

Tädla 1994). There is a similar situation further south in Amharic-speaking regions, where the term *Amara* (↗Amhara) is barely used as an ethnonym, Ḥ. being preferred when regional self-designations are too narrow. This can be observed, e.g., in ↗Wällo (Ficquet 2012) where *Amara* is employed to designate Christians and cannot be applied to the local Amharic-speaking Muslims. The latter use the term Ḥ. in order to differentiate themselves from other Muslims.

Historical uses of the term and its derivatives

The term Ḥ. developed independently from and parallel to the Arab. *al-Ḥabaša*, clearly as a derivation from the ethnic term ↗*Ḥabašat*, which designated a group or a confederacy of groups which formed the core of the Aksumite state, besides the ↗Aksumites themselves. Hence the ancient self-denomination of the Aksumite kingdom or empire: *ard Ḥabašat wa Aksuman* (s. ↗Abyssinia; *Ḥabašat*). In the Aksumite period locally produced Greek inscriptions (s. RIÉ I, nos. 270, 270bis) translated the term *Ḥabašat* with *Aithíopes* (s. ↗*Aithiopía*), thus reflecting already the all-encompassing idea of the term as a wider and inclusive concept, possibly already with some connotation of skin-colour.

This combination was strengthened later, when starting from approximately the ↗Zagʷe period the Biblical term Ityopya (from *Aithiopía*, cp. also ↗Ityopis) was used as a self-designation of the state even in the local language, not only in translations, thus inaugurating the age-old, but never fully defined identification between the state of Ityopya and the "Ḥ.". In royal letters of the 19th cent., kings in Ethiopia called themselves *nəguśä Ḥabäša* (RubActa I, 187f.), or *yäḥabäša nəguś* (RubActa I, 193) and their country *yäḥabäša märet/hagärä Ḥ.* ('land of the Ḥ.'). However, the term Ḥ. always kept its mainly local ethnic connotations, different from the always more political, state-oriented term "Ethiopians".

The Arabic *al-Ḥabaša*, in its proper sense referring to the Christian highlands (the ethnonym being *al-Ḥabaš*, pl. *al-Aḥbaš*) and derived from the Aksumite toponym, appeared in the earlier medieval period together with the literary production in Arabic. In European languages, the term Abyssinia is a loanword derived from Arabic.

Src.: AGOST'INOS TÄDLA [AGOSTINO DA HEBO], *La lingua abissina*, **ቋንቋ ፡ ሐበሻ** (*Qʷanqʷa ḥabäša*), ed. by TÄWÄLDÄ BƎRHAN ṢÄGGAY, Asmara 1994; RIÉ I, nos. 270, 270bis; RubActa I, 193.

Lit.: ELOI FICQUET, "Les sociétés habesha: Amhara, Tigray et quelques minorités" in: GÉRARD PRUNIER (ed.), *L'Éthiopie contemporaine*, Paris 2007, 50–54; GÄBRÄ IYÄSUS ABBAY, **መሰረት ፡ ዓሌት ፡ህዝቢ ፡መረብ ፡ መላሽ** (*Mäsärät ʿalet həzbi Märäb Məllaš*, 'The Origins of the People of Märäb Məllaš'), Asmära 1965; ARTHUR K. IRVINE, "On the Identity of Ḥabashat in the South Arabian Inscriptions", *JSS* 10, 1965, 178–96; WILLIAM SHACK, *The Central Ethiopians*: *Amhara, Tigriña and Related Peoples*, London 1974 (Ethnographic Survey of Africa 4); WOLBERT SMIDT, "Selbstbezeichnungen von Təgrəñña-Sprechern (Ḥabäša, Tägaru, Təgrəñña u.a.)", in: BOGDAN BURTEA – JOSEF TROPPER – HELEN YOUNANSARDAROUD (eds.), *Studia semitica et Semitohamitica*: *Festschrift Rainer Voigt*, Münster 2005 (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 317), 385–404; ID., "The Term Ḥabäsha: an Ancient Ethnonym of the 'Abyssinian' Highlanders and its Interpretations and Connotations", in: HATEM ELLIESIE (ed.), *Studien zum Horn von Afrika*, Berlin (in preparation).

Wolbert G.C. Smidt – Eloi Ficquet

Ḥamälmal Wärq

Ite Ḥ.W. (**ሐመልማል ፡ ወርቅ**, also called Dəngəl Mogäsa; in Jesuit sources Amelmal Orc; d. 7 April 1616) was the mother of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos. She was the daughter of one *azzaž* Kolo Dəngəl (also called Komo) from the noble Šəme lineage of the ↗Agäw. Ḥ.W.'s brother, Gudamo, was ↗*qaṭ* of the Šəme Agäw and father of a powerful female opponent of the Jesuit mission, Amätä Krəstos, herself mother of a certain Mälkəʾa Krəstos. One Ḫadäro, from the same lineage of Šəme, was also Ḥ.W.'s relative (PerChron 3, 8, 78, 278, 374f.; BecRASO III, 300, 302; VI, 184).

Ḥ.W. also was the mother of important political and military figures, conceived with her numerous husbands and lovers, during the reign of Susənyos. By her husband *azzaž* Śärṣ̌ä Krəstos, she bore Hafä Krəstos, Mälkəʾa Krəstos and ↗Yämanä Krəstos. Whilst she was still married to Śärṣ̌ä Krəstos, she had a son, Susənyos, with ↗Fasil Gärräm. Finally, after the death of Śärṣ̌ä Krəstos, she married a nobleman from ↗Damot, Muso, who gave her ↗Śəʿəlä Krəstos. At least one daughter is attested, *wäyzäro* Wängelawit (PerChron 34, 266).

Ḥ.W. was also an active political figure. Around 1605 she mediated between *aṣe* ↗Yaʿəqob and Susənyos (PerChron 58f.). She also took an open stand against the ↗Jesuit mission. In 1613, together with her son Yämanä Krəstos, she sent letters to Susənyos trying to persuade him to change his pro-missionary leaning (BecRASO VI, 285).

Ḥ.W. died probably at an advanced age, apparently of natural causes. She was buried at Däbrä Ṣana (PerChr 110; BegCron 4; BassÉt I, 340 [text] = II, 123 [tr.]).

At least two other figures called Ḥamälmal, both male, were active during the same period. One *abetohun* Ḥamälmal flourished during the early years of Susənyos' reign (PerChron 62). Another Ḥamälmal was lord of ↗Kambaata and subject to Susənyos. In 1614, the latter for a few months hosted the expedition of the Jesuit António ↗Fernandes and Fəqər Əgziʾ and provided them with horses for their journey (BecRASO III, 464f., 467–74, 484; IV, 267ff.).

Src.: BassÉt I, 340 (text) = II, 123 (tr.); BecRASO III, 300, 302, 464f., 467-74, 484; IV, 267ff.; VI, 184, 285; BegCron 4; PerChron 3f., 8, 34, 58f., 62, 78, 110, 215, 266, 278, 374f. (tr.).

Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner

Ḫasgʷa

Ḫ. (**ኀስጓ**, **ኃስጓ**, also **ሐስጓ**, *ḥasgʷa*, **አስጓ**, *asgʷa* [?], etc.) is the title of a civil office attested in the ↗Zagʷe and the earliest Solomonic periods, to which major personalities were appointed, i.e. regional rulers and members of the royal family. The title surfaces at the latest in the second half of the 15th cent., when it seems to have lost its original connotation of title related to the ↗Təgray area and is rather associated with the region of ↗Fäṭägar.

The *Golden Gospel* of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šəmäzana is the main source for our knowledge of the Ḫ. title, for which five appointees are quoted: Qərub (Ḫ. at the time of *aṣe* Lalibäla and his wife Mäsqäl Kəbra, cp. CRDLib 187.10, doc. no. 6b, dating to 1205/09); Yəᶜqäbännä (Ḫ. at the time of the same rulers, cp. *ibid.* 190.12, doc. no. 7b, dating to 1225); Əngəda Əgziʾ (son of Kʷəllu Sägädä, also *səyyumä* Əntərta [↗Əndärta] and *ᶜaqqabe ṣänṣän*: Ḫ. during the reign of Yəkunno Amlak, cp. *ibid.* 194.11, doc. no. 10); Täsfanä Əgzi (son of Əngəda Əgziʾ, also *səyyumä* Əntərta and *ᶜaqqabe ṣänṣän*: Ḫ. during *aṣe* Wədəm Räᶜad's reign, cp. *ibid.* 199.25, doc. no. 15, dating to 1305); Baḥrä Asgäd (son of *aṣe* ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon, also *səyyumä* Əntərta, *maʾəkälä baḥr*, *maʾəkälä təwazat* and *aqanṣan*: Ḫ. during the reign of ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon, cp. *ibid.* 208.24, doc. no. 22, dating to 1328).

A 15th/16th cent. additional note in the Biblical ms. EMML no. 1768, fol. 88r, from Däbrä Ḥayq Əsṭifanos, reports a list of ancestors of *ras* ᶜAmdu, an important political figure also known to have been the governor (*mäkʷännən*) of Fäṭägar in the middle of the 15th cent. ᶜAmdu is said to have been the descendant of a family of Jewish immigrants from Aden, Yemen, who settled in Ethiopia at the time of the Zagʷe dynasty: the last named of the descendants in the list is given as *ḥasgʷa* Wäsän (cp. Getatchew Hayle in PICES 15, 252ff.; Taddesse Tamrat 1970: 112ff.). A connection of Fäṭägar with the title is not for sure confirmed by the Chronicle of *aṣe* Bäʾədä Maryam (PerrZarY 112), mentioning a "Fä<ṭäga>r Asgʷa", where text ("Ṭäfägar" in the manuscript, likely to be emended) and interpretation are uncertain (ᶜAsgʷa could be also attested as a personal name, cp., e.g., *qäñ geta* ᶜAsgʷaᶜ in the *Mäṣḥafä ↗Aksum*, CRAxum 46 [tr.], doc. no. 43).

The term is finally attested in the Acts of ↗ᶜAbiyä Əgziʾ, active in Northern Təgray but also in Lasta, in ms. BL Orient. 695, fols. 5r–63r (Acts and Miracles were written by several different hands), as well as in ms. ANLin Conti Rossini 55. The Acts, probably composed in the second half of the 14th cent., report a conflict between the saint and the *ḥawsəgʷa* (var. *ḫawsəgʷa* and *ḥasgʷe*), named Yətbaräk, quoted also as *ḫawzəgʷa* (var. *ḥasgʷe*) in the Miracles (cp. Conti Rossini 1938: 425ff.). The title is definitely the same as Ḫ. and is likely to be explained on the basis of an Agäw etymology, either connecting it with "*egwā*" and related words, meaning 'head, upper part', i.e. 'chief', in several Agäw languages (cp. *ibid.* 427, n. 3), or even linking it directly to the name of the Zagʷe dynasty, as a writing such as *ḫawzəgʷa* would seem to point to.

Src.: ms. ANLin Conti Rossini 55 (StrANL 158f., no. 55); ms. BL Orient. 695 (WrBriMus no. 271); ms. EMML no. 1768; CRAxum 46 [tr.], doc. no. [II], 43; CRDLib 187ff. (docs. nos. 6b, 7b, 10, 15, 22); CRHist 188 [tr.]; IGNAZIO GUIDI (in collaboration with FRANCESCO GALLINA and ENRICO CERULLI), *Supplemento al vocabolario amarico–italiano*, Roma 1940 (Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto per l'Oriente), 3; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "The Abbots of Däbrä-Hayq 1248–1535", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 87–117, here 112ff.; TadTChurch 73, 97.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Studi su popolazioni dell'Etiopia: I. Gli Irob e le loro tradizioni", *RSO* 3, 1910, 849–900, here 860, n.; ID., "Note di agiografia etiopica (ʾAbiya-Egziʾ, ʾArkalēdes e Gabra-Iyasus)", *ibid.* 17, 1938, 409–52, here 425ff.; GETATCHEW HAILE, "*Ras* ᶜAmdu: His and his Ancestors' Role in Ethiopian History", in: *PICES* 15, 251–59, here 252f.

Alessandro Bausi

Ḥaṣīb Idlibī

Ḥ.I. (Amh. **ሐሲብ ፡ ኢድሊቢ** also known as Ydlibi; b. 1866, Beirut) was an important personality and administrator during the reigns of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II and *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu. His father, prob-

Ḥaṣīb Idlibī holding an Añwaa who was supposed to be brought to *aṣe* Mənilək II; Julia Idlibī and unidentified Ethiopian officials in his concession area in Gambella; photo 1907, from May Ydlibi 2006, table 9

ably a Syrian Christian, ᶜAbdullahī Idlibī, was a Turkish Consul and his mother was English.

To evade military service in Turkey, or, according to other sources, to escape from the threat of being imprisoned after he embezzled a large sum of money from the Turkish Customs where he worked, Ḥ.I. entered the employment of the Government of Cyprus in 1889 and became Inspector of Cyprus Military Police at Paphos in 1893, a position which he held until 1897 (FO 371/4393)

Dismissed from his office the same year, Ḥ.I. proceeded to Ethiopia, while he was working for the Kordofan Trading Company. He entered the service of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II and rapidly acquired a position of great influence. He obtained a huge concession from Mənilək II for 300,000 acres of land on the ↗Baro River. There he experimented in planting different kinds of crops, particularly ↗cotton, with the result that he succeeded in obtaining cotton which produced longer and finer thread than that obtained from Egypt.

Eventually Ḥ.I., as a supporter of *ləǧ* Iyasu, became ↗*näggadras* of ↗Harär and governor of ↗Dərre Dawa during the latter's reign. He was believed to be a supporter of German interests in Ethiopia during ↗World War I. At the customs office in Dərre Dawa he removed Täfäri Mäkʷännən's (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) supporters, who appealed in the matter to Täfäri (the then governor of Harärge) which led to considerable difficulties for Täfäri from Iyasu.

Ḥ.I. took advantage of his official position to embezzle money belonging to the Ethiopian government (from the Dərre Dawa and Harär customs). As a consequence, after the 1916 ↗Coup d'état (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081) the Ethiopian government decided to take action against Ḥ.I., and condemned him to death, but he escaped to Djibouti where he was promptly incarcerated by the French authorities, on the grounds that "the presence of this Turkish subject might provoke a dangerous agitation". He was subsequently interned with his family in France. The French government ultimately released Ḥ.I.'s family in 1919. When Ḥ.I. left Ethiopia in 1916, the Bank of Abyssinia and the Ethiopian government had claims of £ 59,000 against him.

In the 1920s Ḥ.I. tried to get permission to return to Ethiopia to access his possessions and filed a claim against the Ethiopian government worth 1,800,000 Maria Theresa thalers concerning properties owned by him in Ethiopia. Both the Ethiopian and the British governments prohibited Ḥ.I. from entering either Ethiopia or British territories surrounding the country.

Ḥ.I. was married to a Syrian, Miss Nicholes, and had a daughter by the name of May, who wrote his biography.

Src.: Foreign Office files (FO), London: FO 371/3500; FO 371/2594; FO 371/4393; FO 371/5507.

Lit.: PETER GARRETSON, *A History of Addis Abäba from its Foundation in 1886 to 1910*, Wiesbaden 2000 (AeF 49), 133f., 153f., 158f.; HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *The Life and Times of Menelik II*: *Ethiopia 1844–1913,* Oxford 1975, 69; MAY YDLIBI, *With Ethiopian Rulers*: *a Biography of Hasib Ydlibi*, ed. by BAHRU ZEWDE, Addis Abäba, 2006, table 9 (ill.), passim; MolLit 100; PankEcon 205, 208; HANNA RUBINKOWSKA, [Review of May Ydlibi, 2006], *Aethiopica* 11, 2008, 283–85.

Hanna Rubinkowska

Hāšim al-Mīrġanī

Sayyid H. (Arab. هاشم بن محمد عثمان بن محمد أبي بكر الميرغني, Hāšim b. Muḥammad ᶜUṯmān b. Muḥammad Abī Bakr al-Mīrġanī, b. 1849, Mecca, d. September-October 1901, Massawa) was one of the youngest sons of Muḥammad ᶜUṯmān al-Mīrġanī, founder of the *Ḫatmīya* ↗Islamic brotherhood, and of a woman believed to be an "Abyssinian".

H. was sent from the Ḥiǧāz (↗Arabia) to ↗Massawa around 1860. Undoubtedly owing to his young age, he did not take any significant role of leadership in the *Ḫatmīya* order before the death of his brother ↗Muḥammad al-Ḥasan al-Mīrġanī (EAE vol. 5) in 1869. His brother's death also signalled the gradual fragmentation of the *Ḫatmīya* in north-eastern Africa and H. came to be the de facto leader of the order's "branch" in Eritrea. Little detail is known about his activities in Eritrea during the 1870s, yet he undoubtedly exercised authority (appointing *ḫalīfa*s, i.e. 'representatives') over groupings that followed the *Ḫatmīya*, such as the ↗Beni ᶜAmər, ↗Ḥabab, ↗ᶜAd Təmaryam, ↗ᶜAd Täkles, ↗Asaorta and others. The few known sources do not reveal an especially strong and effective man of action, although being the son of the founder of the *Ḫatmīya* vested him with much prestige in the eyes of adepts. At some point, after having stayed for a period of time in western Eritrea – where he married a woman from the Beni ᶜAmər – he moved to the coast and settled in ↗Ǝmkullu, near Massawa.

Following the Italian occupation of Massawa in 1885, the administration sought to co-opt H. to assist them in controlling Muslim communities coming under their authority. They paid him a monthly stipend and offered him the post of *muftī* of Massawa, which he declined. Throughout the 1880s and 1890s Italian colonial governors sought to establish relations of cooperation with H. but these attempts usually resulted in their frustration and complaints about what they saw as his disinclined and lethargic attitude. This logic of relations came to a head in 1898, when Governor Ferdinando ↗Martini went out of his way to persuade H. to transfer his seat from Massawa to ↗Käränn, where his authority over the Muslim "tribes" in western Eritrea would, Martini hoped, deflect adverse influences from beyond the colony's borders in the Sudan. These pressures bore no fruit, and H. died in 1901. Calculatingly, Martini tried to transport his remains to Kärän, but that initiative was met with the vehement opposition of the Muslim community in Massawa. Finally, the authorities financed the construction of his tomb/shrine in ↗Ḥəṭumlo (Miran 2009: 179–86).

H. left no male heir. He had two daughters Maryam (b. 1870/71, d. 1952) and ᶜAlawīya (b. 1892/93, d. 1940, s. ↗Ǧaᶜfar al-Mīrġanī). Among his very few writings one finds a prayer on the Prophet in two parts, *Ṣalāt ᶜalā an-Nabī* (O'Fahey 1994: 208f.).

H. is still venerated by Eritrean Muslims as a foremost holy man and a visitation to his tomb in Ḥəṭumlo is performed every year on *2 Ǧumāda* II.

Src.: Aḥmad b. Idrīs b. Aḥmad al-Rubāṭābī, *Al-Ibāna an-nūrīya fī šaʾn ṣāḥib aṭ-ṭarīqa al-ḫatmīya*, ('The Shining Explanation on the Issue of the Follower of *Ḫatmīya*'), ed. by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Abu Salim, Beirut 1991 [orig. 1890], 128; Ferdinando Martini, *Il diario Eritreo*, Firenze 1947, vol. 1, 30, 44, 52, 91, 163, 289; vol. 2, 73f., 605f.; vol. 3, 15.
Lit.: Nicole Grandin, "La Sharifa Myriam bint al-Hashim al-Mirghani", *Islam et Sociétés au Sud du Sahara* 2, 1988, 122–28; Jonathan Miran, *Red Sea Citizens*: *Cosmopolitan Society and Cultural Change in Massawa*, Bloomington, IN 2009, 179–91, 200, 211, 239; Rex Sean O'Fahey (ed.), *Arabic Literature of Africa*, vol. 1: *The Writings of Eastern Sudanic Africa to c. 1900*, Leiden 1994, 208f.; TrIslam 245, 252.

Jonathan Miran

Hasselblatt, Gunnar

H. (b. 19 August 1928, Reval, Estonia, d. 12 July 1997, Berlin) was a pastor of the Lutheran Church who became a fervent advocate of human rights in Ethiopia. Born a member of the Baltic German minority, H. studied theology, philology and became particularly interested in Islam and features of religious coexistence in north-eastern Africa. After his studies of theology in Bielefeld, Tübingen and Göttingen, the Lutheran Church of Hannover ordained H. and assigned him as pastor to Stade and Gladebeck. H. continued his studies on Islam and was awarded a doctoral degree. In 1969 the Church of Hannover seconded H. to the Islam in Africa Project for six years and he was sent to Ethiopia by the ↗Hermannsburger Mission where he worked until 1975.

During his sojourn in Ethiopia H. visited numerous stations of the ↗Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus (EECMY) and those of other Christian denominations as well as prominent Muslim centres (e.g., ↗Abret, s. EAE vol. 5) all over the country in order to discuss theological and practical questions of mutual interest. Although his partners were well aware of his position as a leading representative of a rival church or religion, nevertheless many of them gladly accepted his invitation to his house in Addis Abäba.

H. held seminars, gave lectures at the Mekane Yesus Theological Seminary and worked in the evangelism department of the EECMY. In this capacity he had close contact with the General Secretary of the EECMY, ↗Guddinaa Tumsaa, who was arrested and finally murdered by the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) in 1979. When the *Därg* had come to power in 1974 H. witnessed ethnic, socio-economic and religious oppression which steadily grew and against which he began to raise his voice.

H. left Ethiopia in 1975 and was called by the Church of Berlin-Brandenburg and the Berliner Missionswerk to serve as secretary of church development services in the Horn of Africa, from where he provided logistical and financial help to Ethiopian refugees and asylum seekers in Europe as well as to persecuted dissidents from other countries of the Horn of Africa.

Of particular concern to H. were the ↗Oromo, whose exile groups he supported with humanitarian aid and with material support for their campaign of alphabetization in their own language. It was at his initiative that educational materials were provided by the Berlin Mission. Although H. never propagated violent resistance, the *Därg* regime suspected him of being an active supporter of the ↗Oromo Liberation Front (s. EAE vol. 5). He was therefore placed at the top of a list of persons, including Ulrich Braukämper, to be liquidated as alleged enemies of the Ethiopian state. An attempt to kill him by a letter bomb in Berlin failed on 22 March 1982.

H. never tired of publishing and speaking up against what he regarded as injustice, economic exploitation and political oppression in Ethiopia in general, and in particular, where it affected the Oromo. In order to draw attention to victims of drought, land deprivation, military recruitment, enforced ↗resettlement, etc. he attended meetings and conferences, reported to humanitarian associations such as Amnesty International, the Oromo Relief Association and cooperated closely with the Society for Endangered Peoples at Göttingen, Germany.

H's deep commitment to what he considered to be human rights and his search for pragmatic solutions sometimes conflicted with the interests of political institutions as well as those of his church.

H. was married to Elisabeth H. née Heuer, with whom he had had five children.

Src.: Archiv des Evangelisch-lutherischen Missionswerks, Hermannsburg, Persönliche Akte Nr. 261 [Akte Hasselblatt]; Gunnar Hasselblatt, *Islam i ethiopisk klaedεdragt*, Christiansfeld 1973; Id., *Äthiopien*: *Menschen, Kirchen, Kulturen*, Stuttgart 1979; Id., *Schreie im Oromoland*, Stuttgart 1980; Id., *Nächstes Jahr im Oromoland*, Stuttgart 1982; Id., *Leben und Sterben im Oromoland*, Stuttgart 1984; Id., "Horn von Africa", in: Werner Ende – Udo Steinbach, *Der Islam in der Gegenwart*, München 1984, 427-39; Id., *Das geheime Lachen im Bambuswald*: *Der Freiheitskampf der Oromo in Äthiopien*, Stuttgart 1990; Id., *Äthiopien am Rande des Friedens*: *Tigre, Oromo, Eritreer, Amharen im Streit. Streiflichter und Dokumente*, Stuttgart 1992.

Lit.: Manfred Zach, "Gunnar Hasselblatt" [obituary], *Mitteilen, Hermannsburger Missionsblatt* 5, 1997, 29; Thomas Zitelmann, "Towards the Acquisition of Conflict Knowledge: Fieldwork among the Oromo Liberation Front and among Oromo Refugees during the 1980s", in: Peter Berger et al. *Feldforschung*: *Ethnologische Zugänge zu sozialen Wirklichkeiten*, Berlin 2009 (Berliner Beiträge zur Ethnologie 15), 273–309, here 280, 282, 293.

Ulrich Braukämper

Ḫayraddīn

Ḫ. (Arab. خير الدين بن سعد الدين, Ḫayraddīn b. Saᶜdaddīn, Amh. ከረዲን, Käradin; d. 25 or 26 December 1445, Däwaro) was the brother of the ↗Walašmaᶜ ruler of ↗Ifat, Šihābaddīn ↗Aḥmad Badlāy. While the latter is said to have resided in ↗Dakar southeast of ↗Harär, Ḫ. had, probably as his governor (deputy), his own residence in Raḫla.

Ḫ. took part in several insurrections against Christian Ethiopia and was famous for his braveness. He accompanied his brother during the invasion into the Ethiopian-ruled part of ↗Däwaro. After Aḥmad Badlāy was defeated and killed in a battle at Gomit (Agbära; ↗Egubba) by the troops of *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob on Christmas day in 1445, Ḫ. first managed to flee. He managed to escape as far as the River Awaš, but was captured and killed on a resting place by the *Žan Ṣägäna*, a ↗military unit (s. EAE vol. 5) sent after him by Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob. Ḫ. was decapitated, and his head was brought to the Christian Emperor.

Src.: DillmZarY 10, 23; Aḥmad b. ᶜAlī al-Maqrīzī, *As-Sulūk li-maᶜrifat duwal al-mulūk* ('The Book on the Introduction into the Knowledge of the Dynasties'), ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Ziyāda et al., 4 vols., Cairo 1934–73, vol. 4, part 2, 940f.; MaqIlmam 36 (text), 41 (tr.); MaqIlmam^2 20; Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdarraḥmān as-Saḥāwī, *Aḍ-Ḍawᵓ al-lāmiᶜ li-ahl al-qarn at-tāsiᶜ* ('The Shining Light for the People of the 9th Cent.'), 12 vols., Cairo 1353-55 H. [1934-36 A.D.], vols. 3, 4, no. 16 ["Ḫayraddīn" printed as "Ṣayraddīn"]; BassHist 7f., n. 4 (tr.); Eth.: BassÉt 243, n. 104; PerrZarY 63; Kurt Wendt (ed., tr.), *Das Maṣḥafa Milād* (*Liber Nativitatis*) *und Maṣḥafa Sellāsê* (*Liber Trinitatis*) *des Kaisers Zarᵓa Yāᶜqob*, Louvain 1962 (CSCO 221–222, SAe 41–42), 18 (text) = 17 (tr.); DombrChr 156, n. 40.

Lit.: Enrico Cerulli, "L'Etiopia del secolo XV in nuovi documenti storici", *Africa Italiana* 5, 1933, 57–112, here 91; Id., "Harar, centro musulmano in Etiopia", in: *CerStud* I, 1–55, here 26f. [repr. in: *CerIslam* 281–327, here 303f.]; Marie-Laure Derat, "Élaboration et diffusion du récit d'une victoire militaire, la bataille de Gomit, décembre 1445", *OrChr* 86, 2002, 87–102, here 87, 90, 95, n. 49; Josef Marquart, *Die Benin-Sammlung des Reichsmuseums für Völkerkunde in Leiden, beschrieben und mit ausführlichen Prolegomena zur Geschichte der Handelswege und Völkerbewegungen in Nordafrika*, Leiden 1913 (Veröffentlichungen des Reichsmuseums für Völkerkunde in Leiden Serie II 7), CCCXXXVII; PankBord 119; WagFath 15, 82.

Franz-Christoph Muth

Henze, Paul Bernard

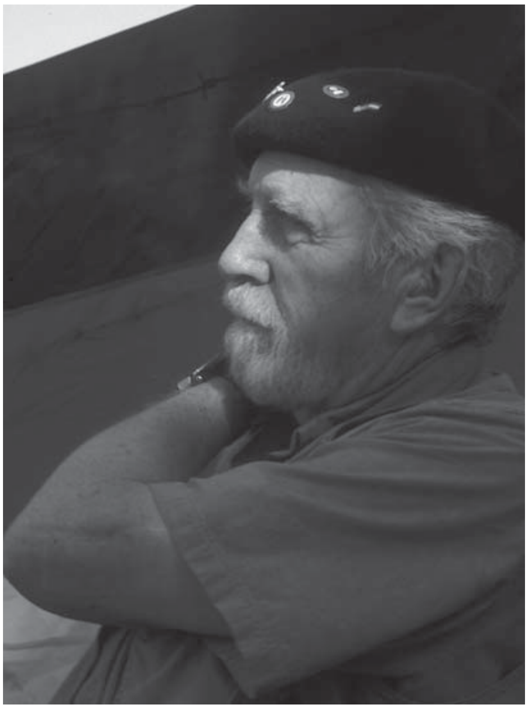
H. (b. 29 August 1924, Redwood Falls, Minnesota, d. 19 May 2011, Culpeper, Virginia) was an American intelligence officer in Ethiopia from 1968 to 1972 who subsequently travelled extensively in and wrote frequently about Ethiopia.

H. earned his B.A. from St. Olaf College, Minnesota, and his M.A. from Harvard University in 1950. He served in the U.S. Army in Europe during ↗World War II and spent many years with Radio Free Europe in Munich. His service with the CIA included tours in Ethiopia and Turkey. H. was a senior staff member in the National Security Council under President Jimmy Carter's security advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski. After the outbreak of the Ethio–Somali war in 1977, H. undertook a critical mission to Ethiopia to assess its prospects and the appropriate US response.

H. retired from government service in 1980 and became a Wilson Fellow at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington before joining the Washington based advisory think tank, RAND Corporation, in 1982 as a senior consultant. During this period, H. wrote extensively on Ethiopia and Central Asia. Funded by RAND he visited Ethiopia many times during the regime of the ↗Provisional Military Administrative Council (*Därg*) and returned to Ethiopia almost annually after the fall of the *Därg* until the last few years of his life.

H. often travelled in Ethiopia and collaborated with Stanislaw ↗Chojnacki (s. EAE vol. 5, founder of the Museum of the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies) on topics related to Ethiopian Church art and paintings. H. provided Chojnacki with many photographs which the latter used in his publications.

Although best known for his book on the 1981 attempted assassination of Pope John Paul II, H. wrote most frequently on Ethiopia. His first book, *Ethiopian Journeys* (1977), described his travels through Wällo, Təgray, Eritrea, Arsi, Harär, Bale and Goǧǧam from 1969 to 1972 (republished Addis Abäba 2001). An irrepressible traveller and an excellent photographer, his books often contained his own photographs. H. published a concise history of Ethiopia under the title *Layers of Time* (2000). He was a frequent presenter at conferences concerning the Horn of Africa, including many of the ↗International Conferences of Ethiopian Studies as well as contributor to the EAE. H. left an enormous archive of clippings, monographs, memorabilia and especially photographs on Ethiopia.



Paul Henze during the ceremony of the inauguration of the Enno Littmann Street at May Šum, Aksum, 9 January 2006; photo courtesy of Thomas Rave

H.'s wife Martha Heck Henze, also involved in ↗Ethiopian Studies, died 2009. They are outlived by their six children.

Src.: STANISLAW CHOJNACKI – PAUL BERNARD HENZE, "A Rich Heritage – Still Inadequately Explored", in: HENZE 1993, 9–16; MARTHA HENZE, "Textiles in Ethiopian Church Traditions: the Need for Research, Study and Conservation", in: *PICES* 14, vol. 1, 189–94; PAUL BERNARD HENZE, *Ethiopian Journeys*: *Travels in Ethiopia 1969–1972*, London 1977 [repr. Addis Abäba 2001]; ID., *Arming the Horn*, Washington, DC 1982; ID., *The Plot to Kill the Pope*, New York 1983; ID., *Communist Ethiopia*: *Is It Succeeding*?, Santa Monica, CA 1985; ID., "Arming the Horn 1960–1980: Military Expenditures, Arms, Imparts and Military Aid in Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia and Sudan with Statistics on Economic Growth and Governmental Expenditure", in: *PICES* 7, 637–56; ID., *Rebels and Separatists in Ethiopia*: *Regional Resistance to a Marxist Regime*, Santa Monica, CA 1986; ID., "The Economic Development of Kenya and Ethiopia, 1950–1974: an Essay in Comparison", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 533–41; ID., *The Horn of Africa*: *from War to Peace*, London 1991; ID. (ed.), *Aspects of Ethiopian Art*: *from Ancient Axum to the Twentieth Century*, London 1993; ID., "Oromo Tomb Architecture and Art", in: HENZE 1991, 120–25; ID., "Ethiopia and Eritrea in Transition: the Impact of Ethnicity on Politics and Development Opportunities and Pitfalls", in: *PICES* 12, vol. 2, 120–26; ID., "Retroperspective on Opposition to the Derg", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 1, 151–63; ID., *Layers of Time*: *a History of Ethiopia*, London 2000; ID., *Eritrea's War*: *Confronta-*

tion, International Response, Outcome, Prospects, Addis Ababa 2001; ID., "The Monastery of Däbrä Abbay: Ǝnda Abunä Samuʾel", in: *PICES* 15, 663–69; ID., *Ethiopia in Mengistu's Final Years*, A: *The Derg in Decline*, B: *Until the Last Bullet*, Addis Ababa 2007.

Lit.: GOVERNMENT OF ETHIOPIA, "Paul Henze, a Notable Friend of Ethiopia, Has Died", *A Week in the Horn* 10, 2011; DAVID SHINN, "In memoriam Paul B. Henze (1924–2011)", *Aethiopica* 14, 2011, 226–28.

David Shinn

Ḥusayn Aḥmad

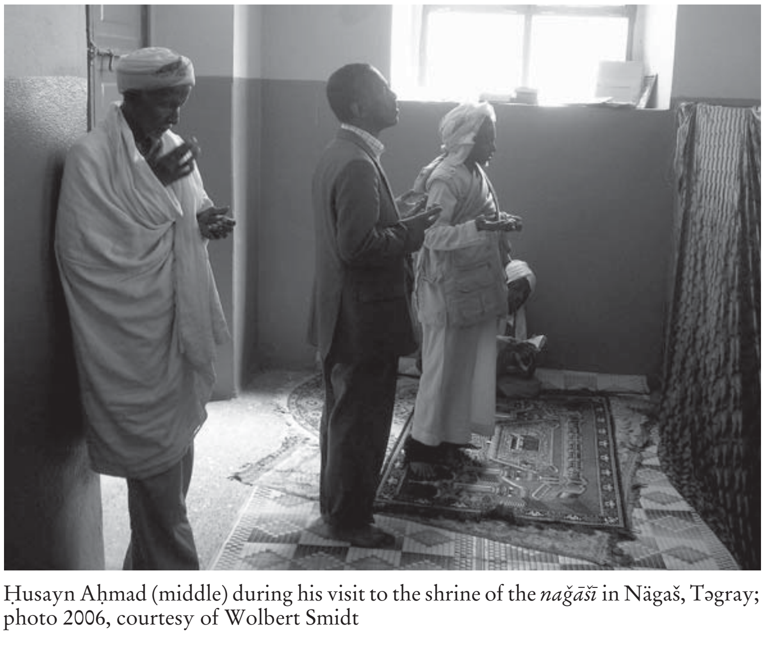
Ḥ.A. (Ar. حسين أحمد, Amh. ሑሴን ፡ አሕመድ, Eng. Hussein Ahmed; b. 22 September 1952, Gädam Ančaro, Qalluu *wäräda*, South Wällo, d. 7 June 2009, Addis Abäba) was one of the most outstanding Ethiopian historians. It is mainly thanks to his scholarship that the study of ↗Islam in Ethiopia has become a fully accepted branch of ↗Ethiopian studies (Hussein Ahmed in PICES 16).

Ḥ.A. completed his schooling in ↗Däse, and subsequently enrolled at ↗Addis Ababa University (AAU) where he attended the history courses of ↗Märəd Wäldä Arägay (s. EAE vol. 5) and Taddäsä Tammərat. In 1977 he presented his senior essay on ↗Gäbrä Śəllase's chronicle of the reign of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II and was subsequently invited to join the AAU staff.

In 1980, Ḥ.A. went to the ↗United Kingdom for graduate studies. He obtained his second degree in history from the University of Birmingham for his edition of the earliest version of the Mənilək chronicle (Hussein Ahmed 1985) and his Ph.D. from the same university for his thesis *Clerics, Traders and Chiefs: A Historical Study of Islam in Wallo (Ethiopia), with Particular Emphasis on the Nineteenth Century* (published by Brill in 2001 as HusIslam).

From 1978 until his death Ḥ.A. was active teaching at AAU, as Full Professor from February 2002. He attended numerous conferences, including eight ↗International Conferences of Ethiopian Studies and contributed to a large number of international publications and projects, including vols. 1–5 of the EAE, where he was also active as a field specialist.

Ever since the early 1980s, Ḥ.A.'s main research interest was the history and culture of Islam in Ethiopia. He was the first to demonstrate (in his Ph.D. thesis, and later, e.g., in PICES 8; in PICES 9; in HirKrSaints; 2005; 2010a) that the Muslim culture of ↗Wällo is in no way inferior to that of ↗Harär. Ḥ.A. was a keen observer of the concerns of the Ethiopian Islamic communities during and after the fall of the *Därg* regime (e.g., in PICES 12; 2006) and the main cultural and religious trends in contemporary Ethiopian Islam as mirrored in the newly created Islamic literary production and periodical ↗press (e.g., in PICES 11; 1998a; 1998b; 1998c). The connections of Ethiopian Muslims with the wider Islamic world both in the past as well as in the present are also recurring topics of Ḥ.A.'s articles (2000ab).



Ḥusayn Aḥmad (middle) during his visit to the shrine of the *naǧāšī* in Nägaš, Təgray; photo 2006, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

Ḥ.A. always founded his studies on an attentive critical review of first-hand sources (manuscripts, books, newspapers, magazines or oral informants) and of the available scientific literature: a methodology which should be considered exemplar for the next generation of scholars in Ethiopian studies.

Src.: for bibliography s. GORI 2010; HUSSEIN AHMED, *The Chronicle of Shawa: a Partial Translation and Annotation*, M.A. thesis, Centre of West African Studies, University of Birmingham, 1985; ID., "Introducing an Arabic Hagiography from Wällo", in: *PICES* 8, 185–97; ID., "Traditional Muslim Education in Wallo", in: *PICES* 9, 3, 94–106; ID., "*Al-ᶜAlam*: the History of an Ethiopian Arabic

Weekly", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 1, 155–65; ID., "Islam and Islamic Discourse in Ethiopia (1973–1993)", in: *PICES* 12, 775–801; ID., "Islamic Literature and Religious Revival in Ethiopia (1991–1994)", *Islam et Sociétés au Sud du Sahara* 12, 1998a, 89–108; ID., "Recent Islamic Periodicals in Ethiopia (1996–1998)", *NEASt* 5, 1998b, 7–21; ID., "Islamic Literature in Ethiopia: a Short Overview", *Ethiopian Journal of Languages and Literature* 8, 1998b, 25–37; ID., "From Slaves to Elites: the Ethiopian Muslims Diaspora in Arabia and Muslim India", *Journal for Islamic Studies* 20, 2000a, 15–32; ID., "Archival Sources on the Yemeni Arabs in Urban Ethiopia: the Dessie Municipality", *History in Africa* 27, 2000b, 31–37; ID., "Al-Ḥajj Bushra Ay Muhammad: Muslim Reformer, Scholar and Saint of Nineteenth-Century Wallo, Ethiopia", in: *HirKrSaints* 175–90; ID., "*Waqf*-Land in Nineteenth-Century Wällo (Ethiopia)", in: DONALD CRUMMEY (ed.), *Land, Literacy and the State in Sudanic Africa*, Trenton, NJ – Asmara 2005, 241–50; ID., "Coexistence and/or Confrontation?: Towards a Reappraisal of Christian–Muslim Encounter in Contemporary Ethiopia", *Journal of Religion in Africa* 36, 2006, 4–22, ID., "The Coming of Age of Islamic Studies in Ethiopia: the Present State of Research and Publications", in: *PICES* 16 [online], 449–56; ID., "Benevolent Masters and Voiceless Subjects: Slavery and Slave Trade in Southern Wällo (Ethiopia) in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries", *AE* 25, 2010a, 197–208; ID., "Tradition and Innovation in the Ritual of Khat Consumption in Wallo, Northern Ethiopia", in: EZEKIEL GEBISSA, *Khat in Ethiopia*: *Taking the Place of Food*, Lawrenceville, NJ 2010b, 13–27.

Lit.: ELOI FICQUET, "Hussein Ahmed", *NEASt* 11, 1, 2004–10, 145–48; ALESSANDRO GORI, "In memoriam Hussein Ahmed (1952–2009)", *Aethiopica* 13, 2010, 214–21 (Lit.).

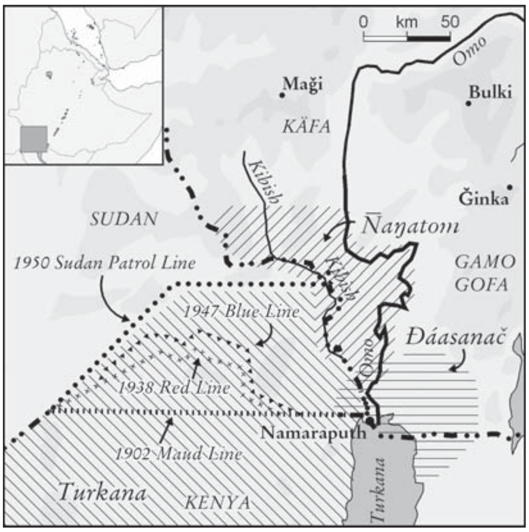
Alessandro Gori

I

Ilemi Triangle

The I.T. (also Illemi Triangle, Ilembi Triangle, or Elemi Triangle) is a disputed triangular territory bordering Ethiopia in the east, the ↗Sudan in the west and ↗Kenya to the south. The size of the area varies between 10,000 km² and 14,000 km² according to the political point of view. Its eastern extremity is the northern tip of Lake ↗Turkana. The I.T. owes its existence to various, mostly disputed, border agreements, between the preceding administrations of the aforementioned states, since 1902 (↗Boundaries). The I.T. takes its name from the name of an ↗Añwaa king Ilemi Akwon (Amutabi 2010: 23; Collins 2005: 5) and is traditionally used by the Toposa, ↗Ñaŋatom, ↗Đáasanač and the ↗Turkana for pasture and grazing. Managing pastoral conflicts in the area as well as taxation were the prime concerns of the respective administrations of the region, especially the East African Protectorate. Thus various proposals for new borderlines in the region were made but were never finally ratified by the abutting states.

In 1907, *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II signed an agreement with the British defining the southern boundary of Ethiopia. This agreement provided for Ethiopia access to Lake Turkana and for the pastoralist groups of the region for grazing and water on either side of the boundary. The agreement was based on the 1902 Kenyan–Ethiopian boundary demarcation known as the Maud Line, after Major Philip Maud of the Royal Engineers.



The issues concerning the Ugandan–Sudanese boundary commission of 1914 included the Turkana grazing grounds, and Sudanese access to Lake Turkana "through a lozenge of land known as the Ilemi Appendix" (Nene Mburu 2003: 21). The Maud Line was ratified by the Sudanese, Ugandan and the Kenyan colonial administrations in 1914, referred to as the 1914 Line.

During ↗World War I the Ethiopian government armed the Ñaŋatom and Đáasanač, who intensified their raids on the Turkana. In 1918 the governments of Kenya, Uganda and Sudan collaborated in a patrol to pacify the three ethnic groups and pave the way for a civil administration of the region (Faisal 1975: 39). After the establishment of the Lokitaung post in 1928 proposals were made to create a proper border in order to protect the Turkana from ongoing raids. Prior to this, the Sudanese authorities gave the Kenyan authorities a free hand for military action in Sudanese territory (NAK, Secret. 1/15/20). This led to the establishment of the so-called Red Line in 1931, which was extended to include certain waterholes in 1932. Proposed as the 1939 Line – or Wakefield Line – it was still a weak border and, in 1939 and 1940, continuous raids on the Turkana were reported "well behind Red Line" (ibid.). The de facto transfer of Sudanese territory to Kenya was combined with an older idea to exchange the "Baro Salient" (cp. ↗Baro) of ↗Gambella with the I.T. (Faisal 1975; 1976). The idea to exchange territory and adjust the border was first proposed in 1913 (Collins 2005: 9). The aim was to put all Añwaa and ↗Nuer of Gambella under Sudanese authority and to place them in Sudanese territory. During the Italian occupation the administration of Ethiopia rejected this proposal however (ibid.). The development of ↗World War II had further far-reaching effects on the Turkana and Đáasanač. While the latter were armed by the Italians many Turkana came into the service of the British as irregular troops and frontier scouts and skirmishes between the groups intensified. In 1940 Turkana were also taking part in the ↗War of Liberation and the capture of the town of ↗Mağı (Lamphear 1992: 250). The Italians in Ethiopia had never exercised full control over the Ñaŋatom and Đáasanač, and raids on the Turkana continued, leading to punitive measures, including British air-raids in the region (Nene Mburu 2003: 24).

Between 1945–47 border issues between Ethiopia and Kenya were reported as "Ethiopian askaris made repeated attempts to establish themselves at Kibish [Kibiš] Wells 1000 yards (= 914.4 m) inside British territory" (NAK, Secret. 1/15/20). These territorial claims coincided with the establishment of the Blue Line (an extension of the Red Line) that was agreed upon by the Sudanese authorities and brought back the hope of finally demarcating the border "since the Ethiopians are demanding (in exchange for what is desired by the Sudan) a strip of territory which includes a part of the Ilemi Triangle […]" (NAK, Secret. 5/167/42). No agreement was made and on the contrary claims for Kenyan territory, especially on Namaraputh intensified in the 1950s (NAK, Secret.1/15/24) leading to diplomatic tension between the two administrations and to renewed attempts to define the Ethiopia-Kenya boundary between 1951–57 (NAK, BB/11/150).

The border negotiations came to a standstill at the outbreak of the first civil war in the southern Sudan and have not yet been resumed. During the war though, Kenya with the accord of the Sudan Peoples' Liberation Army occupied the area and in the 1990s expanded the grazing grounds of the Turkana through forced ↗resettlement of the other groups (Johnson 2010: 99).

The future of the I.T. is still uncertain and will closely depend on the developments in the South Sudan after independence from the Republic of Sudan as well as the outcome of consecutive oil explorations in the region.

Src.: National Archives of Kenya (NAK), Secret. 1/15/20, "Report on Ethiopian Boundary and Northern Boundary of Turkana District"; NAK, DC/LOK/5/3, "An Outline of North Turkana History from Records in Lokitaung [J.S.S. Rowlands]", 1951; NAK, Secret. 1/15/24, "Inquiry into Incursions into Kenya by Ethiopian Police Patrols during the Month of June 1958"; NAK, Secret 5/167/42, "Kenya–Sudan Frontier" (17th November 1947); NAK, BB/11/159, "Kenya/Ethiopia Boundary, Record of a Meeting Held in the Ministry of Defence on Wednesday, 20 February, 1963, at 2.30".

Lit.: Maurice N. Amutabi, "Land and Conflict in the Ilemi Triangle of East Africa", *Kenya Studies Review* 1, 2, 2010, 20–36; Günter Best, *Vom Rindernomadismus zum Fischfang*: *Der Soziokulturelle Wandel bei den Turkana am Rudolfsee, Kenia*, Wiesbaden 1978 (SKK 46), 29 et passim; Robert Collins, "The Ilemi Triangle", *AE* 20, 2005, 5–12; Faisal Abdel Rahman Ali Taha, "The Sudan–Kenya Boundary", *SNR* 56, 1975, 37–52; Id., "The Problem of the Baro Salient", *ibid.* 57, 1976, 21–30; Dennis Charles Hickey, *Ethiopia and Great Britain*: *Political Conflict in the Southern Borderlands, 1916–1935*, Ph.D. thesis, Northwestern University, IL 1984, 36–108; Douglas H. Johnson, *When Boundaries become Borders*: *the Impact of Boundary-making on South Sudan's Frontier Zones*, London 2010, 87–99; John Lamphear, *The Scattering Time*: *Turkana Response to Colonial Rule*, Oxford 1992, 247–50; Nene Mburu, "Delimitation of the Elastic Ilemi Triangle: Pastoral Conflicts and Official Indifference in the Horn of Africa", *Africa Studies Quarterly* 7, 1, 2003, 15–37 [online: *http://www.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v7/v7i1a2.htm*, last access: 9 July 2013]; Alec McEwen, *International Boundaries of East Africa*, Oxford 1971, 133, 287; Cynthia Salvadori, *Slaves and Ivory Continued*: *Letters from RCR Whalley, British Consul, Maji, SW Ethiopia 1930–1935*, Addis Ababa 2010, 433–62.

Alexander Meckelburg

Industry

I. Industry in Ethiopia until 1941
II. Ethiopian industry after 1941
III. Industry in Eritrea

I. Industry in Ethiopia until 1941

While ↗handicrafts in Ethiopia date back to ancient times, I. in the modern sense of the word, began slowly only in the 19th cent. Prior to that, production in Ethiopia was based almost entirely on domestic I. and subsistence ↗economy. Despite foreign contacts, and the advent of artisans from abroad, productive activity outside the home, let alone operated by machinery, was slow to emerge.

First mechanical establishments

The first recorded mechanical mill was a flour-mill at ↗Č̣äläqot, then capital of Təgray. Constructed early in the 19th cent. by a Greek Muslim called Nāṣir ^{c}Ali this machine was pulled by a horse (SalTrav 360f.).

Centres of productive activity were established in the 19th cent. by monarchs interested in ↗firearms, gun-powder and ammunition. At his palaces in ↗Ankobär and ↗Angoläla, *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase of Šäwa employed 600 craftsmen, a large proportion of whom served his military interests. Such artisans included ↗blacksmiths (↗Iron), gunsmiths, gun-powder-makers, and makers of ↗spears, ↗swords and shields, besides weavers (↗Weaving) of cloth and makers of decorations for the aristocracy. The first mechanical enterprise recorded was an iron works established during the 1840s near Śahlä Śəllase by the Čaha River, near Ankobär (HarAeth vol. 2, 100f.). He also had a stream-driven flour-mill, constructed by a Greek (↗Greece, relations with) called Demetrios, which was for a time abandoned on account of opposition from the clergy. On one occasion the *nəguś* expressed an interest in having a coin-making machine (Combes – Tamisier 1838: 349; HarAeth vol. 2, 31, 44, 100f., 261f.; IsKrapf 62, 137; Johnson 1844: 60; PankHist I, 289f.).

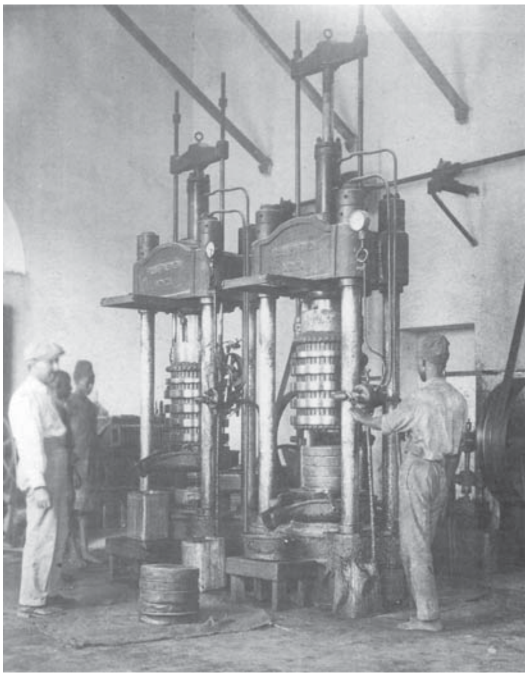
Starting from the 1860s *aṣe* ↗Tewodros, an innovator in many respects, availed himself of German and Swiss Protestant artisans-cum-missionaries (most of them from ↗St. Chrischona) and other Europeans in constructing cannon guns. They were stationed at ↗Gafat, in the neighbourhood of his capital, ↗Däbrä Tabor, but their equipment was primitive, consisting of 30 small crucibles heated on fires in the ground fanned with traditional skin-bellows. In 1867, their activities were abandoned on account of political instability (FusTeo 104–07, 116f.; Dufton 1867: 77–86, 93–104; PankEcon 53ff.; CrumMis 128, 132, 137; PankHist II, 61).

Some small-scale industrial activity was subsequently introduced into Təgray during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Yohannəs IV. Even before attaining the imperial throne he had a good foreign-equipped workshop at his palace at ↗ᶜAdwa (Girard 1873: 192, 142f.). Several foreign gunsmiths, among them the Frenchman Baraglion, later made their way to ᶜAdwa, which also had several gunpowder-mills run by a German (Smith 1890: 244f.; PankHist II, 101f.). A Frenchman at nearby Säbarguma meanwhile operated a mechanical saw-mill (De Cosson 1877: 36). There was likewise a royal workshop at ↗Däbrä Marqos in Goǧǧam, where *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot had a smithy in his palace which allegedly constructed a carriage with wheels (Matteucci 1890: 250f.; PankHist II, 147). Small workshops were also set up at two European mission stations, ↗Ǝmkullu and Kärän (PankHist II, 138, 144).

Early industrialization

No further significant industrial activity occurred until the last years of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II, when efforts were made, mainly by private entrepreneurs in Addis Abäba and beside the Aqaqi River, to process agricultural products for local consumption. In 1908, a mechanical grinding mill for grain operated by an internal combustion engine was erected opposite the Addis Abäba ↗*gəbbi*. In the next few decades several similar mills using either motor or hydro-electric power were established in the principal urban centres. In 1906 the Greek Polydoros Zecou set up an oil factory using Krupp's German equipment. Zecou's initiative was followed by several other entrepreneurs, including the Indian ↗Mohamedally & Company (↗Indians). Meanwhile, the first distillery had been established by a Greek concern, Divanakis-Ghanotakis, whilst the first brewery, St. George, was set up by a German concern in 1923. The first soap factory was established early in the 20th cent. by a Frenchman, M. Trouillet, who soon met with competitors, mainly of Greek origin, such as N.A. Halcoussis. The ↗Armenians Stephan Darakdjian and Avedis Sevadjian were the first to establish modern tanneries. In 1928, the first shoe factory was established. Mechanical weaving was introduced by a Greek, O. Scarpidis. The production of ↗tobacco and cigarettes, a monopoly of the State, was started by government-run manufacturers in Addis Abäba and Dərre Dawa (Altenburg 2010: 22).

Other early enterprises were also established to service local building activities. The early years of the century witnessed the setting up of several brick factories, mechanical saw-mills and



Oil-factory in Kärän; photo 1930, from Palma 2005, pl. 96

carpentry shops as well as an ammunition factory run by hydro-electric power at Aqaqi, some 32 km south of the capital (Mérab 1922: 130, 134; ZerEth 144–47; PankEcon 710).

Though the subsequent Italian occupation (1936–41; ↗Africa Orientale Italiana) was characterized by massive Italian investment, I. received a much lower priority than both road and house-building. As with other colonialist policies, the Italian administration avoided competition between the colonies and Italian I.; the colonies should rather provide a market for the goods manufactured in metropolitan Italy. Industrial activity in the empire was therefore centred mainly in areas where it was difficult or impossible to rely on Italian imports. Industrial development was largely geared to transportation and construction needs as well as to the processing of foodstuffs for local (Italian) consumption. Activity during the occupation included the establishment of garages, car repair workshops, stone quarries, brick factories, a cement factory in Dərre Dawa and an electric power plant. Flour mills, oil presses, a macaroni factory and a number of bottling concerns were also built during that period (Fossa 1938; Sbacchi 1980: 245–347; Pankhurst 1971: 74f.).

Local production assumed enhanced importance after 1938, when expectation of Italy's imminent entry into the European war resulted in a policy of colonial autarchy (Basile-Giannini 1940).

Src.: Edmond Combes – Maurice Tamisier, *Voyage en Abyssinie*, vol. 2, Paris 1838, 349; Emelius Albert De Cosson, *The Cradle of the Blue Nile*: *a Visit to King John of Ethiopia*, vol. 1, London 1877, 60; Henry Dufton, *Narrative of a Journey through Abyssinia*, London 1867, 77–86, 93–104; Anon., "Ethiopia's First Five Year Plan", *EthObs* 4, 1959, 105–35, here 108; FusTeo 104–07, 116f.; Alexandre Girard, *Souvenir d'un voyage en Abyssinie*, Cairo 1873, 192, 142f.; HarAeth vol. 2, 31, 44, 100f., 261f.; IsKrapf 62, 137; Charles Johnson, *Travels in Southern Abyssinia*, vol. 2, London 1944, 60; Ferdinando Martini, *Il diario eritreo*, Firenze 1946; Pellegrino Matteucci, *In Abissinia*, Milano 1890, 250f.; Paul Mérab, *Impressions d'Éthiopie*, vol. 2, Paris 1922, 130, 134; George Montandon, *Au pays ghimirra*, Neuchâtel 1913; Felix Rosen, *Eine Deutsche Gesandtschaft in Abessinien*, Leipzig 1907; SalTrav 360f.; Horace Francis Harrison Smith, *Through Abyssinia*: *an Envoy's Ride to the King of Zion*, London 1890, 244f.

Lit.: Tilman Altenburg, "Industrial Policy in Ethiopia", Bonn 2010 (Discussion Paper, Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik); Assefa Bequele – Eshetu Chole, *A Profile of the Ethiopian Economy*, Addis Ababa 1969, 50f.; CrumMis 128, 132, 137; Raffaele Basile-Giannini, *Autarchia dell'Africa Italiana*, Roma 1940; Davide Fossa, *Lavoro italiano nell'Impero*, Milano 1938; Silvana Palma, *L'Africa nella collezione fotografica dell'IsIAO*, Roma 2005, pl. 96 (ill.); PancEcon; PankHist I; PankHist II; Richard Pankhurst, "Economic Verdict on the Italian Occupation of Ethiopia (1936–41)", *EthObs* 14, 1971, 68–82, here 74f.; Id., "Post-World War II Ethiopia: British Military Policy and Action for the Dismantling and Acquisition of Italian Factories and Other Assets, 1941–42", *JES* 29, 1, 1996, 15–77; Alberto Sbacchi, *Il colonialismo italiano in Etiopia*: *1936–1940*, Milano 1980, 245–347; John H. Spencer, *Ethiopia at Bay*: *a Personal Account of the Haile Selassie Years*, Hollywood, CA ²2006, 109; ZerÉth 144–47.

Richard Pankhurst

II. Ethiopian industry from 1941

During the time of the ↗British Military Administration of Ethiopia (s. EAE vol. 5) some small-scale industries emerged; these were associated with the Italians who stayed after the fall of the ↗Africa Orientale Italiana (Spencer 2006: 111; but Pankhurst 1996). A few factories, using machinery left by the Italians also opened, such as the ↗Dərre Dawa cotton factory.

During the period of reconstruction, 1941–52, industrial development was weak (Eshetu Chole 1995: 199ff.). In 1943–44, a ten year programme of industrial development was worked out by the United States Technical Project Mission in Ethiopia. Foreign loans, mostly from the ↗United States, combined with state investment boosted capital expenditure in manufacturing I. In 1955, the number of manufacturers in Ethiopia and Eritrea was 71 and 79, respectively; the number of people employed in this sector being 20,000. Major producers in Ethiopia were working textiles, sugar, vegetable oils and wheat flour industries; in Eritrea, meat factories, salt works and breweries (EthObs 5, 1957, 146f.). Although I. only accounted for 1.6 % of the GDP, exports and imports almost tripled between 1944 and 1954. The chief export product was ↗coffee, whilst manufactured goods formed the bulk of imports (EthObs 3, 4, 1959, 105–35; 1, 5, 1957, 175; 3, 4, 1959, 132f.; 4, 6, 1960).

In the 1950s, manufacturing I. surged. Between 1953 and 1957 manufacturing nearly doubled and a number of modern enterprises were created (Eshetu Chole 1995: 205f.). These were mostly owned by expatriates or by Ethiopians with foreign background and continued to be concentrated in or near Addis Abäba. An exception was the sugar plantation and refinery in ↗Wänči, built in 1954 by the Dutch firm N.V. Handelsvereeniging Amsterdam (HVA). The new enterprises in the area of Addis Abäba included the state-owned slaughterhouse in ↗Aqaqi and the tannery and Darmar Shoe factories in Little Aqaqi, both owned by the Darakdjian family. Another family of ↗Armenian origin, Sevadjian, managed the Assco Shoe Factory in the capital. Other facilities were the Cerealia Factory, the Astron Macaroni Factory, the Diabaco Cotton Spinning Factory, the Sack and Rope Factory and the United Oil Mills and Soap Factory, the latter owned by the ↗Greek family Halcousis (Lentakis ca. 2005: 227; EthObs 1, 5, 1957, 152ff.; 6, 2, 1962, 115ff.). In 1957, with the help of Yugoslav experts, the First Five Year Plan of ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's government was launched. Strategic areas of the plan were infrastructure development and processing industries catering for the domestic market (cf. Eshetu Chole 1995: 210).

The mining I. saw some developments during this period. In 1961 a concession was granted to the United States Parsons Company to mine potash in Dallol (↗ᶜAfar Depression). ↗Gold production at Adola continued but still used traditional methods. In addition, clay and Jurassic limestone was quarried at Dəre Dawa to produce cement. Other mineral undertakings included the production of manganese ore (EthObs 6, 3, 1962, 186ff.).

During the 1960s two more five year plans (1963–67 and 1968–73) were implemented. They continued to emphasize import substitution and also aimed at developing the energy sector, mining as well as commercial ↗agriculture and transport. Between 1960 and 1965, manufacturing grew by about 17 % annually and commercial agriculture, particularly coffee, surged.

The country's industrial structure changed considerably during this period. In 1972/73 the contribution of agriculture to the GDP declined to 54.6 %, while that of the industrial sector increased to 15.4 % and that of services up to 30 %. Employment in the manufacturing I. increased from less than 28,000 in 1961 to more than 48,000 in 1965. Similarly, the volume of manufacture exports increased, from 10 million *bərr* in 1961 to 18 million in 1965 (Eshetu Chole 1995: 216ff.)

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, however, industrial growth stagnated. This was the result of climatic and social factors, such as the drought and famine of 1973 (↗Famines), combined with lower investment and failure to implement institutional reforms (Eshetu Chole 1995: 218ff.). In addition, some aspects of Ethiopian I. faced chronic problems, hindering its development and efficiency; these included excessive protectionism and low competition within the manufacturing sector and extreme reliance on foreign capital and inputs (ibid. 223ff.). Hence, on the eve of the ↗Revolution industrial growth achieved its lowest level (5.5 %) since independence.

During the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) period, major I., banking, insurance and land ownership were nationalized. The Socialist-driven regime implemented a radical land reform (↗Land tenure) and centrally directed planning of the economy. As of 1975, some 200 companies had been nationalized. The early years of the new regime were characterized by a sharp decline in production and discontinuation of investments (Clapham 1988: 114f., 148).

In the early 1980s a Ten Year Perspective Plan for the 1984–94 period was launched. The plan, with Eastern European help, focused on the construction of a small number of large factories, in order to boost growth in the different sectors of the economy. It failed, however, to secure its objectives and GDP increase and industrial output did not match the growth of the previous regime, or that of the population. Additionally, the balance of ↗trade was negative throughout most of the period, with the trade deficit becoming chronic (Clapham 1988: 117ff., 120, 148f.).

A remarkable development during the *Därg* regime was the intensification of foreign aid. Whilst, previously, aid had mostly been provided by the United States, under the new regime the number of donors and contributions grew. The main aid donors became the Soviet Union (↗Russia, relations with) and the European Union (Clapham 1988: 122f.; ↗Development issues).

After the fall of the *Därg* in 1991, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front initiated a swift move towards controlled liberalization of the economy. The government privatized many state-owned firms, encouraged competition, and reduced government intervention in trade and factor markets. Ownership of land and strategic industries and services, however, remained with the state. During the first years of the new regime, industrial production has grown from the 3.6 % of the previous regime to 5.6 %. Skin and leather production became Ethiopia's main manufactured export product, accounting for 74 % of all manufacturing exports in 2002. The floral I. which had begun in the 1980s under the *Därg*, thanks to Indian and Dutch investment, grew in importance since the late 1990s (Altenburg 2010: 24f.).

Starting from 2004, and due to favourable agro-climatic conditions, high coffee prices, considerable inflows of aid and remittances, as well as a boom in construction, the Ethiopian economy has grown at 11 % annually. The share of manufacturing in GDP has stagnated at 5 %, and virtually all exports are still unprocessed or at best semi-processed. In recent years the country's dependence on coffee as the main earner of foreign exchange has increased. While in 1967 coffee exports amounted to 55.7 % of total exports by value, in 1998 it covered 67 %. Other important export products include oilseeds, ↗*čạt*, pulses, skins, meat and meat products (Love 2001: 236; Altenburg 2010: 5).

The technological level of firms in Ethiopia is very low. Chemical, electrical/electronic, metal-processing and other engineering I. are almost non-existent. Likewise, production of agricultural inputs is insignificant. Ethiopia has a huge and rapidly growing current account deficit and exports finance less than 22 % of imports. Fuel, most capital goods and manufactured consumer goods are imported (Altenburg 2010: 5f.).

According to Altenburg (2010: 8), a great majority of firms (↗Business organizations) in Ethiopia are to be classified as "micro" or "small". In 2003 the micro enterprise manufacturing sector employed 1.3 million people and only 98,000 worked in small manufacturing enterprises. This economic sector mainly relies on self-employment. About half of the micro enterprises produced food and beverages, 23 % textiles and garments. Grain mills make up 85 % of small scale businesses. Most of urban employment can be found in the informal sector (firms with less than five employees) which is growing faster than the formal sector. Between 1999 and 2005, informal employment increased by 144 % compared to only 16 % in formal employment (Altenburg 2010: 8).

Energy and environmental issues

Prior to the arrival of the Italians, electric power was in short supply and was operated by two Greeks, Petropulakis and Karlafiis (Lentakis ca. 2005: 57). Industries relied largely on their own production using private power installations. Later the Italians established Coniel, which became the main supplier of electricity for the capital and they built a modest hydro-electric dam on the ↗Awaš River (Spencer 2006: 109). In 1939–40, using earlier Italian surveys, a small dam and hydroelectric plant were built at Abba Samuʾel on the Aqaqi River. In 1960 the ↗Qoqa barrage, which was financed though reparation payments from Italy, was completed. The barrage more than doubled the output of electricity in Ethiopia and paved the way for the country's independence from thermal electricity, which relied on imported fuel (EthObs 4, 8, 1960; 6, 2, 1962, 117ff.). In the late 1960s, with the help of Russian engineers, a refinery was built (EthObs 11, 1, 1967).

Today, the vast majority of Ethiopia's existing capacity (85 %) is hydroelectric (↗Water). Most traditional energy sources are used for cooking and lighting, and thus energy consumption is dominated by the domestic sector, which represents 89 % of energy consumed, mostly in rural homes. Ethiopia has significant oil and gas reserves which are not being exploited. The Ethiopian Electric Power Corporation (EEPCO) is constructing several new generating facilities to provide electricity to Ethiopia (cp. ↗Täkkäze; ↗Abbay; ↗Gibe). Currently, less than half of Ethiopia's towns have access to electricity, though EEPCO electrified more than 80 towns between 2001 and 2003. Since most of Ethiopia's electricity is generated from hydroelectric dams, the country's power system is vulnerable to extended droughts.

I. development has given rise to environmental and health issues that need yet to be properly addressed. The Ethiopian workers from the Wänči sugar plantation have suffered from problems related to excess fluoride in local underground water. In addition, workers' dwellings were constructed using asbestos. In the floral I., use of fertilizers has provoked excess salinization of the soil and some of the agrochemicals used by the I. are carcinogenic. The Aqaqi and Moǧǧo rivers have been used for decades to discharge industrial waste from their surroundings thus turning them into the two most polluted rivers in the country. The two rivers flow into Lake Qoqa and this finally into the Awaš River, all of which have since been polluted to a large extent. The 1959-founded Ethiopia Tannery Share Company operates as a subsidiary of the British multinational Pittards Plc. Its Qoqa facility has discharged much chemical waste into the lake (Zinabu – Pearce 2003: 175).

Furthermore, the ecological impact of the hydroelectric projects carried out in the last decades as well as of those still under projection has not yet received due attention.

Src.: *EthObs* 1, 5, 1957; 3, 4, 1959, 105–35; 4, 6, 1960; 6, 2, 1962, 115ff.; 6, 3, 1962, 186ff.; 7, 3, 1964; 11, 3, 1967, 244f.; MICHAEL B. LENTAKIS, *Ethiopia: a View from Within*, London n.d. [ca. 2005], 227.

Lit.: TILMAN ALTENBURG, "Industrial Policy in Ethiopia", Bonn 2010 (Discussion Paper, Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik); ASSEFA BEQUELE – ESHETU CHOLE, *A Profile of the Ethiopian Economy*, Addis Ababa 1969, 50f.; ARNE BIGSTEN – MULU GEBREEYESUS, "The Small, the Young, and the Productive: Determinants of Manufacturing Firm Growth in Ethiopia", *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 55, 4, 2007, 813–40; ESHETU CHOLE, "Running to Keep in the Same Place: Industrialization 1941–74", in: SHIFERAW BEKELE (ed.), *An Economic History of Ethiopia*, vol. 1: *The Imperial Era 1941–74*, [Dakar] 1995, 194–231; CHRISTOPHER CLAPHAM, *Transformation and Continuity in Revolutionary Ethiopia*, Cambridge 1988, 114–23, 148f.; GAIM KIBREAB, "Forced Labour in Eritrea", *Journal of Modern African Studies* 47, 2009, 41–72; ROY LOVE, "The Ethiopian Coffee Filiere & its Institutions: Cui bono?", *Review of African Political Economy* 28, 88, 2001, 225–40; JAMES C. MCCANN, *People of the Plow: an Agricultural History of Ethiopia, 1800–1990*, Madison, WI 1995, passim; MULATU WUBNEH, "State Control and Manufacturing Labor Productivity in Ethiopia", *The Journal of Developing Areas* 24, 3, 1990, 311–26; JOHN M. OMITI et al., "Some Policy Implications of the Resurfacing of Rural Factor Markets Following Agrarian De-collectivization in Ethiopia", *Human Ecology* 28, 4, 2000, 585–603; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Post-World War II Ethiopia: British Military Policy and Action for the Dismantling and Acquisition of Italian Factories and Other Assets, 1941–42", *JES* 29, 1, 1996, 15–77; KENNETH A. REINERT, "Ethiopia in the World Economy: Trade, Private Capital Flows, and Migration", *Africa Today* 53, 3, 2007, 65–89; JOHN H. SPENCER, *Ethiopia at Bay: a Personal Account of the Haile Selassie Years*, Hollywood, CA ^{2}2006, 111; TEGEGNE GEBRE-EGZIABHER, "Impacts of Chinese Imports and Coping Strategies of Local Producers: the Case of Small Scale Footwear Enterprises in Ethiopia", *Journal of Modern African Studies* 45, 647–79; GEBRE-MARIAM ZINABU – NICHOLAS J.G. PEARCE, "Concentrations of Heavy Metals and Related Trace Elements in Some Ethiopian Rift-Valley Lakes and their Inflows", *Hydrobiologia* 429, 2003, 171–78.

Red.

III. Industry in Eritrea

During the colonial times and the ↗Africa Orientale Italiana, the Italians fostered agriculture and the production of goods catering for local needs. Agriculture was concentrated in the west, in ↗Kärän, ↗ᶜAq̱ordät and along the ↗Gaš River, the chief products being doum palm and ↗cotton. In 1938, cotton production yielded 280 tons. However, after 1941 cultivation was abandoned but soon reintroduced by the Sviluppo Agricolo Industriale. The Barattolo cotton spinning factory was also opened. Other important agriculture and food – mostly fruits and vegetables – producers were the Ditta Barattolo, Casciani, De Nadai, Tagliero and Ortola. In ↗Massawa and ↗ᶜAsäb, salt and dried ↗fish factories have operated since Italian times, chief among them was the Saline di Massaua active since 1905.

During this period, most of the food processing factories were found in and around ↗Asmära. The capital's facilities included the INCODE (later SOPRAL) meat factory, Industria Vini Asmara, Ufficio Vendite Acque Minerali Sorgive. The Marazzani dairy company operated in ↗Ḫalḫal. In 1939, the Melotti Brewery and Distillery (Distillerie Eritree Melotti) was opened, which was later to change its name to Asmara Brewery. In the same year the Industria Ceramica Tabacchi started operating.

During the period of the ↗Ethiopian–Eritrean Federation, industrial capacity was intentionally largely shifted to Ethiopia, leaving the Eritrean industrial sector with outmoded capital equipment. I. established during this time included the African Match and Paper Factory (in 1954 by Giulio Biasiolo; EthObs 3, 7, 1959, 228ff.) and the Industria Maglieria Asmara.

By the time of its independence from Ethiopia in 1993, Eritrea's economy had been destroyed by war and was dependent on revenue from ports and its small agricultural base. Due to high operating costs, the country's sole oil refinery, at ᶜAsäb, was closed in 1997. It had a refining capacity of 18,000 barrels per day. Ethiopia nationalized Eritrea's 42 largest factories and systematically dismantled the Eritrean industrial sector during the protracted civil war. By the end of the war all production had thus stopped.

The onset of conflict with Ethiopia, which lasted from 1998 to 2000, halted all bilateral trade, severely reducing port activity and the associated revenue in Eritrea. Missed opportunities in the form of planting of crops in Eritrea's most productive western region caused food production to drop by 62 %. The displacement of one million Eritreans as a result of the war with Ethiopia, multi-year drought, and the widespread presence of land mines have all played a role in the decline of productivity of the agricultural sector. More recently, however, informal trade with Ethiopia has resumed across the border. The main products exchanged are Eritrean ↗salt and Ethiopian cereals.

In recent years, manufacturing has recovered. In 2002, there were approximately 2,000 manufacturing companies operating in the country. Items produced included beverages, processed foods, ↗tobacco, leather, textiles, metal products, chemicals, printing, non-metallic minerals, construction materials, salt, paper, and matches, and, at present, precious metals such as ↗gold. The government sought to privatize these industries and issued incentives such as exemptions from income tax, preferential treatment in allocation of foreign exchange for imports, and provisions for remittance of foreign exchange abroad.

In 2003 agriculture employed nearly 80 % of the population but accounted for only 12.4 % of gross domestic product (GDP) in Eritrea. Major agricultural products are millet, sorghum, *ṭef*, wheat and barley, beans and lentils, dairy products, meat and skins.

Eritrea exports fish and sea cucumbers from the ↗Red Sea to markets in Europe and Asia. In 2002 exports amounted to some 14,000 tons. Italian and Dutch investors built a fish processing plant in 1998 that now exports 150 tons of frozen fish every month to markets mainly in Europe and the Near East. However, tensions flared up in 1995 and again in 2002 with the ↗Yemen over fishing rights in the contested ↗Ḥaniš islands. The dispute was eventually settled through international arbitration in favour of the Yemen, which decreased Eritrea's capacity to export fish.

Sheep, goats, cattle (especially zebu), and camels make up the majority of Eritrea's livestock. In 2001, Eritrea had 2,100,000 sheep, 1,700,000 goats, 1,950,000 head of cattle, 75,000 camels, and 1.4 million chickens. Total meat production that year was 30,900 tons; cow's milk, 39,200 tons; and eggs, 2,000 tons. The government is emphasizing the development of agriculture and animal husbandry in order to decrease the reliance on international relief and aid.

Eritrea's substantial mineral deposits are largely unexplored as a consequence of the long-standing colonial occupation. The Mining Company Eritrea S.A. has been operating since the early 1950s in the mining centres of southwest Eritrea. Artisanal mining in 1998 collected 573.4 kgs of gold. The country also has excellent potential for quarrying ornamental marble and granite. As of 2001, some ten mining companies (including Canadian and South African firms) had obtained licenses to prospect for different minerals in the Gaš Barka zone.

In 2005, I. had a 26.3 % share of GDP; services were the largest sector with a 65 % participation in the economy; agriculture was the least economically important sector (with only an 8.7 % share in the GDP), but was by far the largest employer (80 % of the total labour force).

Households consume more than 80 % of total energy production. Electricity production in 2001 was estimated at 220.5 million kilowatt-hours. Consumption for that year was estimated at 205.1-kilowatt hours. An 88-megawatt electricity plant funded by Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Abu Dhabi was completed in ↗Ḥərgigo in 2003, but the completion had been delayed by nearly three years due to the war with Ethiopia. Annual consumption of petroleum in 2001 was estimated at 370,000 tons.

Src.: *EthObs* 3, 7, 1959, 228ff.

Lit.: Giulio Gennari, *L'agricoltura nell'Africa Orientale Italiana*, Roma 1938; Library of Congress – Federal Research Division, "Country Profile: Eritrea", 2005 (*http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/Eritrea.pdf*; last access: 9 July 2013); Gian Luca Podestà, *Il mito dell'impero: economia, politica e lavoro nelle colonie italiane dell'Africa orientale, 1898–1941*, Torino 2004; Irma Taddia, *L'Eritrea-colonia, 1890–1952*: *paesaggi, strutture, uomini del colonialismo*, Milano 1986; Yemane Mesghenna, "The Impact of the 1935–1941 Economic Boom on the Eritrean Labor Market", *Africa* (Roma) 58, 2003, 89–100.

Red.

Infancy Gospel of Thomas

The I.G.T. (CANT no. 57) is an apocryphal gospel found in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Arabic, Georgian, Gəᶜəz, Old Slavonic, Irish and, fragmentarily, Coptic versions. It is believed that the text was originally composed in Greek, and that the Syriac version is the earliest translation.

The I.G.T. contains a varying number of episodes telling stories about Jesus's early years and the unusual deeds or miracles he performed at the time. However, the character of Jesus as presented in the I.G.T. is not in agreement with the ethical standards known from the canonical ↗Gospels. He appears as an arrogant and vengeful child who punishes other children and adults for petty offences (Chartrand–Burke 2008:135).

It is not certain where the I.G.T. was composed, but, due to parallels to some Jewish stories, Palestine seems to be a probable place, although Antioch has also been suggested (ibid. 132f.). As to the time of composition, the 2nd cent. is accepted as the most plausible because material of I.G.T. is found in other early Christian texts of a similar date, such as the *Epistula Apostolorum* (late 2nd cent.).

It is not known when the Gəᶜəz translation of the I.G.T. (without attribution to Thomas) was made. The *Vorlage* seems to have been Greek (cp. van Rompay 1980; Gerö 1988: 167; Voicu 1998: 19–23) which points to the Aksumite period. It was also observed that there are close parallels between the Gəᶜəz and the Syriac versions (Gerö 1971: 53).

One may surmise that the early transmission of the I.G.T. into Gəᶜəz took place as a separate composition, but there is no independent textual evidence for this supposition. The I.G.T. text appears to have been incorporated into the collection of *The Miracles of Jesus* (↗*Täʾammərä Iyäsus*, T.I.). This version (as published by Grébaut, his numbers in parentheses) includes the following episodes: 1 (1–2): Jesus forms birds of clay on the Sabbath and makes them fly; 2 (3): Jesus causes a boy who had destroyed his pond to wither; 3 (4–5): Jesus curses a boy who hit him, and the boy dies; 4 (6–9): Jesus shows his wisdom to the teacher Zacchaeus (Zäkewos); he recites the alphabet and embarrasses the teacher by showing that the teacher does not understand what *alpha* is; 5 (10): Jesus resuscitates a boy who had died after he had fallen from a roof; 6 (11): Jesus brings water home in his cloak; 7 (12): Jesus helps Joseph in his carpentry work; 8 (13): Jesus embarrasses another teacher by asking him what *alpha* and *beta* is; the teacher beats Jesus and dies forthwith; 9 (14): Another teacher is surprised by Jesus' knowledge; 10 (15): Jesus heals his brother James who had been bitten by a snake; 11 (16): Joseph and ↗Mary, looking for Jesus, find him in the Temple discussing the Scriptures with learned men (a paraphrase of Lk 2:41–52); 12 (17): Jesus walks on or rides a sun beam; 13 (18): Jesus reaps a rich harvest from a field.

In the T.I. manuscripts the I.G.T. material is gathered into a larger text item, i.e. one episode of T.I. contains all the miracles of the I.G.T. In some manuscripts their place within the collection respects the chronology of the narrative (Grébaut 1985:75–91), and they appear as the 8th or 9th miracle, whereas in others they are placed at the end (Arras – van Rompay 1975:139). This latter version is certainly older and is a result of a simple addition of the I.G.T. material to the already existing collection of T.I. (the Arabic original of which does not contain I.G.T.). The next step was, as might be expected, to move that addition to a chronologically more suitable place in the T.I.

However, not all the manuscripts of the T.I. contain I.G.T., and the number of episodes is not constant. In fact there are other versions of the T.I. that contain less episodes or, conversely, additions. One was indicated by Arras – van Rompay (1975:142), miracle 14: Jesus mixes the ink colours of his teacher and then separates them.

Another version can be found in the manuscript Gondar XXVI of the Ṭana Qirqos Church from the reign of *aṣe* ↗Täklä Haymanot II. According to Jäger (1960:383ff., his numbers in parentheses) there are only 5 episodes: (21) = 1, but in a different version: Jesus forms the birds together with other children; (23) = 4, here the teacher's name is spelled Sekios; (24) combination of 10 and 12; (25) = 6; (26) = 7, with the addition of healing a woman bitten by a snake (a variant of 10) and of a variant of 8.

Another set of I.G.T. tales found its way into the *Story of Mary* (↗*Nägärä Maryam*, s. EAE vol. 5; N.M.). The N.M. set often contains the episodes 1, 8, 11, 12 and 14 of those known from the T.I., usually in a developed version, and adds the following: 1. Jesus changes the children who were forbidden to play with him into monkeys (or donkeys in some versions) and chases ill-tempered dogs after them; 2. the parents are upset and plot to kill Mary but Jesus summons the angels to bring a beast which devours many of them; 3. (a variant of T.I. no. 6): Jesus is sent to fetch water, breaks the vessel; he is punished by Mary who hits him, but he brings the water in his garment and puts the pieces of the broken vessel together; 4. Jesus runs from home; Salome, the maiden, and Joseph bring him back; 5. Jesus destroys a place at a lake where the people offer sacrifice to idols; before disappearing the idols kill the worshippers.

In the manuscripts of N.M., which notoriously neglect the chronology of events and freely mix different stories from Jesus's childhood, the set based on the I.G.T. tends to be placed close to the end. In cases where the division for monthly readings is applied, it is placed in the month of *Ḥamle*.

In the present state of research it is not certain whether these accounts were translated, or originally composed in Ethiopia under the influence of the I.G.T. material.

Still another episode, an abbreviated version of no. 8, is to be found in the ↗*Testamentum Domini in Galilee* (Guerrier – Grébaut 1913:50), which is not surprising since it was already present in the *Epistula Apostolorum* (included in the *Testamentum*) before this work was translated into Gəᶜəz.

Src.: TONY BURKE (ed., tr.), *De Infantia Iesu Evangelium Thomae graece*, Turnhout 2010 (Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum 17); CRAbb 41f.; JAMES KEITH ELLIOTT (tr.), *The Apocryphal New Testament: a Collection*

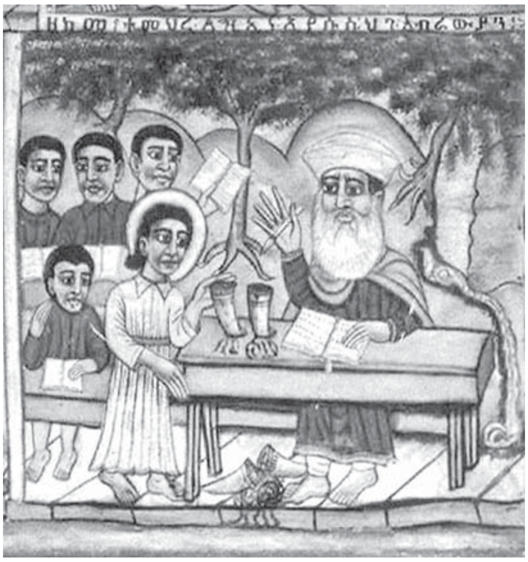
of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation, Oxford 1999, 68–83; ROBERT HARTWELL EMERY, *Edition, Translation and Annotation of B. M. Ethiopic MS. Add. 16193*, Ph.D. thesis, University of St. Andrews, n.d. [1959]; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT (ed., tr.), *Les Miracles de Jésus*, Paris 1917, 1920, 1923 (PO 60 [12/4], 71 [14/5], 85 [17/4]), repr. Turnhout 1973, 1974, 1985; LOUIS GUERRIER – SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT (ed., tr.), *Le Testament en Galilée de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ*, Paris 1913 (PO 9/3 [43]); StrBritLib 19ff.

Lit.: REIDAR AASGAARD, *The Childhood of Jesus: Decoding the Apocryphal Infancy Gospel of Thomas*, Eugene, OR 2009; VICTOR ARRAS – LUCAS VAN ROMPAY, “Les manuscrits éthiopiens des ‘Miracles de Jésus’”, *ABoll* 93, 1975, 133–46; ENRICO CERULLI, “I manoscritti etiopici della Chester Beatty Library in Dublino”, *RRALm* ser. 8a, 11, 1965, 277–324, here 288ff.; TONY CHARTRAND-BURKE, “The Infancy Gospel of Thomas”, in: PAUL FOSTER (ed.), *The Non-Canonical Gospels*, London 2008, 126–38; STEPHEN GERÖ, “The Infancy Gospel of Thomas: a Study of the Textual and Literary Problems”, *Novum Testamentum* 13, 1971, 46–80; ID., “The Taʾāmra ʾIyasūs: a Study of Textual and Source-critical Problems”, in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 1988, 165–70; ADOLF GROHMANN, “Reste einer neuen Rezension der Kindheitsgeschichte Jesu in den Taʾāmra ʾĪyasūs”, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 28, 1914, 1–15; BORIS TURAEV (ed. SEVIR CHERNETSOV), “The Infancy Gospel in the Ethiopian Literature”, *Hristianskij Vostok* 1, 7, 1999, 434–47; LUCAS VAN ROMPAY, “De ethiopische versie van het Kindheidsevangelie volgens Thomas de Israëliet”, in: ARISTIDE THEODORIDES (ed., et al.), *L’Enfant dans les civilisations orientales – Het kind in de oosterse beschavingen*, Leuven 1980 (Acta Orientalia Belgica 2), 119–32; SEVER J. VOICU, “Notes sur l’histoire du texte de *l’Histoire de l’infance de Jésus*”, *Apocrypha* 2, 1991, 119–32; ID., “Verso il testo primitivo dei Παιδικὰ τοὺ κυρίου Ἰησοὺ ‘Racconti dell’Infanzia del Signore Gesù’”, *ibid.* 9, 1998, 7–95; WITOLD WITAKOWSKI, “The Miracles of Jesus: an Ethiopian Apocryphal Gospel”, *ibid.* 6, 1995, 279–98.

Witold Witakowski

Infancy Gospel of Thomas in art

Most illuminated ↗manuscripts of the T.I. (the oldest dating to the middle of the 18th cent.) illustrate I.G.T. episodes. They follow the narrative of the text and consequently may appear either in chronological order, i.e. following the miracles connected with the Flight of the Holy Family (e.g., the ms. of Ṭana Qirqos church, miniatures 21–27 out of 90; BN d’Abbadie 226, mins. 7, 8 of 21), or, at the end, following the account of the Ascension or the Pentecost (BritLib Orient 8824, the last miniature of 40). As with the texts, which often gather several episodes in one story (‘miracle’), one miniature may contain more than one episode (e.g., Dublin, Chester Beatty Library ms. 913, in which five miracles are divided between three miniatures; in Orient 8824 five episodes are gathered in one miniature).



Miracle with the mixed inks; Church of Iyäsus Tašši, Ḥənṣa Wanza, Gəğet, mural canvas by Bərhe Gäbrä Kidan, 1964; photo 2002; courtesy of Michael Gervers

If the manuscripts of N.M., which are usually extensively illuminated, contain miniatures illustrating the I.G.T. material, they are numerous and include more than one episode, e.g. the ms. in the church of ↗Däbrä Ṣäḥay Qʷəsqʷam, with 245 miniatures, displays I.G.T. episodes in numbers 226–235; ms. BritLib Orient 607, with 260 miniatures, in numbers 222–236.

From the middle of the 18th cent. I.G.T. stories are found in most of the pictorial programmes of the circular churches, displayed on the southern wall of the ↗*mäqdäs*. They are mixed with the stories of Jesus the Child that belong in the N.M. collections, but always include the miracles of the flying birds made of clay and of the broken jar, as well as the tales about Jesus turning his playmates into monkeys and walking on or riding a sun beam. It should be noted that only the latter was included in the “pattern programme” sketched by the painter Kasa for Marcel ↗Griaule.

Src.: CRAbb 41f.; StrBritLib 19ff.

Lit.: CLAIRE BOSC-TIESSÉ – ANAÏS WION, *Peintures sacrées d’Éthiopie. Collection de la Mission Dakar-Djibouti*, St-Maur-des-Fossés 2005, 114ff.; ENRICO CERULLI, “I manoscritti etiopici della Chester Beatty Library in Dublino”, *RRALm* ser. 8a, 11, 1965, 277–324, here 288ff.; OTTO JÄGER, “Ethiopian Manuscripts Painting”, *EthObs* 4, 1960, 354–91, here 370–76, 383ff.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Institute of Archaeology

The I.A. together with the National Library (↗National Archives and Library of Ethiopia) was founded with the name Section d'archéologie de la Bibliothèque Nationale d'Éthiopie in 1952 in cooperation with a French archaeological mission (1952–72; ↗Archaeology) and financially supported by France and friends of Ethiopia. Its first head was ↗Käbbädä Mikaʾel. He was later succeeded by ↗Täklä Ṣadəq Mäkʷəriya. In 1962 the Section was renamed Institut Éthiopien d'archéologie, and then Imperial Antiquities Administration. In 1975 it was named The Archaeological Institute under the Ministry of Culture and Youth. It was restructured in 1977 as Institute of Research and Conservation of Cultural Heritage, with Berhanou Abbebe (↗Bərhanu Abbäbä in EAE vol. 5) as its director. Important founding members of the institute, apart from the mentioned directors, were Henri de Contenson, Francis Anfray and Roger ↗Schneider, Jean Doresse, Jean Leclant and André ↗Caquot (s. EAE vol. 5). Admassu Šəfärraw and ↗Gəzaw Ḫaylä Maryam, Käbbädä Mikaʾel's assistants, are also to be mentioned for the early phase.

In the period between 1952 and 1974 systematic archaeological fieldwork was carried out on an annual basis for a minimum of six to seven months a year. The findings of these decades brought new light to the origin of mankind through the discovery of ↗*Australopitecus afarensis* (s. also ↗Homo, ↗Hominids). Foreign experts involved were Italian, German, French, English and sometimes American. Their activity took the archaeologists to ↗Aksum, ↗Yəḥa, ↗Zula, the ↗Gondär castles, ↗Lalibäla, the provinces of ↗Wällo, ↗Goǧǧam, ↗Sidamo, ↗Harärge, Northern ↗Šäwa (↗Mälka Qunṭure) and ↗Mäṭära.

The findings and results of the pre-Revolution period were compiled in 14 volumes of ↗*Annales d'Éthiopie*, and in a booklet entitled *Archaeological Findings of Adwa Region* (December 1960, Addis Abäba). Other publications were *Tarik*: *Gazette d'information archéologique, historique et littéraire publiée par l'Institut Éthiopien d'Archéologie* (first published in 1963) by ↗Śərgəw Hablä Śəllase (Amh. part) and Francis Anfray (Fr. part), published twice, and the *Cahiers de l'Institut Éthiopien d'Archéologie* which saw only one volume in 1965.

The institute is still operational under the name Authority of Research and Conservation of the Cultural Heritage.

Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, "Histoire de l'archéologie éthiopienne", *Tarik* 1, 1963, 17–21; ID., "Chronique archéologique (1960–1964)", *AE* 6, 1965, 3–48; ID., "Roger Schneider, Luxembourg, 29 Avril 1917-Addis Abeba, 4 Avril 2002", *AE* 19, 2003, 367–69; STEVEN ANDREW BRANDT – RODOLFO FATTOVICH, "Late Quaternary Archaeological Research in the Horn of Africa", in: PETER ROBERTSHAW (ed.), *A History of African Archaeology*, London 1990, 95–108; RODOLFO FATTOVICH, *Lineamenti di storia dell'archeologia dell'Etiopia e della Somalia*, Napoli 1992 (Supplemento 71 agli Annali); BERTRAND HIRSCH, "Avant-propos", *AE* 16, 2000, 5–7; KEBEDE GELETA TEREFE, *The Evolution of* [*the*] *Archeological Research and Research Monitoring Institute in Ethiopia*: *the Case of the Authority for Research and Conservation of Cultural Heritage*, M.Sc. thesis, Addis Ababa University 2008; KEBBÉDÉ MIKAËL – JEAN LECLANT, "La Section d'archéologie (1952–1955)", *AE* 1, 1955, 1–8.

Berhanu Gizaw Hailemariam

International Monetary Fund

The I.M.F. is an economical organization. Some of I.M.F.'s statutory purposes are to promote international monetary co-operation, facilitate the expansion and balanced growth of international trade, promote exchange rate stability and make temporarily available the resources of I.M.F. to members under adequate safeguards. It was established at a conference in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, USA, on 1–22 July 1944. Its official existence began on 27 December 1945. The financial operations were commenced after two years on 1 March 1947. 181 countries are currently members of the I.M.F..

The I.M.F. made large structural adjustment credits to Ethiopia by drawing characteristics of specific fund supported adjustment programs; such as on monetary and financial policies (limit on credit expansion, ceilings on net domestic assets or total bank credit and interest rate reform); public sector (restraint of the central government expenditures, transfer of subsidies to food and fertilizers); tax system (income tax reform or extension); external debt policies (the control of level and maturity of external debt); exchange and trade policies (rationalization of the import system); wages and prices (to review or increase sector prices [agriculture, industry etc.] and increase energy prices; other structural adjustment measures [improvement in over all management, shift of resources from public to private and investment planning and execution procedure]).

After the end of the government-controlled economy on May 1991 (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council), the I.M.F. made a loan on 29 October of $70 million over a period of three years to support the programme of economic reforms. The budget for 1993/94 was adopted on 7 August. The 1992/93 economic program had been successfully implemented and the I.M.F. showed its approval by making a further loan of $30 million under a structural adjustment facility. The statistical data below shows in part the I.M.F. engagement in Ethiopia (in US$ million).

	1970	80	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97
Debt data (1)	0	79	6	0	19	49	72	74	92	87
Debt flows (2)	0	9	0	0	20	30	20	0	21	0
Principal repayments (3)	0	0	25	6	0	0	0	0	0	0
Interest payments (4)	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Debt service (5)	0	2	27	6	0	0	0	0	0	0

1 Summary debt data Use of I.M.F. credit
2 Debt flows (disbursements) I.M.F. purchases
3 Principal repayments I.M.F. purchases
4 Interest payments I.M.F. charges
5 Debt service paid I.M.F. repurchases and charges

To support the government's economic and financial programme for the fiscal year 1998–99 the I.M.F. approved the second annual loan for Ethiopia under the Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF) of about $42 million. Since then, a primary goal of the I.M.F. has been to support the implementation of policies to reduce inflation and rebuild external reserves.

In 2001 Ethiopia qualified for the World Bank-I.M.F.-sponsored Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) debt reduction program, which is designed to reduce or eliminate repayment of bilateral loans from wealthy countries and international lenders such as the World Bank.

In 2009, the I.M.F., based on Ethiopia's positive macroeconomic indicators, approved a loan of about $240.6 million to help buffer Ethiopia from the impact of the global recession. In 2010, the I.M.F. and the World Bank approved further loans and disbursements for the Ethiopian government. The World Bank participated with a loan of $130 million. In the same year the Executive Board of the I.M.F. approved the first review of Ethiopia's economic performance thus enabling Ethiopia to draw the final tranche of a $240.2 million package.

In 2011, the I.M.F. urged Ethiopia to shift its emphasis away from central economic planning and adopt more market-oriented policies. Analysts of the I.M.F. also raised concerns that the macroeconomic performance of the country had deteriorated markedly due to inflationary pressure and weak management of monetary policy.

There have been concerns about the benefits of I.M.F. programs with regards to the African nations and Ethiopia in specific. The North American economist Joseph Stiglitz became a staunch critic of I.M.F. programs (Stiglitz 2003).

↗Economy

Lit.: Fiscal Affairs Department of the International Monetary Fund, *Fund-supported Programs, Fiscal Policy, and Income Distribution: A Study*, Washington, DC 1986 (Occasional papers no. 46); International Monetary Fund, *The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia: Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper – Joint Staff Advisory Note on the Growth and Transformation Plan 2010/11 – 2014/15*, Washington, DC 2011 (IMF Country Report 11/303); Id., *The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia: Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper Growth and Transformation Plan 2010/11–2014/15*, 2 vols., Washington, DC 2010–11; Alan Rake, *New African Yearbook*, France 1997/98; Joseph E. Stiglitz, *Globalization and its Discontents*, New York, NJ et al. 2003, 26–32; Randall W. Stone, "The Political Economy of IMF Lending in Africa", *American Political Science Review* 98, 4, 2004, 577–91; Robert Hunter Wade, "Capital and Revenge: The IMF and Ethiopia", *Challenge* 44, 5, 2001, 67–75; The World Bank, *World Development Indicators*, Washington, DC 1999; World Bank International Bank, *Global Development Finance*, Washington, DC 1999.

Tesfaye Akalu – Red.

Interpreters

Interpreters from ancient times to the 18th cent.

I. (typically known in the East as dragoman, *tercüman* [Turkish], trucheman and the like, all stemming from Ar. *tarǧumān*, Aramaic loan word, ultimately of Hittite origin, s. LesCDic 579–80) have probably served in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa since early ages. Although there is scant historical evidence for it, the different polities that since at least Aksumite times emerged on the Ethiopian highlands and in the wider ↗Orbis Aethiopicus must have engaged I. for purposes of government, diplomacy, ↗trade and war.

With the rise of the ↗Solomonic dynasty the presence of foreigners at the Christian court, such as that of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I, is well attested; it is likely that a few of these foreigners acted as I. and mediated in such activities as Mamluk-Ethiopian relations (↗Egypt, relations with; ↗Mamlūks). During the 15th cent., relations with ↗Italy intensified and a few Italians acted as envoys and I., chiefly Pietro ↗Rombulo. Another community that was often engaged in diplomatic duties, and hence probably as I. as well, were the ↗Armenians (cp. ↗Mateus).

With Portuguese (↗Portugal, relations with) expansion in Africa and Asia information on I., at least on I. mediating between European powers and local African rulers, becomes more abundant and precise. This, however, shall not be taken as evidence of the more important role played by I. during this period as opposed to earlier periods. Conversely, the information on 16th and 17th cent. I. may cast light on their role during earlier periods.

The Portuguese made frequent use of I. (called "lingoas" in their sources) during their wanderings in the east, including in the ↗Red Sea and Gulf of Aden (cf. Couto 2003; for a broader overview cf. Lewis 2004). During the famous expedition of Dom Rodrigo da ↗Lima to Ethiopia from 1520–26, several men acted as I. between the Portuguese officials and local people. Thus, one Fernão Dias, fluent in Arabic and probably an Arab himself, acted as their I. at ↗Ḥərgigo and during the trip of the Portuguese train to the Ethiopian plateau. Other men acting in similar duties were the foreman João Gonçalves, Alexandre d'Ataide and one Jorge, a freed slave from Hormuz (Alvares 1883: 3f., 9, 64, 93, 124, 130; Correia 1976: 587). Concerning the royal Ethiopian court, then headed by *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl, a method that seems to have been used and that was certainly widespread was that of a two-tier translation, the intermediate language most likely being ↗Arabic (implicit evidence in Alvares 1883: 90f., 185). Other times translation was made with the help of single I., such as Pêro da ↗Covilhã or ↗Ṣägga Zäʾab (Alvares 1883: 107, 127, 129, 150). Moreover, I. also crucially contributed in translation works, such as diplomatic letters, thus fostering diplomatic relations between the Portuguese and the Christian Ethiopian monarchies (Alvares 1883: 130f., 144f., 149, 185).

The next information concerning I. in the historical record occurs during the military expedition of Christovão da ↗Gama. Then a number of the soldiers who came from India acted as I., between the Portuguese and the local people, including the clergy and the royal court. Among them were Ayres ↗Dias and Afonso de França (BecRASO II, 314, 411; Couto 1783). Later, the Ethio-Portuguese community that was formed from the relationships between the Portuguese soldiers and Ethiopian women was to provide generations of men who, among other duties, acted as I. They chiefly assisted the ↗Jesuits during their 80-year long religious mission (e.g. BecRASO XII, 161; cf. Martínez 2011; Martínez 2008: 195f.). Similarly, a number of Ethiopians who studied and worked at the Jesuit residences, such as ↗Gorgoryos or one Denazios (BecRASO XI, 432), acquired linguistic skills and used these in translating between the Europeans and Ethiopians in both Africa and Europe (cp. Hiob ↗Ludolf).

Ulterior evidence of I. comes from the ↗travellers and explorers who from the late 17th cent. onwards ventured into the Horn of Africa and described their experiences. Most of them used several local I. during their trips, whom they had contracted themselves or had been provided with by their hosts.

In the mid-17th cent., during the visit of ↗Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ḥaymī at the court of *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs in ↗Gondär at least two I. are attested as active: one was Muḥammad ibn Mūsā, a Muslim apostate from the family of al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlī from Bukhara; another was the Ethiopian Muslim *al-ḥāǧǧ* Sālim b. ᶜAbdarraḥīm (DonMurad 8; DonHaySirat 61ff., 65, also 107, 153, 155, 157, 159). Later, in 1679, the Armenian envoy ↗Murād probably acted as "*mätärgʷəmä ləsan*", i.e. I., at the royal court between *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs I and bishop Hovhannes (GuiIohan 39 [tr.]; DonMurad 53). His example further supports the important role that foreigners, like Armenians and Greeks (cf. also Lewis 2004: 24), but also Muslim renegades and slaves (↗Slavery), played in the foreign relations of the Solomonic ↗monarchy. Additionally, locals who had travelled abroad such as pilgrims (↗Pilgrimages) and merchants are also reported to have worked as I. (Bruce 1791, vol. 3, 174, 184; evidence also in Rüppell 1840, vol. 2, 125). Similarly, Charles ↗Poncet was helped by several I. during his journey to Christian Ethiopia (Poncet 1709: 75, 92).

In the 18th cent., another Armenian, named Elias, had been appointed as official I. of the French consul Jacques Le Noir du Roule, who had been sent in 1704 to Gondär (Bruce 1791, vol. 3, 106, 126). Later in the same century, *ras* ↗Mikaʾel Śəḥul had several servants who expedited his affairs with the ↗Nāʾib and the merchants in Massawa and Ḥərgigo and who had linguistic skills. One of them, was the Greek Janni, who had already served two Solomonic rulers. He was then the head of the customs at ↗ᶜAdwa and assisted James ↗Bruce in dealing with the local population. Another I. was a slave of Janni who was fluent in Greek (ibid. 336, 338, 356f., 424, 447f.). In Gondär, the same Bruce reported of having used several I., one being "Ayto Heikel", Məntəwwab's (↗Bərhan Mogäsa) chamberlain (ibid. 530, 547f.).

Eduard ↗Rüppell also travelled with I., but their performance was allegedly not always satisfactory (Rüppell 1838–40, vol. 1, 428f., vol. 2, 165f.)

Src.: FRANCISCO ÁLVARES, *Verdadeira informação das terras do Preste João*, Lisboa 1883, 3f., 9, 64, 90f., 93, 107, 124, 127, 129ff., 144f., 149f., 185; BecRASO II, 314, 411; XI, 432; XII, 161; CLIFFORD EDMUND BOSWORTH, "Tarḏjumān", in: *EI*^{2} 10, 236–38; JAMES BRUCE, *Travels to Discover the Sources of the Nile …*, vol. 3, Dublin 1791, 174, 184, 336, 338, 356f., 424, 447f., 530, 547f.; GASPAR CORREIA, *Lendas da India*, vol. 2, Lisboa 1860, Nendeln ^{2}1976, 587; DIOGO DO COUTO, *Da Asia-Década VII*, Lisboa 1783, Dec. VII, Liv. VII, ch. XII; DonHaySirat 61ff., 65, also 107, 153, 155, 157, 159; DonMurad 8, 53; GuiIohan 38 (text) = 39 (tr.); CHARLES JACQUES PONCET, *A Voyage to Æthiopia, Made in the Years 1698, 1699, and 1700 …*, London 1709, 75, 92; EDUARD RÜPPELL, *Reise in Abyssinien*, 2 vols., Frankfurt am Main 1838–40, vol. 1, 195, 428f., vol. 2, 125, 165f.

Lit.: DEJANIRAH COUTO, "The Role of Interpreters, or Linguas, in the Portuguese Empire during the 16th Century", *e-JPH* [e-Journal of Portuguese History] 1, 2, 2003, 1–9; BERNARD LEWIS, "Babel to Dragomans", in: ID., *From Babel to Dragomans*: *Interpreting the Middle East*, London 2004, 18–32; ANDREU MARTÍNEZ D'ALÒS-MONER, *In the Company of Iyäsus*: *the Jesuit Mission in Ethiopia, 1557–1632*, Ph.D. thesis, European University Institute, Florence 2008, 195f.; ID., "Early Portuguese Emigration to the Ethiopian Highlands: Geopolitics, Mission and Métissage", in: STEFAN HALIKOWSKI SMITH (ed.), *Reinterpreting Indian Ocean Worlds*: *Essays in Honour of Kirti N. Chaudhuri*, Newcastle Upon Tyne 2011, 2–32.

Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner

Interpreters in the 19th and 20th centuries

I. gained importance during the 19th cent. and were to play a major role up to the Italian invasion of 1935. Some I. served Ethiopian monarchs and provincial rulers; others were employed by visiting diplomats and foreign legations (where a few became known as "Oriental Secretaries"). The majority of them were Ethiopians, some having studied foreign languages abroad and others coming from the country's Arabic-speaking periphery. There were also foreigners, mainly ↗Armenians or of Armenian descent. I. were also important in the service of foreign powers that had contact with Ethiopia.

The best-known early-19th cent. I. was the Ethio-Armenian Wärqe Karapet. After undertaking a diplomatic mission to Egypt for *däǧǧazmač* ↗Säbagadis Wäldu of Təgray in 1812, he entered the service of both *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam of Təgray and *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase of Šäwa. Wärqe Karapet also interpreted for the British traveller Charles Tilsone ↗Beke (Pankhurst 1978–79: 259–69). At the time of the visit of Nathaniel ↗Pearce, one Wašär Gumhe Wäldä Maryam was the head I. at ↗ᶜAdwa, then capital of *ras* ↗Wäldä Śəllase (Pearce 1831, vol. 2, 199). An Armenian from Tiflis in Georgia, Betlehem, who spoke English and Arabic, worked both with Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam and Śahlä Śəllase. He also interpreted for *abunä* ↗Sälama, and several foreign travellers, including the British missionary Joseph Wolff and the French scientist Charlemagne Théophile ↗Lefebvre (Pankhurst 1978–79: 270–75). Guglielmo ↗Massaja and the Catholic missionaries who travelled to Ethiopia in the 19th cent. used servants and local people with linguistic skills as I. (MasMis^2 vol. 2, 101, 174, 217). An important figure then was Nəguśe Dəmṭu, envoy and I. of the king of ↗Käfa (ibid. vol. 3, 19f., 32, 128, 130). Massaja himself acted as I. at the court of *nəguś* Mənilək (later *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II), between the ruler and Italian nationals (ibid. vol. 5, 226).

Aṣe ↗Tewodros II subsequently had several notable I. The most prominent were perhaps ↗Bərru Ṗeṭros and ↗Maḫdärä Qal Täwäldä Mädḫən. The latter was a youngster from Təgray who was taken to Paris by Lefèbvre, receiving further education in Malta and Egypt (Rubenson 1976: 433). Well acquainted with both French and English, he was quoted as stating that if, instead of staying in Mäqdalä, Tewodros had harassed the invader as ᶜAbdūl Qādir had done to the French in Algeria "not a single Englishman would have escaped" (Girard 1973: 195f.). Another notable I. was ↗Samuᵓel Giyorgis, also known as Samuᵓel b. ᶜAlī, the son of a Muslim from ᶜAgamä. He was a widely travelled man who became much involved in Tewodros's dealings with his British captives (Rubenson 1976, index, 435). According to the British envoy Hormuzd ↗Rassam, Samuᵓel Giyorgis was "better informed than any of his countrymen" (Rassam 1869, vol. 1, 258). Other I. in Tewodros's service included Wärqe Karapet's son, ↗Mərč̣a Wärqe, and his nephew, Yoḥannəs Mäšäša, both educated in Bombay (Rubenson 1976, s. index, 429, 434; Pankhurst 1978–79: 295–312). Tewodros, like his predecessors, also had several Arabic scribes and I. (Aleme Eshete 1973: 19). I., according to Clements Markham (1868: 221) later played a "most essential" role in the ↗Napier expedition.

Aṣe ↗Yoḥannəs IV subsequently also made use of Maḫdärä Qal and Mərč̣a Wärqe, as well as of the latter's brother, Gäbru Wärqe. Mərč̣a Wärqe emerged, according to Rubenson (1976:280), as "probably [the monarch's] most important adviser on foreign policy". Also noteworthy was P̣eṭros Giyorgis, from Ḥamasen or northern Təgray, who though employed as an I. by the Italians had promised Yoḥannəs "to communicate the whole truth about them" (Aleme Eshete 1973: 24f.; s. also Pankhurst 1990: 257–71).

Aṣe Mənilək II had his own interpreter, *grazmač* ↗Yosef Nəguśe, who in the late 1880s and 1890s played a notable role in the negotiations with the Italians, including in the ↗Italo–Ethiopian Treaty of Friendship and Commerce (Conti Rossini 1935: 486, index; Giglio 1968: 22f.; Rossetti 1910: 59f.). Other trusted aides of Mənilək who also acted as I. were ↗Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Dästa and Alfred ↗Ilg. Pietro ↗Antonelli himself also acted as I. both in Ethiopia and in Italy (Giglio 1968: 24).

Mənilək's despatch of students abroad, the increased teaching of foreign languages within the country, and the growth of contacts with the outside world subsequently led in the early 20th cent. to a vast expansion in both the demand and the supply of I.

The Italian government had a corps of I. ("Corpo degli interpreti coloniali", 226f.) with regulated duties. In the administration of the ↗Africa Orientale Italiana I. were classified as I. writers ("redattori"), I. translators ("traduttori") and oral I. ("orali") and most of them were graduates from the ↗Istituto Universitario Orientale (*Gazzetta Ufficiale del regno d'Italia*, 8 February 1937, n. 31). Among the numerous Ethiopians and Eritreans working for the Italian colonial administration were ↗Ḥasän ʿAli, ↗Asfəḥa Wäldä Mikaʾel, ↗Asäffa Gäbrä Maryam, ↗Ibrāhīm Sulṭān ʿAlī and ↗Ǝmbayyä Habte.

After ↗World War II and with the modernisation of the Ethiopian state the need for I. grew exponentially. The expansion of the administration – at the national, regional and local levels, – the increase in diplomatic activities and the intensification of foreign presence in the Horn of Africa called for a large number of I., official and unofficial. Among some relevant figures accomplishing these duties were ↗Mälaku Amanuʾel Bäyyan, *ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Wäldä Yoḥannəs (ClapHS 110), *fitawrari* ↗Abbäbä Gäbre and *grazmač* ↗ʿAbdälqadər Käbirä. Amanuʾel Abrəham acted as I. and translator at the Ethiopian Legation in London in the late 1930s and early 1940s (Emmanuel Abraham 1995: 36, 49).

Src.: *Gazzetta Ufficiale del regno d'Italia*, Roma, 8 February 1937, n. 31, 477, 479; *ibid.*, Roma, 18 February 1938, n. 13, 224, 226–28; Emmanuel Abraham, *Reminiscences of my Life*, Oslo 1995, 36, 49; Alexandre Girard, *Souvenirs d'un voyage en Abyssinie* [*1868–9*], Paris 1873, 195f.; Clements Markham, *The Abyssinian Expedition*, London 1868, 221; MasMis^{2} vol. 2, 101, 174, 217; vol. 3, 19f., 32, 128, 130; Nathaniel Pearce, *The Life and Adventures of Nathaniel Pearce* …, vol. 2, London 1831, 199; RasTheo, vol. 1, 249f., 258-64.

Lit.: Aleme Eshete, "The Role and Position of Foreign-educated Interpreters in Ethiopia (1800–1889)", *JES* 11, 1, 1973, 17–27, here 19, 24f.; ClapHS 110; Carlo Conti Rossini, *Italia ed Etiopia dal trattato d'Uccialli alla battaglia di Adua*, Roma 1935, 486, index; Donald Crummey, "Initiatives and Objectives in Ethio-European Relations, 1827–1862", *JAH* 15, 1974, 433–44; Carlo Giglio, *L'articolo XVII del trattato di Uccialli*, Como 1968, 22ff.; Richard Pankhurst, "The Foundations of Education, Printing, Newspapers, Book Production, Libraries and Literacy in Ethiopia", *EthObs* 6, 3, 1962, 241–90; Id., "The History of Ethiopian-Armenian Relations", *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes* 13, 1978–79, 259–312, here 259–75, 295–312; Id., "Foreign Educated Ethiopians in Ethiopian Service at the Time of Atsé Yohannes", in: Taddese Beyene – Richard Pankhurst – Shiferaw Bekele, *Kasa and Kasa*: *Papers on the Lives, Times and Images of Téwodros II and Yohannes IV* [*1868–1889*], Addis Ababa 1990, 253–71, here 257–71; Carlo Rossetti, *Storia diplomatica dell'Etiopia durante il regno di Menelik II* …, Torino 1910, 59f.; RubInd 280, 429, 433ff., s. index.

Richard Pankhurst

Irvine, Arthur Kinloch

I. (b. 23 August 1935, Glasgow, Scotland, d. 31 August 2011, London) was a British scholar and Semitist with a specialization in ↗Epigraphic South Arabian and ↗Ethio-Semitic languages. After reading Classics at St. Andrews, where he also first studied Arabic, in 1956 he went to Oxford to undertake research on Epigraphic South Arabian under Alfred Felix Landon Beeston on lexical materials associated with irrigation techniques.

Following a year's postdoctoral research in Tübingen, Germany, in 1959-60, and a year's national service in the British Navy, in 1961 he entered academic life at the ↗School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), London University, as Lecturer in Semitic Languages. Three years later, in 1964, he was joined there by Edward ↗Ullendorff (s. EAE vol. 5), whom he had first met whilst a student at St. Andrews, and it was under the latter's influence that his scholarly attention extended to Ethiopian Semitic, teaching both Amharic and Gəʿəz for much of the rest of his university career. He retired from SOAS formally in 1992 but continued to teach Classical Arabic there on a part-time basis until 1998.

He developed a reputation as a meticulous scholar and patient teacher. He was also interested in links between Ancient South Arabia and Ancient Ethiopia, publishing for instance a seminal article on the ↗Ḥabašāt of South Arabian ↗inscriptions (1965) as well as studies on linguistic links between Ethiopic and South Arabian (1978) or South Arabian epigraphy in Ethiopia (1984). He also published in cooperation with Beeston (1967; 1988).

I. served on the editorial board of the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* from 1981 till 1986, and was editor of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* from 1973 to 1976, as well as English language proof-editor of the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* between 2000 and 2004.

Src.: ARTHUR KINLOCH IRVINE, "On the Identity of Ḥabashat in the South Arabian Inscriptions", *JSS* 10, 1965, 178–96; ID., "Linguistic Evidence on Ancient Ethiopia: the Relationship of Early Ethiopian Semitic to Old South Arabian", *Abbay* 9, 1978, 43–48; ID., "An Ethiopian Sabaean Inscription from Southern Tigre, Ethiopia", *JSS* 29, 1984, 45–52; ID. – ALFRED FELIX LANDON BEESTON, "Homicide in Pre-Islamic South Arabia", *BSOAS* 30, 1967, 277–92; IID., "New Evidence on the Qatabanian Letter Order", *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 18, 1988, 35-38.

Lit.: DAVID L. APPLEYARD, "In memoriam Arthur Kinloch Irvine (1935–2011)", *Aethiopica* 15, 2012, 241–45; ID., "Obituary: A.K. Irvine, 1935–2011", *BSOAS* 75, 2012, 361–63.

David L. Appleyard

Itineraries

I. Definitions
II. Itineraries of the Ethio–Eritrean region before the end of the 19th cent.
III. Military and colonial itineraries
IV. Indigenous itineraries

I. Definitions

An unequivocal definition of what is an I. is hardly possible, since, systematically speaking, I. do not form a clearly identifiable category. Besides, the consensus as to what can be described as an I. has changed in time and in different circumstances. While at all times overlapping with both semantic fields of travel literature and ↗cartography, the degree of such overlapping varies greatly between two main definitions: 1) an I. as a narrative geographic account, in modern use sometimes used interchangeably with both "travelogue" and "travel guide", not necessarily accompanied by a graphic representation; and 2) an I. as a first, rough map of routes that have been followed, based on observation rather than measurement, used especially in the context of colonial conquest, and as such not necessarily accompanied by a text. The understanding as to the degree of the originality of information – whether an I. is based on first-hand external and internal observations or depends on pre-existing written and oral sources – is also subject to changes.

In their historical sense, I. are "cognitive maps" that predate the abstract projective, coordinate geometries and measured space of modern maps. They articulate, represent and codify spatial knowledge in a social and functional context (Woodward – Lewis 1998: 537–41). In the Roman empire, *itineraria* (from Latin *iter*, 'path, travel, journey') were compilations of localities and distances, either in form of written reports, lists or linear graphical maps, which served as "practical guides" for travellers (Wallis – Robinson 1987: 132; famous classical examples are the *Antonini itinerarium* from the 3rd cent. A.D. or the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* from the 4th cent. A.D.). Whether designed for research or military purposes, and whether based on a narrative or on a graphic map, the I. usually aspire not only to describe the route but to make it easily retraceable by future expeditions, whether civil, scholarly or military.

One can thus group I. on the basis of the way they present information into (1) narrative I., that may or may not be accompanied by a map of the route (such as the classical models, dating to pre-cartographic times) and (2) graphic I., that may or may not be accompanied by an explanatory text or a legend. Both groups may be subdivided further in accordance with the type and amount of details provided. On the basis of the scope, one can distinguish between (1) descriptions of travel routes for purposes of exploration or trade and (2) military I. for one-time incursions, or those for future dominance. On the basis of originality, one can distinguish between (1) I. produced by travellers themselves on the basis of their observations and (2) those summarizing previously collected data.

The width and the changeability of the understanding of the term render research of the I. preserved in libraries or archives particularly difficult. In the colonial era, several different kinds of documents might be entitled as "I.", including simple lines drawn upon existing maps and illustrating routes followed by travellers or expeditions. These, however, may be later used by the same travellers or their biographers for reconstruction of more narrative descriptions, still frequently defined as I. To these “I.” one should add the vast body of narrative or graphic representations of the I. type, sometimes forming separate works (cp. also the Arabic genre *masālik*, ‘routes’) or parts of larger travel accounts.

Thomas Zitelmann – Gabriele Ciampi – Red.

II. Itineraries of the Ethio–Eritrean region before the end of the 19th cent.

Geographical knowledge of the Ethio-Eritrean region in Europe was based on I. since ancient times. Even after the available information was transferred onto maps, new travel descriptions kept being produced by traders, diplomats, scholars and the military well into our time. The I. and *periploi* used for travelling around the ↗Red Sea (cp. also ↗*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*) were exploited by ↗Ptolemy for his *Geography*. The I. (travelogues, *riḥla*) produced by the Arabic travellers and merchants became sources for the work of such geographers as the 9th-cent. al-↗Yaᶜqūbī (his *Kitāb al-buldān* providing details on localities esp. of Eritrea), the 10th-cent. ↗Ibn Ḥawqal, the 12th-cent. al-↗Idrīsī or the 14th-cent. ↗Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and Abū l-Fidā (the latter locating *al-Ḥabaš* in terms of distances and directions in the wider lands of the *bilād as-sudān*, ‘land of the blacks’; Abū al-Fidāʾ 1840: 151ff.). The *masālik* is a particular genre of Arabic literature that contains data typical of I. (cp. al-↗ᶜUmarī).

Embassies to the lands of the ↗Prester John resulted in a series of I. produced by European travellers (such as the *Iter de Venetiis ad Indiam*, reflecting the mission of Antonio Bartoli ca. 1402). The geographical information provided by Ethiopian monks in Europe (delegates to the ecumenical councils of Constance and ↗Florence; members of the community of ↗Santo Stefano dei Mori; pilgrims to ↗Jerusalem) was collected to create more I. (s., e.g., ↗Zorzi, compiled before 1524, data going back to 1400). Both I. compiled by travellers (Marco ↗Polo) and those based on the oral reports obtained from Ethiopians were, since at least the 15th cent., used to produce geographical maps (e.g., the *Mappamondo* of ↗Fra Mauro from ca. 1460 or the contemporary ↗*Egyptus Novelo*; s. Fiaccadori 2009; Hirsch 1986–87; CrawItin 3–27, 64ff.).

In the 16th and 17th cent. the systematic I. of the Portuguese (cp. ↗Alvares, 1540; ↗Lobo, 1640) and ↗Jesuits contributed much to the knowledge of Ethiopia in Europe. The report of the Yemenite mission of ↗Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ḥaymī (ca. 1647) also employs the I. style (DonHaySirat). A comparison between Lobo’s *itinerario* and al-Ḥaymī’s report shows how the same locality, ↗Baylūl in the ᶜAfar region, meant less distance for an Arab Muslim traveller, who came from the coast, than for a Jesuit missionary, who had to use a more security-oriented strategy to travel.

Since the 19th cent. (or even the 17th–18th cent. if one considers ↗Bruce or ↗Ludolf), scholarly ↗expeditions provided a number of I. for the Ethio-Eritrean region, which also came to serve as sources for systematic mapping. Antoine d’↗Abbadie’s *Géographie d’Éthiopie* contains information typical of an I., as it extensively uses, beside modern techniques of cartography, geodesy and triangulation, oral traditions provided by merchants, slaves, elephant hunters and pilgrims (AbbGéogr 5f.). Interestingly, not all informants were willing to share their geographical knowledge with the scholar (e.g., the *afčala* Oromo traders, who feared competition should their routes and shortcuts become known; ibid. 6).

The I. produced by the 19th–20th cent. scholarly expeditions (such as the ones by ↗Heuglin, ↗Montandon or ↗Duchesne-Fournet) considerably advanced the knowledge of Ethio-Eritrean ↗geography in Europe, which gained particular importance during the time of ↗colonialism in North-East Africa.

Src.: AbbGéogr 5f.; ANTOINE D’ABBADIE, *Géodésie d’Ethiopie, ou triangulation d’une partie de la haute Ethiopie exécutée selon les méthodes nouvelles* …, Paris 1873; ABŪ AL-FIDĀʾ ISMĀᶜĪL IBN ᶜALĪ, *Kitāb taqwīm al-buldān* …, ed. by JOSEPH TOUSSAINT REINAUD, Bārīs 1840, 151ff.; BruNile; ALEXANDER BULATOVICH, *Ethiopia through Russian Eyes*: *Country in Transition, 1896–1898,* ed., tr. RICHARD SELTZER, Lawrenceville, NJ 2000; LIONEL CASSON (ed, tr.), *The Periplus Maris Erythraei*, Princeton, NJ 1989; CrawItin 3–27, 64ff.; DonHaySirat; THEODOR VON HEUGLIN, *Das Rothe Meer und die wichtigsten Hafen seiner Westhälfte* …, Gotha 1860; ID., *Reise in das Gebiet des Weissen Nil und seiner westlichen Zuflüsse: in den Jahren 1862–1864,* Leipzig – Heidelberg 1869; ID., *Reise nach Abessinien, den Gasa-Landern, Ost-Sudan und Chartum in den Jahren 1861 und 1862* …, Gera 1874; ID., *Reise in Nordost-Afrika*: *Schilderungen aus dem Gebiete der Beni Amer und Habab nebst zoologischen Skizzen und einem Führer für Jagdreisende*, Braunschweig 1877; ID. et al., *Die deutsche Expedition in Ost-Afrika, 1861 und 1862*: *Zusammenstellung der astronomischen, hypsometrischen und meteorologischen Beobachtungen, und der trigonometrischen und itinerarischen Aufnahmen von v. Heuglin, Kinzelbach, Munzinger und Steudner im ost-ägyptischen Sudan und den nord-abessinischen Grenzlanden* …, Gotha 1864; THÉOPHILE LEFEBVRE, *Voyage en Abyssinie,*

Paris 1845–50; Jerónimo Lobo, *Itinerário e outros escritos inéditos*, ed. Gonçalves da Costa, Barcelos 1971; August H. Petermann, *Originalkarte von Nord-Abessinien und den Ländern am Mareb, Barka & Anseba – Ein Ergebniss der Deutschen Expedition 1861 & 1862 …*, Gotha 1864; Achille Raffray, *Afrique Orientale. Abyssinie*, Paris 1880 (with *l'Itineraire de A. Raffray en Abyssinie 1873–1874*); Arthur Rimbaud, *Les Lettres manuscrites de Rimbaud, d'Europe, d'Afrique et d'Arabie*, ed. Claude Jeancolas, Paris 1997; Nikolaj Šusev, *Izvestija Russkago Geografičeskago obščestva*, St. Petersburg 1900; UmMasGaud; UmMasSezg; [Ludovico de Varthema], *Itinerario de Ludovico de Varthema Bolognese nello Egypto nella Surria nella Arabia deserta & felice nella Persia nella India & nella Ethiopia*, Roma 1510.

Lit.: Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "L'Etiopia, Venezia e l'Europa", in: Giuseppe Barbieri – Gianfranco Fiaccadori (eds.), *Nigra sum sed formosa. Sacro e bellezza dell'Etiopia cristiana. Ca' Foscari Esposizioni 13 marzo–10 maggio 2009*, Vicenza 2009, 27–48; Bernard Hamilton, "The Impact of the Crusades on Western Geographical Knowledge", in: Rosamund Allen (ed.), *Eastward Bound: Travel and Travellers 1050–1550*, Manchester 2004, 15–34; Bertrand Hirsch, "Cartographie et itinéraires: figures occidentales du nord de l'Éthiopie aux XVe et XVIe siècles", *Abbay* 13, 1986–87 [1988], 91–122; HuntGeogr; Helen Wallis – Arthur Howard Robinson, *Cartographical Innovation: an International Handbook of Mapping Terms to 1900*, St. Albans 1987; David Woodward – Malcolm Lewis, "Concluding Remarks", in: Iid. (eds.), *The History of Cartography*, vol. 2, Book 3: *Cartography in the Traditional African, American, Arctic, Australian, and Pacific Societies*, Chicago, IL – London 1998, 537–41.

Thomas Zitelmann – Red.

III. Military and colonial itineraries

Military and diplomatic actions play an important role as both reasons and sources for creating I. – that have further implications of military exploration, mobility and control of the geographical areas to be conquered and are at the same time intended as a first step in an improving cartographic process. As early as since the French revolution and the Napoleonic wars, the I. have been seen as advanced strategic military tools used in intelligence.

Unlike the later Italian operations, the British punitive ↗Napier expedition to ↗Mäqdäla in 1867/68 was conceived as an incursion, with no intention of durable conquest of the country. The related I. reflect this in the scope of the areas covered and the degree of detail. The British expedition I. (s. Cooke 1867; cp. Simpson 2002) heavily draw on the heritage of the famous explorers of the 18th and 19th cent. (s. the previous subentry), scholars of encyclopedic skills, whose works, or at least parts of them, can sometimes be also compared to the I. The manuscripts of I. produced by the British expedition were (and still are) preserved in the Public Records Office and the Historical manuscripts commission (today the National Archives, which also include the collections of Ordnance Survey, Defence Geographic Centre, War Office and British India Office, the organizer of the expedition).

Other military actions in the Horn of Africa (e.g., Egyptian-Ethiopian war; British actions in Egypt, Sudan, Somaliland; French conquest) equally produced a series of I. (e.g., *Route suivie par l'Armée Egyptienne*, by a Colonel of American Confederate Army Samuel H. Lockett, 1876; *Croquis de la Route militaire entre Massawah et Kayakhor*, by a French Officer E.M. Dulier, 1876).

A special case is the period of Italian presence in Eritrea (Colonia ↗Eritrea) and Ethiopia (↗Africa Orientale Italiana, A.O.I.). Its length and the long-term perspective necessitated the production of a wide range of military – and civil – I. The colonial I. are meant as a sort of reconnaisance mapping, a first step in a progress that proceeds to approximate mapping (made by expeditious topographic surveys) and, finally, geodetic cartography. And thus, I. are important prerequisites for the implementation of the colonial goals. The majority of Italian colonial I. are based on first-hand observations and were drafted by the persons who travelled the route themselves. Most surviving I. of that time are preserved in the library and the archives of the Istituto Geografico Militare (IGM) in Florence. They could be chronologically grouped in three periods: (1) up to the Battle of ↗ᶜAdwa (1896); (2) from 1897 to 1922 (rise of Fascism); (3) from 1923 to 1941 (with a possible sub-period, from the creation to the fall of the A.O.I., 1936–41).

Military and colonial I. are graphic representations, sometimes, though not always, accompanied by text. The explanatory function of map and text is reciprocal.

Unlike proper maps, I. represent the geographical areas in a mimetic-pictorial way, more frequently than by the conventional cartographic symbols. The set of symbols and the amount of mimetic-pictorial details may vary greatly. The only element always present is the actual travel route – which is clearly indicated by lines of different design and colour. Seldom, a pre-existing map may be used, as in the 1920s I. *Miesso-Gauani-Tihò* (1:250,000), with the route traced over a geological map by M. Gortani and A. Bianchi for the Missione AGIP organized by the Accademia d'Italia. Most I. are limited planimetrically to narrow strips of land along the route. Frequently, the information provided is primarly concerned with the characteristics of the actual roads taken: their quality, the best mode of travel, possible encounters on the way, etc.

I. can be grouped on the basis of their cartographic features. The most obvious feature is the scale. The majority of I. range between 1:100,000 and 1:1,000,000. The largest-scale available I., at 1:25,000, is that drawn by Capt. Lorenzo Viglino for the Galla-Sidama government in 1936, *Gimma-Bonga* (5 folios, with detailed information on landforms and some indications of land use). The smallest is the summary I., at 1:7,000,000, entitled *Etiopia e regioni circostanti con gli itinerari dei principali esploratori italiani* …, drafted before 1924 (lost from IGM).

Further, I. are characterized by the quantity and quality of details (naturally, the smaller the scale the fewer the details, though this is not an absolute rule). The easiest division is between I. with and without the accompanying text (usually referred to as "logistic notes" and placed in boxes next to the appropriate leg of the route). Usually, the more elaborate and rich the symbols and the captions are, the more probable it is that the text is absent. The notes (s., e.g., *Da Massaua al T. Barca al F. Mareb*, by the officers Ravelli, Gastaldi, Manfredi, Piccioli, Guastone and civilian surveyors Borzini, Grufelli, Pira, Bodrero, 1896–97, 1:100,000, 27 leaves) primarily concern natural or man-made objects – and dangers – along the way and the information necessary for following the route (soil humidity, climatic peculiarities, accessibility of food, water and wood availability, etc.). Somewhat less frequent is the information on material and spiritual culture of the local population. Separate boxes may contain such details as the time needed to cover a certain leg (as in Capt. Latini's *Mareb-Adua* and *Enticciò-Adigrat*, 1930s, 1:100,000).

The geographical information contained in the most elaborate I. is, from the most important to the less frequent: routes, river system, relief and mountain passes, altitude and gradient, climate and vegetation, water and wood resources, settlements and place names, architectural buildings, economic production and ethnic distinctives. When the relief is represented, it is drawn from visual observations and simple instruments, without geodetic technical measurements, and rendered by an "artful" pattern of hachures or by contour lines. However, for the latter, their interval is never mentioned, rendering them very approximate. Hachures and contour lines may also be combined (e.g., *Fenaroà-Socotà*, IGM 7th topographic unit, 1936, 1:100,000: relief patterns).

With all the heterogeneity observed, the regularity in the choice and arrangement of the information (esp. in logistical notes) suggests that there existed specific manuals for the composition of the colonial I. (similar to the *Norme per la compilazione degli itinerari* and *Taccuino per la compilazione degli itinerari* published by the Italian government in Libya in 1930 and 1936, s. Masturzo 2010).

Numerous I. were also included in the 1938 *Guida* and its predecessors, all by the Consociazione Turistica Italiana (*Possedimenti e Colonie – Isole Egee, Tripolitania, Eritrea, Somalia*, 1929; *Italia insulare, Possedimenti e Colonie*, 1931). A number of (usually summarious and schematic) I. produced during the period continue the tradition of retracing the steps of scholarly expeditions (e.g., *Itinerari percorsi nell'Etiopia sud-occidentale… dal dott. Enrico ↗ Cerulli*, 1 folio, 1932, 1:500,000). In addition, one should consider I. documentation published separately (e.g., in the *Bollettino della ↗ Società geografica italiana*, as Antonelli 1882, or in the *Bollettino della Società africana d'Italia*, Capucci – Cicognani 1885) or also included, as references and explanatory leaves, in such works as Dainelli 1908; De Castro 1915; D'Esme 1928; Lessona 1958; Zammarano 1936; Vigoni 1881 – just to give a very few examples (s. also sources to this and other subarticles).

Src.: archives and library of the Istituto Geografico Militare (*http://www.igmi.org*); archives and records of the UK National Archives (*http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk*); Biblioteca–Archivio "Africana", Fusignano, Italy (*http://digilander.libero.it/africana/*); *Bollettino Geografico* 1, 1926 and 6, 1928; *Catalogo ragionato delle carte esistenti nella cartoteca dell'Istituto Geografico Militare*, 2 vols., Firenze 1932; Pietro Antonelli, "Appunti su Assab e dintorni", *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* ser. 2ª, 7, 1882, 463–72; Luigi Capucci – Luigi Cicognani, "Itinerario da Assab all'Aussa", *Bollettino della Società africana d'Italia* 4, 1885, 61–65; [Antony Charles Cooke], *Routes in Abyssinia*, London 1867; Giotto Dainelli, *Lungo l'Anseba e sull'altipiano abissino*, Bergamo 1908; Lincoln De Castro, *Nella terra dei Negus. Pagine raccolte in Abissinia,* vol. 2, Milano [ca. 1915]; Jean D'Esme, *A travers l'Empire de Ménélik*, Paris 1928; Trevenen James Holland – Henry Montague Hozier, *Record of the Expedition to Abyssinia*, London 1870; Istituto Geografico Militare, *L'Istituto Geografico Militare in Africa Orientale 1885–1937*, Firenze 1939; Alessandro Lessona, *Memorie*, Firenze 1958; Peter A. Penfold (ed.), *Maps and Plans in the Public Record Office*, 3: *Africa,* London 1982; Luigi Amedeo di Savoia, *La esplorazione dello Uabi-Uebi Scebeli …*, Verona 1932–34 (map and *Schizzo dei principali Itinerari seguiti dagli esploratori nell'alta e media Valle dello Uabi-Uebi Schebeli*, 1:2,700,000); William Simpson, *Diary of a Journey to Abys-*

sinia, with the Expedition under Sir Robert Napier, K.C.Z.I …, ed. by Richard Pankhurst, Hollywood, CA 2002; Vittorio Tedesco Zammarano, *Alle sorgenti del Nilo Azzurro. Da Adua al lago Tana,* Milano 1936; Pippo Vigoni, *Abissinia. Giornale di un viaggio*, Milano 1881.

Lit.: Placido Belfiore, *Cartografia coloniale ed impiego della fotogrammetria*, Roma 1936; Claudio Cerreti, *La raccolta cartografica dell'Istituto Italo-Africano*, Roma 1987; Giotto Dainelli, *Gli esploratori italiani in Africa*, Torino 1960; Enrico de Chaurand de Saint Eustache, "Circa la classificazione delle carte in riguardo a una istituenda bibliografia di cartografia", *L'Universo* IV, 7–9, 1923, 569–80; Luigi Giannitrapani, *Note di cartografia coloniale: la cartografia coloniale francese*, Firenze 1913; Alistair Macdonald, *Mapping the World, a History of the Directorate of Overseas Surveys*, London 1996; Andrea Masturzo, "Carte per non perdersi: il deserto libico nel periodo coloniale italiano", in: Emanuela Casti – Jacques Levy (eds.), *Le sfide cartografiche*, Ancona 2010, 116–30; Rose Mitchell, "From Roanoke to Aden: Colonial Maps in the National Archives of the United Kingdom", paper presented at the International Symposium *"Old Worlds-New Worlds"*: *The History of Colonial Cartography 1750–1950*, Utrecht University, 21–23 August 2006; Attilio Mori, "Cartografia coloniale", *Rivista Geografica Italiana* 18, 10, 1911, 604–12; Carlo Traversi, *Storia della cartografia coloniale italiana*, Roma 1964; Monica Venturini, *Controcanone*: *per una cartografia della scrittura coloniale e postcoloniale italiana*, Roma 2010.

Gabriele Ciampi

IV. Indigenous itineraries

Within the literate legacy of the Ethiopian empire, geographical information was recorded in different contexts (↗inscriptions; ↗hagiographies; land grants). Ethiopian chronicles (↗Historiography) contain descriptions of the movements of the royal camps and military campaigns. These documents are sources for historical geographical reconstructions (HuntGeogr; ↗Geography, historical; ↗Topography, historical s. EAE vol. 5).

Until modern times, local populations relied on oral geographical traditions and, apart from serving as informants for European compilers of I., did not produce I. of their own. The unwritten knowledge local populations had about places and their distances forms, however, a type of mental I. When Felix ↗Rosen compared his cartographic knowledge with the mental mapping of his Somali servant, he found it comparatively reliable. Many artefacts that Rosen bought for the Berlin Ethnographical Museum were classified according to local cognition in terms of linear directions, spots and distances (Rosen 1907: 239f.).

The first known modern map produced in Ethiopia is related to *ras* ↗Mäkʷännǝn Wäldä Mikaʾel's campaign in Bela Šangul (↗Beni Šangul) and the Eastern Sudan (1897). That map, however, deliberately concealed the extent of Ethiopian advances and of geographical knowledge towards the Sudan (Bassett 1998: 47; Conti Rossini 1943).

Src.: Felix Rosen, *Eine deutsche Gesandtschaft in Abessinien*, Leipzig 1907, 239f.

Lit.: Thomas Bassett, "Indigenous Mapmaking in Intertropical Africa", in: David Woodward – G. Malcolm Lewis (eds.), *The History of Cartography*, vol. 2, Book 3: *Cartography in the Traditional African, American, Arctic, Australian, and Pacific Societies*, Chicago, IL – London 1998, 24–48; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Geographica", *RSE* 3, 1943, 167–98.

Thomas Zitelmann

Iyasu Mängäša

General I.M. (**ኢያሱ ፡ መንገሻ**; b. 1916, Kärän, Eritrea, d. June 2005, Addis Abäba) was among the patriots who fought against Italian occupation (↗Resistance), and later a commander of the UN troops in the Congo (↗United Nations), a minister and an ambassador, and finally the leader of a militant opposition group against the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council).

I.M. was the son of the Protestant teacher and printer Mängäša Bǝrru and Sälome Habtä Giyorgis of ↗Ṣäʿazzäga, and a grandson of ↗Bǝrru P̣eṭros "Wälqayte", *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannǝs IV's envoy to Egyptian ↗Massawa. Thus, I.M. was also a nephew of *aṣe* ↗Mǝnilǝk's half-German interpreter Mikaʾel Bǝrru. I.M. received his initial education in Kärän and Addis Abäba and was then, in the 1930s, among the first to be selected to join the French Military Academy of Saint-Cyr in Paris.

When he returned in 1935, I.M. joined the ↗Imperial Bodyguard and was soon involved in the ↗Italian war of 1935–36. He participated in the decisive battle of ↗May Č̣äw, followed ↗Ḫaylä Śǝllase I to Djibouti, but returned to continue the struggle. Arrested by the Italians, he was interned in a camp in Somalia from 1937 to 1941, and was then invited by the British to join the British-led Ethiopian Army with the rank of captain to assist in building up the Ethiopian police under British command. He was soon elevated in rank.

Also after the transfer under Ethiopian command I.M. continued to work for the police for a while and then served as an interpreter and liaison officer for foreign contacts for the Minister of Defence, *ras* ↗Abbäbä Arägay. Following an unknown conflict with Ethiopia's leadership, I.M. was "exiled" internally to Maǧi in Käfa, nearby the British-Sudanese boundary for about a year, but kept his high rank. In the 1950s he attended the United States Military Academy of West Point.

General Iyasu Mängäša; photo 2004, courtesy of the author

When Ethiopia decided to offer troops to the UN in the Congo in 1960, I.M., then Brigadier General, was nominated their commander in the Province Orientale, and also acted as an unofficial Ethiopian "ambassador" to Prime Minister Lumumba in Léopoldville. At the request of UN General Secretary Hammarskjöld, I.M. became the Chief of Staff of the UN troops (Opération des Nations unies au Congo [ONUC]; s. I.M.'s important directives of 1960 in Findlay 2002: 411f.). He was first stationed in Léopoldville, then commanded the UN troops in Stanleyville (Kalb 1982: 419; Lefebvre 1991: 100). I.M. was subsequently assigned to inquire into Lumumba's murder in Katanga, but was hindered by the Congolese authorities. Ḫaylä Śəllase, following a request of Belgium, ordered I.M. to stop the deployment of Ethiopian UN troops to Katanga which had been demanded by I.M. to support his inquiry; but I.M. refused to obey as in this function he was not under Ethiopian authority. Back in Ethiopia, I.M. assumed several important posts, such as Chief of Staff (1968) and Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence.

In 1970 I.M. was nominated ambassador to London, also accredited to the Netherlands, acting until the ↗Revolution of 1974. An offer by Colonel Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam to return to become the administrator of Eritrea was declined by him. I.M. was fired and remained in exile in London until 1991. In March 1975, he, together with the former Təgrayan governor *ras* Mängäša Śəyyum, founded the militant conservative Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU), located in Khartoum and in London. I.M. functioned as its chairman, *ras* Mängäša as the deputy chairman. I.M. was a successful fundraiser, in the beginning convincing the Shah of Persia (↗Iran) to generously provide funds. In Ṣägädä in western Təgray I.M. hired local rebels for the EDU army. He got the permission by the Sudanese leader, Numeiri, to operate on Sudanese soil, and won over Ethiopian intellectuals to support the struggle, assuring them that their aim was not a return to feudalism (cp. a cartoon showing him as a "reactionary leader", Ottaway – Ottaway 1978: 90). The EDU soon controlled large parts of Gondär region (mainly today's western Təgray), and occupied ↗Ḥumära in 1976. After this, however, I.M. and Mängäša got into conflict, as contrary to I.M.'s original understanding, he now sensed Mängäša's aim to restore himself into the ancient feudal structures. I.M. therefore linked himself with the ↗Təgray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) instead and transferred his part of the EDU funds to Śəyyum Mäsfən in Khartoum, the later foreign minister as I.M. claimed in personal recollections. In 1992 I.M. was called back by the new government to become their first Ethiopian ambassador in Paris (until 1994), in personal union also at the ↗Vatican until 1995, and was an Alternate Member of the Executive Board of UNESCO, Paris, as a representative of Ethiopia (1995).

Src.: interview with Iyasu Mängäša, Addis Abäba, 5 June 2004; Hiruy Daniel, *The Biography of General Iyassu Mengesha*, BA thesis, Addis Ababa University 2000 (Lit.).

Lit.: Trevor Findlay, *The Use of Force in UN Peace Operations*, Oxford 2002, 63, 411f.; Rosalyn Higgins, *United Nations Peacekeeping, 1946–1967*: *Africa*, 1980, 175, 373; Pierre Jacob, "The Saint-Cyriens of East Africa", in: *PICES* 15, 76; Madeleine G. Kalb, *The Congo cables*: *the Cold War in Africa – from Eisenhower to Kennedy*, 1982, 159f., 180, 419; Jeffrey Alan Lefebvre, *Arms for the Horn, U.S. Security Policy in Ethiopia and Somalia 1953–1991*, Pittsburgh, PA 1991, 100; Marina Ottaway – David Ottaway, *Ethiopia*: *Empire in Revolution*, New York 1978, 88, 90; Ludo de Witte – Ann Wright, *The Assassination of Lumumba*, London – New York 2002, 132; John Young, *Peasant Revolution in Ethiopia*: *the Tigray People's Liberation Front 1975–1991*, New York 2006 (African Studies), 232.

Wolbert G.C. Smidt

J

Juniper

J. (*Juniperus procera*, African pencil cedar, Amh. ጥድ *ṭəd*, Tgn. ጽህዲ *ṣəhdi*, Oromo *gatira*, *hinḍeesa*) is one of the main indigenous ↗trees in Ethiopia, along with ↗acacia, *Hagenia abyssinica* (↗*Koso*), *Podocarpus falcatus* and ↗sycamore. With a maximal height of ca. 40 m the African pencil cedar is the largest J. in the world. It is an evergreen conifer whose preferred ecological habitat is the moist and wet ↗*wäyna däga* and ↗*däga*. There it is associated with *Podocarpus*, *Hagenia*, *Olea*, *Rhus*, *Ilex*, *Allophylus*, *Bersama* and *Schefflera*, among others. Such ↗woodland has become rare due to human exploitation.

J. wood is traditionally used in ↗house construction for its termite-resistant properties. Especially the centre pole of the traditional *goğo* house may be a J. trunk. The timber is used for the construction of floors, roof shingles and the production of pencils and joinery. J. wood is traditionally used for carving of ritual objects like the ↗*waakaa* sculptures of the Konso. It is also frequently employed in ↗manuscript bindings. The bark, leaves, twigs and buds of the tree are valued in traditional medicine.

Due to the density of the foliage J. trees give shade and serve as windbreaks. They have a great potential for design and for this reason are popular in private and public gardens (hedges, single trees). In the urban context the branches of J. (also called የልደት ፡ ዛፍ, *yälədät zaf*, 'Christmas tree') are used for European-style Christmas decoration.

Juniper trees near the church of Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos, Lasta; photo 2005, courtesy of Jan Tromp

↗Forest(s), forestry; ↗Wood in EAE vol. 5

Lit.: AZENE BEKELE-TESEMMA – ANN BURNIE – BO TENGNÄS, *Useful Trees and Shrubs for Ethiopia: Identification, Propagation and Management for Agricultural and Pastoral Communities*, Nairobi 1993, 25, 27f., 284f.; STEFAN STRELCYN, *Médecine et plantes d'Éthiopie*, vol. 2, Napoli 1973, 227; VSAe II, 539, 766.

Dirk Bustorf

Justin I

J. (Lat. *Flavius Iustinus Augustus*, Gr. Ἰουστῖνος, *Ioustînos*, Eth. ዮስጢኖስ, *Yosṭinos*, b. ca. 450 or 452, Bederiana, in Dardania, d. 1 August 527, Constantinople) was a Byzantine emperor from 518 to 527. The uncle and predecessor of ↗Justinian I (appointed co-emperor on 1 April 527; s. EAE vol. 5), J. is partly overshadowed by his eminent nephew, who actually ruled the empire on behalf of J., and is often confused with him in Oriental sources, also on account of the similarity of their names; both are even mistaken there, at times, for Constantine I (e.g., Bausi – Gori 2006: 30f. and n. 1, 116f. and n. 2; Bausi 2010: 250). Yet, J.'s reign was more than a simple prelude to the "golden age" of Justinian.

Of peasant stock and almost completely illiterate, J. moved to Constantinople ca. 470, joined the army and made a military career under Emperor Anastasius I, rising to patrician and commander of the palace guard. He participated in wars against the Isaurians and the Persians, as well as in the suppression of the revolt of the usurper Vitalian (513–15). On Anastasius's death in July 518, J. ascended the throne thanks to the army and the circus factions.

Unlike his predecessor, who had supported ↗Monophysitism, he was a defender of Chalcedonian orthodoxy and more often sided with the papacy. He soon came to terms with Vitalian, a Chalcedonian champion (later assassinated, as a competitor, by Justinian), and was then able to put an end to the Acacian schism, which had started in 484 between the Churches of Constantinople and Rome. In 519, seeking an alliance with the pope, he abrogated the *Henōtikón* ('[Edict of] Unity') issued by Emperor Zeno in 482 with the aim of reconciling Chalcedonians and Monophysites, the latter being thereafter persecuted by J. In 523 he also took severe measures against the Arians (↗Arius), thus disquieting the Ostrogoth king Theodoric, who dispatched Pope John I to Constantinople, to plead, with little success though, for a mitigation of those measures.

Outside the boundaries of the empire, however, in no way was J. inflexible towards dissident Christians, of whom he often made allies and friends. Such was the case with Monophysites, in particular with Ethiopia, "converted" to Monophysitism in the age of the ↗Nine Saints, under King ↗Ǝllä ᶜAmida (I). As the great patron of Christianity, the interests of which far prevailed over theological differences (s. Fiaccadori 2006: 75f. and n. 169), in ca. 518 or 522, the Byzantine emperor requested and supported the intervention(s) of *nəguś* ↗Kaleb Ǝllä Aṣbəḥa in South Arabia (↗Ḥimyar), then ruled by the Jewish king Ḏū Nuwās (↗Yūsuf Asᵓar Yaṯᵓar). The latter was responsible for the anti-Christian persecution at ↗Naǧrān that, according to ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes who was then in ↗Adulis (s. ↗Monumentum Adulitanum), broke out precisely "at the beginning of the reign of Justin, emperor of the Romans" (*Topogr. Chr.* II, 56, ed. Wolska-Conus 1973: 369). With J.'s help, Kaleb defeated Ḏū Nuwās. Because of these events, *Yosṭinos nəguśä Rome* ('J. emperor of Rome', i.e. Constantinople; ↗Rom), as he is styled, e.g., in the *Gädlä ↗Päntälewon* (ed. Conti Rossini 1904: 54; cp. Brita 2010: 159f.), became "the most famous Byzantine emperor in the kingdom of Aksum" (Marrassini 1983: 385).

Against the background of the long-standing diplomatic and military confrontation between Rome, then Byzantium, and Sasanian ↗Iran (with which J. enjoyed peaceful relations, while endeavouring to surround it with such allies of his as Ethiopia and Ḥimyar), Aksumite hegemony over South Arabia was thus reinstated. At the same time, the whole ↗Red Sea area was definitively brought under Byzantine influence.

These political implications are evident and dealt with accordingly in Greek and Oriental ↗historiography. Sources include here the *Martyrdom of ↗Arethas*, the *Life of Athanasios of Klysma*, which is preserved in Arabic and Ethiopic versions alone (van Esbroeck in PICES 4, cp. Bausi [– Gori] 2006: 16f. and n. 63), and the *Chronicle* of ↗John of Nikiou (XC, 1–49: J. is *Yust[ə]yanos*, like his nephew). The South-Arabian war(s) and their outcome are also echoed in the "prophetic" ch. 117 of the *↗Kəbrä nägäśt*, where the two kings, J. of Rom and Kaleb of Ethiopia, meet in Jerusalem at the end of times (BezKebr 170a–71a; ↗Eschatology). From the *Martyrdom of Arethas* and the *Kəbrä nägäśt* are derived the parts of the *↗Sənkəssar* concerning Naǧrān (esp. on 26 *Ḫədar*; ColSyn VIII, 374ff.), which added to J.'s popularity in Ethiopian tradition.

↗Byzantine Empire

Src.: MARINA DETORAKI (ed.) – JOËLLE BEAUCAMP (tr.), *Le martyre de saint Aréthas et de ses compagnons (*BHG *166)*, appendix sur les versions orientales par ANDRÉ BINGGELI, Paris 2007 (= *Le massacre de Najrân*: *Religion et politique en Arabie du Sud au* VI^{e} *siècle*, sous la dir. de JOËLLE BEAUCAMP – FRANÇOISE BRIQUEL-CHATONNET – CHRISTIAN ROBIN, I; Collège de France – CNRS. C.R.H.C.B. Monographies 27); ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "The Massacre of Najrān: The Ethiopic Sources", in: JOËLLE BEAUCAMP – FRANÇOISE BRIQUEL-CHATONNET – CHRISTIAN JULIEN ROBIN (eds.), *Juifs et chrétiens en Arabie aux V^{e} et VI^{e} siècles. Regards croisés sur les sources. Le massacre de Najrân II*, Paris 2010 (Collège de France – CNRS, Centre de recherche, d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 32), 241–54; ID. – ALESSANDRO GORI (eds., trs.), *Tradizioni orientali del «Martirio di Areta». La prima recensione araba e la versione etiopica*, Firenze 2006 (Quaderni di Semitistica 27), 16f. and n. 63, 30f. and n. 1, 116f. and n. 2 (Lit.); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Vitae sanctorum antiquiorum*, I. *Acta Yārēd et Panṭalēwon*, Parisiis 1904 (CSCO 26, 37 [SAe 9, 10]), 54 (text) = 50 (tr.); WANDA WOLSKA-CONUS (ed., tr.), *Cosmas Indicopleustès, Topographie chrétienne*, vol. 1, Paris 1968 (Sources chrétiennes 141), 368f.; HERMANN ZOTENBERG (ed., tr.), *Chronique de Jean, évêque de Nikiou*, Paris 1883 [repr. from *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques*, vol. 24, part 1, 125–608], 148–54 [268–74] (text) = 381–88 [501–08] (tr.); ROBERT HENRY CHARLES (tr.), *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu, tr. from Zotenberg's Ethiopic Text*, London – Oxford 1916 (The Text and Translation Society 3) [repr.: Amsterdam 1981], 132–38; BezKebr 170a–71a (text) = 136f. (tr.); ColSyn VIII, 374ff.; BudSaint 63.

Lit.: GLEN W. BOWERSOCK, *Empires in Collision in Late Antiquity*, Waltham, MA 2012 (The Menahem Stern Jerusalem Lectures), 21ff.; ID., *The Throne of Adulis*: *Red Sea Wars on the Eve of Islam*, Oxford 2013 (Emblems of Antiquity [3]), 89, 96f., 135, 142 (156); ANTONELLA BRITA, *Racconti tradizionali sulla «seconda cristianizzazione» dell'Etiopia. Il ciclo agiografico dei Nove Santi*, Napoli 2010 (Studi africanistici, Serie etiopica 7), 52, 154, 159f., 172; AVERIL CAMERON, "Justin I and Justinian", in: *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 14: *Late Antiquity*: *Empire and Successors, A.D. 425–600*, Cambridge 2000, 63–85; MICHEL VAN ESBROECK, "L'Ethiopie à l'époque de Justinien: S. Arethas de Neǧrān e S. Athanase de Clysma", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 117–39; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Gregentios in the Land of the Homerites", in: ALBRECHT BERGER (ed., tr.), *Life and Works of St. Gregentios, Arch-*

bishop of Taphar, Berlin 2006 (Millennium-Studien 7), 75–76 and n. 169; WALTER EMIL KAEGI – ANTHONY CUTLER, “Justin I”, in: ALEXANDER KAZHDAN (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, New York – Oxford 1991, 1082 (Lit.); PAOLO MARRASSINI, “Giustiniano e gli imperatori di Bisanzio nella letteratura etiopica (*Riassunto*)”, in: *XXX Corso di cultura sull’arte ravennate e bizantina*, Ravenna 1985, 383–89, here 384f., 388f.; JOHN R. MARTINDALE, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. 2. *A.D. 395–527*, Cambridge 1980, 648–51 [Iustinus 4]; SerHist 132, 139, 142; PhilAfrCiv 105f., 204f.; ALEXANDER A. VASILIEV, “Justin I (518-527) and Abyssinia”, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 33, 1933, 67–77; ID., *Justin the First*: *an Introduction to the Epoch of Justinian the Great*, Washington, DC 1950 (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 1).

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Justinian I

J. (Lat. *Flavius Petrus Sabbatius Iustinianus Augustus*, Gr. Ἰουστινιανός, *Ioustinianós*, Eth. **ዩስትያኖስ**, *Yust*[*ə*]*yanos*, **ዩስቲያኖስ**, *Yustiyanos*, etc., b. Tauresium, in Dardania, today’s South-East Serbia, ca. 482, d. Constantinople, 13/14 November 565) was a Byzantine emperor from 527 to 565. Considered a saint among Orthodox Christians since the Sixth Ecumenical Council (Constantinople, 680–81), he is commemorated on 14 (together with his wife Theodora) and 16 November (Christou 1999: 64). His long tenure, chiefly aimed at the “renovatio imperii”, i.e. at reviving the greatness of the Roman Empire founded by Augustus half a millennium earlier, witnessed both the transition of the Mediterranean world from antiquity to the Middle Ages and the first blossoming of Byzantine culture. His intensive constructing or reconstructing activity included such renowned buildings as the great church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople and the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount ↗Sinai.

J. and his age are dealt with in a number of Greek, Latin and Oriental sources, including Ethiopic writings, namely the ↗*Sənkəssar* and the *Chronicle* of ↗John of Nikiou (XC, 49–88; XCII 4–21; XCIV, 1–15): both texts depend on an Arabic *Vorlage*; the *Chronicle* in particular provides interesting details on the Byzantine impact of such social movements of Iranian descent (↗Iran) as Manichaeism and Mazdakism (Fiaccadori 2006). Yet, J.’s fame mainly rests on the contradictory works of his official historian, Procopius of Caesarea, who praised the emperor’s achievements in the *Bella* (‘Wars’) and in the *De aedificiis* (‘Buildings’), but depicted him as a venal, cruel and incompetent ruler dominated by Theodora in the *Anecdota* (the so-called *Historia arcana*, ‘Secret History’).

The nephew and successor of ↗Justin I (s. EAE vol. 5), who appointed him co-emperor on 1 April 527, J. was much more literate than his uncle. Nonetheless, he was a man of equally low origin and came soon into conflict with aristocracy. The conflict was further complicated by J. surrounding himself with capable but unscrupulous, though loyal, people who did not belong to upper classes of the Roman society. Besides his wife (d. 548), these were generals such as Belisarius and Narses and administrators such as Tribonian and John of Cappadocia.

Thanks to his generals, J. took the Vandal kingdom in North Africa (533–34), extending Roman control to the Atlantic Ocean. Then, after a protracted war, he conquered the Ostrogothic kingdom (534–55), restoring to the empire Dalmatia, Sicily and Italy with Rome and Ravenna, which had been under barbarian rule for over half a century. On the Danube frontier, he applied defensive tactics, and ensured peace by paying tributes and stationing troops against invading bands.

More dangerous was the situation in the East, because of the ongoing hostilities with the Sasanian empire: suspended first by the “Eternal peace” concluded with King Ḫusraw I in 532, they burst again when the Persians invaded the Roman territory in 540, and lasted with swinging results until the “Fifty-year peace” of 562. Among the Romans’ successes of that period is the long series of military campaigns by which J. eventually annexed Lazica (549–56), a region on the east shore of the Black Sea that had never been under the Romans before, but had been seized by the Persians in 542 – at the time of the devastating outbreak of bubonic plague (the ‘Plague of J.’). Originating ca. 541, perhaps in Egypt or rather in Ethiopia, such pandemic, arguably the worst ever to afflict humanity, had deep effects in both the countryside and the cities of the Near East (Conrad 1994), and put an end to the first part of J.’s reign, indeed an age of splendour. J. himself caught the disease, but recovered soon.

J. inherited from his uncle the struggle between Byzantium and Iran for the control of the ↗trade routes through which spices and silk – the latter a Chinese monopoly production until the early 550s, when two ↗Nestorian monks succeeded in smuggling eggs of silkworms from Central Asia to Constantinople – reached the ports of the Mediterranean. Within this framework, a significant part of J.’s eastern policy were the diplomatic missions to Ethiopia and South

Arabia headed by Julian in the late 520s and ↗Nonnosus (EAE vol. 5) in 530–31, i.e. during and after the Ḥimyarite wars. Always in search of new routes circumventing Persia, J. wanted the Aksumites, with whom he had friendly relationships, to act as trade mediators to his empire; they were, however, unable to compete with the Persian merchants in India (Procopius, *Bell.* I, 20, 12, ed. Haury 1905: 109f.).

With the help of his administrators, in order to create a strong unified state all over the Mediterranean area, J. proceeded to subsequent reforms of the tax system and, above all, promulgated the *Corpus iuris civilis* (a name comprehensively given to its four parts since the 16th cent.). To the *Corpus*, which still provides the basis of civil law in many modern states, considerable sections of later Oriental law books – mainly through such medieval collections as the *Prócheiros nómos* ('Law Ready at Hand'), the so-called *Syro-Roman Book of Law* and the *Ecloga* ('Selection [of the Laws]') – can be ultimately traced back (s. ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt*). Thus, the impact of his administrative and juristic legacy extends far beyond the boundaries of his time and domain.

J. had a keen interest in theology as well, and authored a few treatises on this matter. In his view, the much sought after unity of the empire presupposed a common religious basis that could only be ↗Christianity in the Orthodox denomination approved by the Council of ↗Nicaea in 325.

Therefore, J. decreed the total destruction of paganism, his provisions being zealously enforced, with severe persecutions, even of high-ranking people. In 529, the Neoplatonic Academy of Athens was closed, its members moving to Persia (according to the clauses of the "Eternal peace"). Likewise, the long-standing cult of Isis on the island of Philae, in Upper ↗Egypt, near the first cataract, was abolished in 535. The civil rights of the Jews were restricted and their religious privileges hindered. J. suppressed any political and ideological resistance, from the Samaritan movement in Palestine to the Nika revolt at Constantinople (532).

J. saw his empire particularly threatened by the ↗Monophysitism, with which he strove to bring about reunion. Albeit condemned at the Council of ↗Chalcedon in 451, Monophysitism had still a vast audience in the eastern provinces of Syria and Egypt, and kept causing major political problems. Continuing Justin's policy, J. tried to impose unity of faith by forcing his subjects to accept doctrinal compromises appealing to all parties, which proved to be unsuccessful. As a defender of the ecumenical council held at Constantinople in 553, he pressured Pope Vigilius to accept the condemnation of the "Three Chapters", i.e. as many 4th- and 5th-cent. representatives of the Antiochene School of theology – Theodorus of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Ibas of Edessa – who were opposed by the Monophysites on account of their (alleged) Nestorian bias.

As a matter of fact, Empress Theodora had Monophysite sympathies: she sponsored ↗Jacob Baradaeus, the organiser of the Monophysite Church in Syria (↗Jacobites); and dispatched a Monophysite mission, led by the presbyter Julian, to Nobatia (↗Nubia), in 542–45. Almost at the same time, however before 548, J. tried to strengthen Christianity in ↗Ḥimyar by sending there a Monophysite bishop from Egypt (possibly ↗Gregentius), at the request of the local Ethiopian vassal king, ↗Abraha, whose Byzantine leanings are well known (Fiaccadori 2006: 74ff.). To decorate Abraha's most celebrated church, the Qalīs (from Gr. *ekklēsía*, 'church') in Ṣanᶜāᵓ, J. sent marbles and craftsmen (*ibid.*, 75 and n. 167; cp. Hatke 2011: 270ff.).

This confessional situation is echoed (via its Alexandrian *Vorlage*) in the *Sənkəssar*, with three mentions of J.: he is labelled as "infidel" and "Chalcedonian", his initiative of summoning the 553 council being but an opportunity for trying, unsuccessfully though, to convert the true believers, ↗Severus of Antioch in particular, to the Chalcedonian creed (13 and 14 *Yäkkatit*, ColSyn X, [89–103] 533–47). In a further occurrence, J. tries to get Patriarch Theodosius of Alexandria relinquish Monophysitism: having no success either, the emperor expels him from his seat (28 *Säne*, GuiSyn I, [167–72] 685–90:[170] 688).

Conversely, in the same passage, the "God-loving Empress Theodora" is described as both a follower of the true faith (as in the entry of 13 *Yäkkatit*), prompting her to rescue Severus from J.'s deadly anger, and a supporter of Theodosius, whom she helps against Acacianus, the evil "archdeacon of the city of Alexandria".

On his death, J. was buried in the mausoleum church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople. He left no children and was succeeded by his nephew, the son of his sister Vigilantia, Justin II, who had married Theodora's niece Sophia.

↗Byzantine empire

Src.: ColSyn X, [89–103] 533–47; GuiSyn I, [167–72] 685–90; BudSaint 627ff., 1040; Hermann Zotenberg (ed., tr.), *Chronique de Jean, évêque de Nikiou*, Paris 1883 [repr. from: *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques*, vol. 24, part 1, 125–608], 154–60 [274–87] (text) = 388–401 [508–21] (tr.); Robert Henry Charles (tr.), *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu, tr. from Zotenberg's Ethiopic Text*, London – Oxford 1916 (The Text and Translation Society 3) [repr.: Amsterdam 1981], 138–44, 146–50; Jacobus Haury (ed.), *Procopii Caesariensis Opera omnia*, Lipsiae 1905 [rev. by Gerhard Wirth, 1962], vol. 1, 108ff., 109f.; Henry Bronson Dewing (tr.), *Procopius*, vol. 1, Cambridge, MA 1971 (The Loeb Classical Library 48), 192–95.

Lit.: Glen W. Bowersock, *Empires in Collision in Late Antiquity*, Waltham, MA 2012 (The Menahem Stern Jerusalem Lectures), 23f., 34 (82); Id., *The Throne of Adulis*: *Red Sea Wars on the Eve of Islam*, Oxford 2013 (Emblems of Antiquity [3]), 107ff., 121 (157, 162); Robert Browning, *Justinian and Theodora*, London 1987; Averil Cameron, "Justin I and Justinian", in: *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 14: *Late Antiquity*: *Empire and Successors, A.D. 425–600*, Cambridge 2000, 63–85; Panaghiotis Christou, "Giustiniano I", in: *EncSan*, vol. 2, 53–64, here 64; Lawrence I. Conrad, "Epidemic Disease in Central Syria in the Late Sixth Century: Some New Insights from the Verse of Ḥassān ibn Thābit", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 18, 1994, 12–58 (Lit.); Michel van Esbroeck, "L'Ethiopie à l'époque de Justinien: S. Arethas de Neğrān et S. Athanase de Clysma", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 117–39; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Gregentios in the Land of the Homerites", in: Albrecht Berger (ed., tr.), *Life and Works of St. Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar*, Berlin 2006 (Millennium-Studien 7), 48–82, here 72ff., 75 and n. 167; Id., "Māsidis (Giovanni di Nikiou, *Chron.* XC 54–60)", in: Id. (ed.), «*In partibus Clius*». *Scritti in onore di Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli*, Napoli 2006 (Biblioteca europea 32), 113–35; George Hatke, "Holy Land and Sacred History: a View from Early Ethiopia", in: Walter Pohl – Clement Gantner – Richard Payne (eds.), *Visions of Community in the Post-Roman World*: *the West, Byzantium and the Islamic World, 300–1100*, Aldershot 2011, 259–75, here 270ff.; Walter Emil Kaegi – Alexander Kazhdan – Anthony Cutler, "Justin I", in: Alexander Kazhdan (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, New York – Oxford 1991, 1083–84 (Lit.); Michael Maas (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, Cambridge 2005 (Lit.); Paolo Marrassini, "Giustiniano e gli imperatori di Bisanzio nella letteratura etiopica (*Riassunto*)", in: *XXX Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*, Ravenna 1985, 383–89, here 384f. and n. 7; John R. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. 3: *A.D. 527–641*, Cambridge 1992, part A (*Abandanes–^{c}Iyāḍ ibn Ghanm*), 645–48 [Fl. Petrus Sabatius Iustinianus 7]; PhilAfrCiv 104ff. (s. Index, 288); Maxime Rodinson, "Notes sur le texte de Jean de Nikiou", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 2, 127–37; Berthold Rubin, *Das Zeitalter Justinians*, vol. 1, Berlin 1960; SerHist 132, 137ff., 142, 147.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

K

Käbte

ᶜAqqabe säᶜat (also *qes aṣe*) K. (**ከብቴ** or **ሀብቴ** Habte) was a prominent late 18th-early 19th cent. traditional scholar. He is believed to have been a native of Goǧǧam (possibly from Däbrä Wärq, but Təgray is also suggested, s. Yəkunno Amlak 1966: 106f.). He taught in Gondär where he was elevated to the rank of ↗*ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* during the rule of *aṣe* ↗Täklä Haymanot II. He died presumably during the tenure of *ras* ↗Ali.

K. was an *aratᶜayna*, having mastered and being able to teach all the four main disciplines (*gubaᵓe*) of exegesis (↗*Mäṣḥaf bet*). He was a highly talented scholar, with an extraordinary capacity of persuasion (BlunChr 296). The theological apologetic treatise directed against the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC), *Mäṣḥafä məkr* "Book of advice" (anon., but to be ascribed to the 19th-cent. Catholic convert ↗Täklä Haymanot of Mämsaḥ, cf. CRReal 425f.), bears testimony to K.'s brilliance as a scholar and to *aṣe* Täklä Haymanot II's appreciation of his merits (*Mäṣḥafä məkr* 1891: 251). The same source accuses K. of incest (ibid. 252) – K. is indeed remembered as liberal, yet this accusation has to be treated with caution. K. adhered to the Christological formula known as *Yäṣägga ləǧ* (↗*Ṣägga*), which maintained that the humanity of the Son was honoured by the union (*bätäwaḥədo*) with the Word, but added that the flesh was anointed by the Holy Spirit. The very term *Ṣägga* was, according to the *Mäṣḥafä məkr* (ibid. 193f.), introduced by K.'s uncle and teacher, *abba* Mälkä Ṣedeq. K. then strengthened the *Ṣägga* Christology under *aṣe* Täklä Haymanot and *aṣe* Täklä Giyorgis (CRReal 442).

K.'s doctrine is expounded in a Gəᶜəz catechetical treatise known as **ምዕላድ** (*Məᶜəllad*), introduced as the "*Haymanot rətəᶜət* ('orthodox faith') that our Fathers transmitted to us". K.'s authorship is confirmed by tradition and by the *Mäṣḥafä məkr* (it quotes the *Məᶜəllad* extensively on pp. 194–255, reproducing fully its introductory part on p. 194). The *Məᶜəllad* is divided into five chapters, corresponding to the ↗*Amməstu aᶜəmadä məśṭir*. In chapter three, dedicated to the Holy Spirit, K. professes the *Ṣägga* and *Śost lədät* creed. Even if this teaching is denounced as heretical by the EOTC, K.'s theological acumen, supported by endless biblical and patristic witnesses, presented in a clear and elegant language, has made his *Məᶜəllad* a resource copied and used by several intellectuals of the EOTC.

K. also composed a treatise known as *Mäṣḥafä śənä fəṭrät*, known from several manuscripts (and apparently different from the text traditionally referred to as the ↗*Śənä fəṭrät*). Except for a few fragments quoted in the ↗*andəmta* commentaries, his biblical commentaries are lost.

Src.: BlunChr 296; CRReal 425f., 442; ROGER COWLEY, "Mämhər Esdros and his Interpretations", in: *PICES* 6, 41–69, here 55 (Lit.); **መጽሐፈ ፡ ምክር** (*Mäṣḥafä məkr*, 'The Book of Advice'), Kärän 1891; *aläqa* YƎKUNNO AMLAK GÄBRÄ ŚƎLLASE (ed.), **የቀድሞ ፡ ቅኔዎች ፡ ከነትርጓሜአቸው** (*Yäqädmo qənewočč kännätərgʷameᵓaččäw*, 'Early [Gəᶜəz] Qəne with their [Amharic] Translations'), *JES* 4, 1, 1966, 75–119, here 106–10.

Lit.: HerTar 61; TEDROS ABRAHA, *La Lettera ai Romani: Testo e commentari della versione etiopica*, Wiesbaden 2001 (AeF 57), 579, 657, 673; ID., "*Aᶜəmadä Məsṭir*. The Pillars of the Mystery: 'Summa' of Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥdo Theology", *Ethiopian Review of Cultures* 14, 2011, 173–222, here 176ff.

Tedros Abraha

Kəfle Dadi

Däǧǧazmač K.D. (**ክፍሌ ፡ ዳዲ**; b. 1905, Addis Abäba, d. 23 September 1975, Addis Abäba) was an influential member in the ↗government of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I and one of the leaders of the Šäwan Moǧa family.

K.D. attended the Täfäri Mäkʷännən School and began his government service in the Ethiopian administration in 1927. Prior to the ↗Italian war 1935–36, he held a number of positions, such as that of the treasurer in ↗Dərre Dawa, as a judge for slavery trials (↗Slavery), and also as ↗*näggadras* in ↗Arsi.

Following the Italian invasion, K.D. first went into exile in ↗Kenya but later joined the ↗resistance assembled in Khartoum to liberate Ethiopia with British assistance (↗War of Liberation). When the Ethiopian army began the march on Addis Abäba, he was a member of the advance team that rallied patriots to attack and dislodge Italian forces on the way. He also served as one of the Emperor's aides de camp.

In the post-war period, K.D. continued to serve in various positions, including as governor of the ↗Təgray and ↗Wällo provincial administrations and was given the title ↗*fitawrari*. In 1950 he became the Deputy President of the Ethiopian ↗parliament and shortly after Vice Minister of the Ministry of Interior.

In 1957 K.D. was appointed ↗*əndärase* of Bägemdər and Səmen province with the title of *däǧǧazmač*. In 1960, following the ↗Coup d'état (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081–82) attempt of General ↗Mängəśtu Nəway (who was a second cousin of K.D.) he was transferred to ↗Käfa province as *əndärase*. In 1966 he was appointed one of the Emperor's Crown Councillors. Following the seizure of power by the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council), K.D. was detained on 1 June 1974 by the military, along with other high officials of the Emperor's government. He died in detention.

Lit.: ABERRA JEMBERE, *Agony in the Grand Palace 1974-1982*, Addis Abäba 2002, 143–51; RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia*: *a New Political History*, London 1965, 255, 408, 439; HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *The Politics of Empire*: *Ethiopia, Great Britain and America, 1941–1974*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1995, 166.

Henock Kifle

Kələttä Awlaᶜəlo

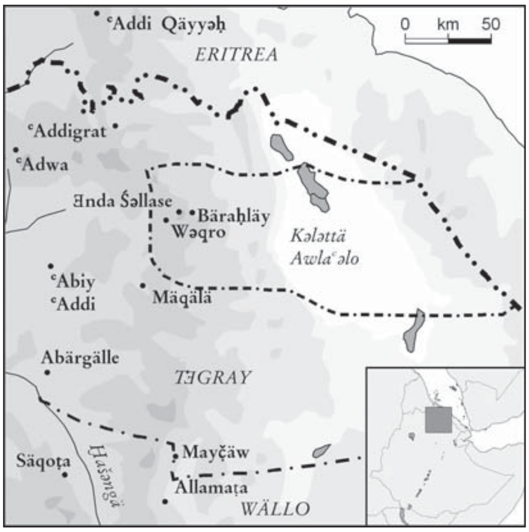
K.A. (ክልተ ፡ አውላዕሎ, Tgn. 'two mountain peaks') was one of eight *awraǧǧa*s of ↗Təgray before the 1991-reform of ↗administrative divisions. K.A. was located in north-eastern Təgray at the strategic cross-roads between the ↗ᶜAgamä, ↗Tämben, ↗Ǝndärta *awraǧǧa*s and the Eritrean ↗ᶜAfar territory, which constituted its borders. Today, the area is part of the Eastern Təgray Zone, since 2001 as one of its *wärädа*s.

The altitude of K.A. ranges between 500 m and 3,000 m A.S.L. The larger highland part encompasses the former districts of (from north to south) Ṣaᶜəda Ǝmba, Laᶜəlay Wəqro, Aṣbi Därа, ↗Ṣəraᶜ, and Wämbärta. The lowland comprises the ᶜAfar ↗salt producing district of Bäraḥle in the south-east.

The area is inhabited by three linguistic groups, ↗Təgrəñña speakers, ᶜAfar and ↗Sāho (↗Irob). They maintain intensive interethnic relations among each other through economic interdependence, typical for highland-lowland relations in north-eastern Təgray (Assefa Tewodros 1995). Major centres of K.A. are Sənqata, ↗Wəqro, Aṣbi, ↗Agulaᶜ, Hayq Mäshal and Bäraḥläy. These towns were engaged in the northern Ethiopian long-distance ↗trade to the ↗Red Sea. The salt trails starting from the Bäraḥläy lowlands placed the area at the heart of the salt trade upon which most of the Ethiopian regions depended.

There are important archaeological sites and ↗rock hewn churches in K.A., such as that of ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəha of ᶜAyba Gämad, Mikaᵓel Amba of Aṣbi and Wəqro Č̣erqos (↗Dängolo). K.A. also hosts the shrine of an-↗Naǧaši in the small town of ↗Nägaš.

K.A. as a political entity first appears in Italian sources by the early 20th cent. as the main source of the salt economy (Tancredi 1911). Official records cite the same in connection with lists of the reshuffles of Təgrayan district governors, e.g., *däǧǧazmač* Kaśa Səbḥat of ᶜAgamä was appointed as governor of K.A. in May 1934, while the long-reigning hereditary ruler, *däǧǧazmač* Tädla Abba Gubän was re-assigned to Haramat (later renamed Kələttä Bäläsa district), to the west (*Bərhanənna Sälam* 10, 21, 17 May 1934, 151). The ↗Italian war 1935–36 seems to have made these latest reshuffles obsolete. This seems also be the case with *däǧǧazmač* Tädla. Whilst his suzerain, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase Gugsa, governor of eastern and southern Təgray, defected to the Italian camp, Tädla led a guerrilla war against the Italians. Economically, the presence of the Italians was of decisive importance for the region. K.A. particularly raised huge revenue from



the salt trade partly due to the Italian custom and tax reforms that apparently encouraged the activities of local and long-distance merchants

K.A. retained its district status until 1956, when it was governed by the hereditary chief, *däǧǧazmač* Bäyyänä Tädla, the son and successor of *däǧǧazmač* Tädla. This situation began to change following the election of his son *qäññazmač* Məᶜuz Bäyyänä to the Parliament, representing his home district. Məᶜuz, together with others, actively lobbied and apparently succeeded in promoting K.A. to receive the status of an *awraǧǧa* in 1960. Population size, territorial extent of the district and the huge amount of annual tax levy were the major factors considered in elevating K.A. to *awraǧǧa* level.

Both ᶜAgamä and K.A. kept their *awraǧǧa* status throughout the *Därg* regime until 1991, when K.A. was temporarily dissolved as an administrative unit.

Src.: *Bərhanənna Sälam* 10, 21, 17 May 1934, 151; EMAtlas 988, 79; WORLD VISION INTERNATIONAL, ETHIOPIA, *Kilte Awlaelo Area Development Program* (*ADP*), *Progress Report* (*1992–1995*), ms., 3.
Lit.: ASSEFA TEWODROS, *The Sedentary Afar of North-eastern Ethiopia*: *Economy and Relations with Neighbouring Highlanders*, M.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1995; ALFONSO M. TANCREDI, “Nel piano del sale”, *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* 48, 1911, 170–78.

Tsegay Berhe Gebrelibanos

Kənfu Kidane

Däǧǧazmač K.K. (**ክንፉ ፡ ኪዳኔ**; b. 5 June 1892, Zana ᶜAddet, d. 5 December 1972, Asmära) was a renowned Ethiopian goldsmith, businessman and entrepreneur.

K.K. was the son of *ato* Gäbrä Mikaᵓel Rämәha and *wäyzäro* Tərfä Kasay. At the age of four, after the death of his father, his uncle Kidane Gäbrä Mikaᵓel, took him to ↗Aksum. When K.K. was ten they moved to ↗Asmära where the uncle opened a goldsmith shop. When Kidane died, K.K. opened a goldsmith shop of his own, which turned into a successful business.

His work became known not only for jewellery, but also for church artefacts, royal and wedding gifts and ornaments. He also taught himself to read and write Gəᶜəz, Təgrəñña, Amharic and Italian.

During the 1920s and 1930s K.K. participated in several Italian colonial trade and artisan exhibitions in Turin (1927), Rome (1931) and Brussels (1937), being awarded gold medals and certificates of merit. Later, he also participated in Eritrean and Ethiopian trade exhibitions. He was a very active member of the Ethiopian *Yähagär Fəqər Maḥbär* in Eritrea. He was elected member of the Municipality Council of Asmära. He became one of the few businessmen to be bestowed the title of ↗*däǧǧazmač* by *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, and received several medals of honour (e.g. the Ethiopian Star, the Ḫaylä Śəllase I silver and gold medal; cp. ↗Orders and decorations).

In 1945 K.K. employed 30 Ethiopian gold and silver smiths in his business. From his thriving jewellery trade he expanded into a variety of ventures which included real estate, residential buildings, agricultural and dairy farms. By the 1960s he held 3,627 shares in twelve ↗business enterprises in Asmära and Addis Abäba, including shares in the Addis Ababa Bank, the Banco di Roma, Coca Cola, and the Wänǧi Sugar Factory. He was also a shareholder of Salvati, the Asmära City Bus Company, initially established by the Italians. He became one of the wealthiest businessmen in Ethiopia.

K.K. was well known as a collector of ancient coins of Aksum. Italian colonial scholars such as ↗Conti Rossini and ↗Cerulli were among his customers. Later in his life (in 1968) he translated Arturo Anzani’s *Numismatica Axumita* (1926) into Amharic (↗Coinage; ↗Numismatics).

Parts of K.K.’s own collection of Aksumite coins, certificates of merit, and awards in trade exhibitions both abroad and in Ethiopia, as well as his collection of gramophone records (↗phonograms) in Amharic and Təgrəñña issued by Kekkiya *paša* of Eritrea (1940) are deposited at the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies.

K.K. was married to *wäyzäro* Wägayyä Gäbrä Mikaᵓel and was survived by 9 children and 45 grandchildren.

Src.: KƎNFU KIDANE (tr.), **የአክሱም ፡ ጥንታውያን ፡ ገንዘቦች ፡ እና ፡ የአሰሩዋቸው ፡ ነገሥታት** (*Yäᵓ Aksum ṭəntawəyan gänzäbočč ənna yäᵓassärruwaččäw nägäśtat*, ‘The Ancient Coinages of Aksum and the Emperors who had Them Made’), Asmära 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.].
Lit.: JOHANNES KINFU, “The Anteregnoch in Ethiopia: Jewellers from Axum. Role and Status in a Peasant Society and Transitional Economy”, in: *PICES* 13, vol. 3, 71–88.

Johannes Kinfu

King lists

K.l. are lists of Ethiopian kings transmitted in Ethiopic manuscripts, both as independent texts and as appendices to specific works (esp. the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*, cf. BezKebr 173 [text] = 138 [tr.], and historiographic texts). They essentially refer to the legendary or half-legendary ancient and early medieval period of Ethiopian history. They are to be interpreted as one of the various attempts of Ethiopians at reconstructing their own past in the later (medieval) period (probably starting from the 14th cent. at the earliest), by filling up the documentary gaps of the ancient and Aksumite phase with notices and information drawn from various sources (CRList 313–20; CRStor 113f., 249). The genre of K.l. was cultivated also in recent times (20th-cent. Ethiopian ↗historiography, e.g., in ↗Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase) with the attempt at reconstructing the continuous ancestral line of the Solomonic dynasty (cf. Kropp 2004; 2006; Zach 2002; 2004), even though the common notion of K.l. in scholarly contributions normally refers to the medieval lists of Aksumite, ↗Zagʷe and early Solomonic kings.

K.l. were first studied in pioneer studies by ↗Dillmann (1853) and Drouin (1882). They had been, however, known even earlier through Ethiopian informants or from manuscript sources (first collected by ↗Vittori 1552, reprinted in Schott 1603:1278 and Vecchietti 1621:69a–71b, probably on the basis of notices by ↗Täsfa Ṣəyon in Rome – as surmised by CRList 265 – or from a manuscript now kept in Florence – cf. CRStor 12 – in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Acq. e doni 38 [cf. Marrassini 1987:77, no. 13]). Similarly they were known from texts collected and published by Jesuit missionaries (Manoel de ↗Almeida and ↗Páez) and other travellers, such as ↗Bruce, ↗Salt, ↗Rüppell, d'↗Abbadie, and from manuscripts eventually acquired by the major European libraries (Oxford, Frankfurt, ↗Bibliothèque nationale de France, ↗British Library) and from the respective catalogues (cf. CRList 265f.): on these sources, ↗Basset (BassÉt), ↗Halévy (1874:131ff.) and others based their synthetic contributions.

Notwithstanding minor later integrations (cf. Grébaut 1912, who published a list from the beginning to *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa: but the edition omits the kings preceding *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak; other lists in SerHist 202f.), the main study that has critically analysed the available materials – a respectable total of 86 K.l. – still remains that by ↗Conti Rossini (CRList; resumed also by Edwards 1918). He distinguished eight K.l.-types (A [= Dillmann's type C], B [= Dillmann's type B], C [= Dillmann's type A], D, E, F, G, H), with two main subtypes (F *bis*, and H *bis*) and minor subtypes (A1, A2, on which cf. Godet 1986–87:22).

K.l. A (22 witnesses) consists of 47 names and is the list also contained in the manuscripts (but not the most ancient ones) of the *Kəbrä nägäśt*. It starts with ↗Bazen (the king in the 8th year of whose reign Christ was born, in some mss. preceded by ↗Arwe) and ends with Dəl Naᵓad (↗Dəlnaᶜod), after whom the kingdom passes to the Zagʷe through ↗Tərdaᵓ Gäbäz (s. EAE vol. 5). Some of the lists (probably the earlier ones) omit Dəlnaᶜod and other kings after ↗Armaḥ, and insert queen ↗Ǝsato/Gʷədit. It includes 14 kings of the pagan and 40 of the Christian eras. Sometimes it continues K.l. C.

K.l. B (33 witnesses) consists of 69 names and is found in the Däbrä Libanos recension of the *Gädlä Täklä Haymanot* and in the *Short Chronicles* (cf., e.g., DombrChr 32ff. [text] = 144–51 [tr.]). It was probably conceived at ↗Däbrä Damo. It starts with Ǝbnä Ḥakim (↗Mənilək I) and ends with Dəl Naᵓad, including kings of the pre-Christian (25), Christian (11) and Christianized (33) eras.

K.l. C (16 witnesses) consists of 91 names and is characterized by the indication of the years of reign for each king. It was known by the ↗Jesuits (Almeida) and by Vittori. It includes kings of the pre-Solomonic (6), pre-Christian (20), Christian (32) and Christianized (33) eras, from Arwe to ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel. Several names have an Ǝllä-prefix.

K.l. D (attested by six witnesses, among whom Páez, Melchior da Silva [cf. Couto 1616, liv. I, ch. VIII, fols. 19v–20], and Almeida) consists of 66 names. It includes kings of the pre-Christian (24), Christian (13) and Christianized (27) eras, from Ǝbnä Ḥakim to Dəlnäᶜad (↗Dəlnaᶜod). It is the earliest attested K.l.

K.l. E (in one manuscript only, cf. Conti Rossini 1903), from Ǝnda Śəllase in Akkälä Guzay, consists of 67 names, from Arwe to Dəlnäᶜad, and tends to establish a relationship between the ancient dynasty and the Ḥamasen region.

K.l. F (two witnesses) consists of 32 names. It includes kings of the pre-Christian (six), Christian (six) and Christianized (20) eras, from Ǝbnä Ǝlḥakim (↗Mənilək I) to Dəlnaᶜod. Some of its elements can be found in one version of the *Gädlä Iyäsus Moᵓa* (cf. Godet 1986–87:23; KurMoa 19 [text] = 23 [tr.]). K.l. F *bis* (only one witness, probably an abridged list) includes 17 names with an indication of years, from Agabos to Ləbdare.

K.l. G (only one witness) consists of 74 names and is an expansion of F. It includes kings of the pre-Christian (29), Christian (15) and Christianized (30) eras from Mən Yələḥəq (↗Mənilək I) to Dəlnaᶜod.

K.l. H (three witnesses) consists of 25 names, from Ǝbnä Ǝlḥakim (↗Mənilək I) to Luzay. K.l. H *bis* (in one manuscript of the *Kəbrä nägäśt*) consists of 27 names, but with the addition of the years of reign and also intermingling kings of the 17th and 18th cent. Both H and H *bis* state that they cover a range of 1,200 years. Two additional fragmentary list types, S1 and S2 (only partially published), were singled out by SerHist 202f. (cf. Godet 1986–87: 24).

The K.l. can be categorized – still according to CRList – in three main types: 1) A, B, C, D, E; 2) F, G; and 3) H. H is probably related to B; F, also related to B, is probably the primary one between F and G; and G is an expansion of F, also implemented by B; D is intermediary between A/B and C, while E has been influenced and determined by local traditions; C was probably compiled by someone who knew list A, a list of pre-Christian kings, and probably also D, but definitely not B (cf. CRList 304–09).

In a more recent analysis still mainly based upon CRList, Godet (1986-87: 11ff.) has singled out six periods covered by the K.l. and regrouped them in three stages and subsequently three layers: a) from the origins of the dynasty to Bazen (ancestors of Mənilək, from Mənilək to Wärädä Nägaś, from Awsyo to Rämḥay, and from Haden to Bazen); b) from Bazen to ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa (Christianization) and from Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa to ↗Kaleb and his successor ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl; c) from Gäbrä Mäsqäl and Qʷäsṭänṭinos (Ǝllä Śahəl) to Dəlna Näᶜad (↗Dəlnaᶜod) and the end of the Aksumite dynasty. (Periods five and six cover the Zagʷe dynasty and parallelly the ancestors of ↗Yəkunno Amlak, and the ↗Solomonic dynasty.) Godet (ibid. 24f.) concludes his analysis by proposing four independent sources which gave origin to five families of lists: D-A (to which C for the beginning and G for the end are to be added); B and E (to which S2 for the end is to be added); C (in his layer b): A, B and C being the most frequent lists; then H–H *bis* and F–F *bis* (from which G depends for the layer a); S1 cannot be classified.

The K.l. are consistent starting from Yəkunno Amlak, whereas they are at great variance for the Zagʷe dynasty and earlier. K.l. might therefore have a substantially political meaning, having been dressed in order to establish a direct connection between the kings of the pre- and post-Zagʷe periods in supporting the ideology of the Solomonic dynastic "restoration". The first occasion for that was the implementation of the *Kəbrä nägäśt* with a K.l. according to the model of biblical and Copto-Arabic historiography. Various monastic centres, in particular in Təgray (↗Däbrä Damo, Däbrä Bänkʷäl, etc.) might have developed their own lists, which would account well for the respective differences; but other (Amhara) or more precise regional contributions can be guessed at (e.g., the list from ᶜAgamä with names in *-dəm*/*-təm* of Sāho origin, cf. Godet 1986–87: 23). The sources used for this reconstruction are still difficult to determine in detail. They might have included numismatic sources (legends on ↗coins), ↗inscriptions, possibly early literary or documentary texts (manuscript notes and historical records, but also information from royal ↗archives [s. vol. 5] or what remained of them, cf. ibid. 13), as the precise correspondence of some names with historical characters documented in these sources would lead one to think (e.g., Armaḥ, Ǝllä Azgʷagʷa, Ǝllä Gäbäz, Ǝllä Ṣäḥam, Ǝllä Śahəl, Ǝsraᵓel, Kaleb etc.; cf. Fiaccadori 2006). Oral traditions, also aiming to interpret local antiquities and ruins might have been used. Much less likely is the survival of memories from South Arabian antiquity (as proposed by CRList 313f.), whereas some elements might have been derived from Arabic texts and traditions, but not from the ↗*Sənkəssar*, which did not have any influence on the K.l.

Src.: ms. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Acq. e doni 38; BassÉt; BezKebr 173 (text) = 138 (tr.); BruNile; Carlo Conti Rossini, *Ricordi di un soggiorno in Eritrea*, Asmara 1903, 1–6 ("I. La lista reale di Enda Yohannes"); CRList (Lit.); Diogo do Couto, *Decada Setima da Asia*, Lisboa 1616, liv. I, ch. VIII, fols. 19v–20; August Dillmann, "Zur Geschichte des abyssinischen Reichs", *ZDMG* 7, 1853, 338–64; DombrChr 32ff. (text) = 144-51 (tr.); Sylvain Grébaut, "Liste des Rois d'Axoum, d'après le ms. éthiopien n° 3 de M.E. Delorme", *ROC* 17, 1912, 217–19; KurMoa 19 (text) = 23 (tr.); Paolo Marrassini, "I manoscritti etiopici della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze [II]", *RSE* 31, 1987 [1988], 69–110, here 77 (no. 13); Andreas Schott, *Hispaniae illustratae seu rerum urbiumque Hispaniae, Lusitaniae, Aethiopiae et Indiae scriptores varii*…, vol. 2, Francofurti ad Moenum 1603, 1278; SerHist 202f.; Hieronimus Vecchietti, *De anno primitivo ab exordio mundi ad annum Iulianum accomodato, et de sacrorum temporum ratione libri octo*, Augustae Vindelicorum 1621, 69*a*–71*b* (§§ XXXVIII–XLV); Marianus Victorius [Mariano Vittori], *Chaldeae, seu Aethiopicae linguae institutiones* …, Romae 1552, cc. 33–38 ("Omnium Aethiopiae Regum, qui ab inundato terrarum orbe usque ad nostra tempora imperarunt Libellus").

Lit.: August Dillmann, "Über die Anfänge des Axumitischen Reiches", *Abhandlungen der Königlichen*

Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1878 (repr. Berlin 1879), 177–238; CRStor 12, 113f., 249; Edme Alphonse Drouin, “Les listes royales éthiopiennes et leur autorité historique”, *Revue archéologique* n.s. 23, 1 (= 44, 1), 1882, 99–115, 153–72, 206–18, 218–24; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, “ʾElla Gabaz/(ʾElla) Ḥēṭāzā”, *La Parola del Passato* 61, 2006, 115–41 (Lit.); Éric Godet, “Tableaux chronologiques rélatifs à la fin de l’époque axoumite et à la période des Zagwes”, in: *PICES* 9, vol. 6, 22–57; Id., “Considérations nouvelles sur les rois d’Axoum”, *Abbay* 13, 1986–87, 11–57, here 11–29; Joseph Halévy, *Mélanges d’épigraphie et d’archéologie sémitiques*, Paris 1874, 131ff.; Frederick A. Edwards, “The Early Kings of Axum”, *The Asiatic Review* 13–14, 37–40, 1918, 484–503; Manfred Kropp, “Die traditionellen äthiopischen Königslisten und ihre Quellen”, in: Martin Fitzenreiter (ed.), *Genealogie – Realität und Fiktion von Identität. Workshop am 04. und 05. Juni 2004 in Berlin*, Berlin 2004 (Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie. Studies from the Internet on Egyptology and Sudanarchaeology 5), 21–46; Id., “Ein später Schüler des Julius Africanus zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts in Äthiopien: Heruy Wäldä-Sellase und seine Listen der altäthiopischen Königszeit”, in: Martin Wallraff (ed.), *Julius Africanus und die christliche Weltchronistik*, Berlin 2006 (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 157), 303–27; MHAksum 12ff.; Michael H. Zach, “Die ‘sudanesischen’ Namen sogenannter frühäthiopischer Herrscher”, in: Tamás A. Bács (ed.), *A Tribute to Excellence*: *Studies Offered in Honor of Ernö Gaál, Ulrich Luft and László Török*, Budapest 2002 (= *Studia Aegyptiaca* 17), 507–14; Id., “Die Ras Tafari-Liste aus Sudanarchäologischer Sicht”, in: Fitzenreiter 2004, 47–55.

Alessandro Bausi

Konovalov, Fjodor Evgenjevič

Colonel K. (b. 10 January 1888, Georgia [?]; d. 9 June 1970, Durban, South Africa) was a Russian military officer who supported Ethiopia during the ↗Italian war of 1935–36.

Trained as an engineer and soldier in the Russian military, K. commanded the Russian 10th Aviation Division during ↗World War I and participated in military missions to France and Great Britain. After the collapse of the Tsarist government in early 1917, he served the Provisional Government as aviation inspector of the Caucasus Army.

As World War I ended and the Russian Civil War began, in February 1919, he commanded the 1st Aviation Division of the “White” Volunteer Army. He then served as Deputy Head of Aviation in the Crimea. Later, in spring 1920, he was evacuated to Constantinople. From there, he went to Egypt and finally to Ethiopia, where he worked in the office of Public Works and became an Ethiopian citizen.

During the Italian invasion K. served as a military adviser to *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I and observed several important battles, including that of ↗May Č̣äw.

After the Italian occupation had begun, K. remained in Addis Abäba for several months and drafted a semi-autobiographical and historically important account of the campaign in defence of Ethiopia. Later appearing in several variants, K. gave a copy to the journalist George ↗Steer who translated and published passages in his own book (Steer 1937). Meanwhile revised and translated, K.’s work appeared in Italian under the title *La guerra italo–etiopica vista da un testimone*. Downplaying K.’s earlier friendly comments on Ethiopia, this new version added passages lauding Italy. Even so, this draft needed further modification before the Italian authorities would publish it. The task fell to Commander Stefano Miccichè, who had known K. in Ethiopia before the war. Adding a chapter describing the looting of Addis Abäba by the Ethiopians in the final days of the war, Micciché’s version appeared with a new title, *Con le armate del Negus*; ↗Mussolini enthusiastically praised K.’s book.

After the war, K. went to Spain to assume the rank of Colonel in the Fascist Falangist ranks during the Spanish Civil War.

Despite Micciché’s edition and unproved allegations that K. had always been working for the Italians, Ḫaylä Śəllase forgave K. after Ethiopia’s liberation in 1941. He lived in Addis Abäba until 1952.

While in the capital, K. drafted a *History of Ethiopia*, probably in Russian. The Hoover Institution in California and the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies hold copies of the manuscript translated into English though the Russian original was lost. This work is important, because it challenges K.’s Fascist slant. Praising Ethiopia’s efforts in modernization, the most interesting parts of the text describe those events in which he took part or which he witnessed, for example, improvements in infrastructure before and during the war. Furthermore, K.’s comments on Italy’s occupation policy and the guerrilla resistance by Ethiopia’s Patriots provide an intriguing mix of Italian brutality and positive accomplishment, the latter especially in building a physical infrastructure and forging personal relationships with individual Ethiopians.

After leaving Ethiopia, K. eventually turned up in South Africa, where he died.

↗Russia, relations with

Src.: Fjodor Evgenjevič Konovalov, *La guerra italo–etiopica vista da un testimone*, ms., Addis Abäba, Institute of Ethiopian Studies no. 827; Id., *History of Ethiopia*, ms., Stanford, CA, Stanford University, Hoover Institution; Theodore Konovaloff, *Con le armate del negus* (*Un bianco fra i neri*) [tr., ed. Stefano Miccichè], Bologna 1938 (Diari e memorie 7); George Lowther Steer, *Caesar in Abyssinia*, Boston, MA 1937, passim.
Lit.: J. Calvit Clarke III, "Feodor Konovalov and the Italo–Ethiopian War", *World War II Quarterly* 5, 2008a, 4–37; (Part II), *ibid.* 6, 2008b, 23–49; Boris Gorelik, "Meždu negusom i duče. Vospominanija polkovnika Konovalova ob italo-efiopskoj vojne" ('Between the Negus and the Duce. Recollections of Colonel Konovalov about Italo–Ethiopian War'), in: Artem Borisovich Letnev (ed.), *Afrikantsy i rossijane na perekrjostkah istorii*, Moscow 2010, 156–70; Richard Pankhurst, "Le diverse versioni della testimonianza del colonnello Konovaloff sull'invasione fascista dell'Etiopia", *Studi Piacentini* 17, 1995, 157–99.

J. Calvitt Clarke III – Boris Gorelik

L

Languages and peoples in Ethiopia and Eritrea

The Ethio-Eritrean domain is marked by a large and diverse array of languages and peoples. The two countries have since 1991 designated officially recognized ethnic groups or peoples, in state parlance called "nationalities". Eritrea has nine, defined after formal independence in 1993, Ethiopia some 74, the delimitation of which was based on the work of the Institute for the Study of Ethiopian Nationalities (ISEN) set up in the early 1980s under the auspices of the *Därg* regime. As for languages, nine are spoken in Eritrea and from 70 to 90 (according to different estimates) in Ethiopia. The ISEN produced a detailed map in 1984 with all the ethno-linguistic groups, the classification of which was taken over virtually unchanged by the post-1991 Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) government.

The ethnic and linguistic diversity was probably for tens of thousands of years a characteristic of the ↗Horn of Africa. Various groups of hunter-gatherers, pastoralists, cultivators and traders coexisted within its boundaries. Later, in the written records of ↗Aksum we find names of ethnic groups whose exact relation to the Aksumite kings is not certain; at least some of them were paying tribute to Aksum (cf., e.g., RIÉ I 186:7–8, 10–11). In Adulis ↗inscriptions and the 4th-cent. ᶜEzana inscriptions the *Bəga* and *Barya* people are mentioned, who are traditionally identified with ↗Beǧa and "Barya" (or ↗Nara), respectively (e.g., RIÉ I nos. 188:4; 185 I:2,3; 189:9; s. also SerHist 63). However, this identification operates under a too strict and closed view of ↗ethnicity or language. Group labels disappear and emerge. Some groups or subgroups known from the historical record (like ↗Gafat, ↗Noba, Gomba [↗Gämbo], ↗Zälan) have disappeared through assimilation; others perhaps soon will (like ↗Ongota [Birale], ↗Mäsmäs, ↗Mao, ↗Harro, Ganza [Mao] and Omo ↗Murle). Of the Judaic ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel (Fälaša) only a small number remain in Ethiopia after their mass emigration to ↗Israel since the mid-1980s (Ben Ezer 2002).

In the historical sources, it is often difficult to distinguish between ethnonyms, region names and language names. The names of a region and a people became often co-terminous, as in the case of ↗Təgrəñña. On the other hand, language and ethnic boundaries are not always identical. A language tends to expand and be adopted beyond a specific ethnic group, leading to blurring of boundaries. Thus, it is difficult to assert overlap between linguistic identity and ethnic identity. The assumption of present-day political elites in the region that language forms the core element in the formation and existence of an ethnic group is quite debatable. It underestimates socio-cultural traditions or economic specialization. It also excludes the recognition of mixed populations or of those falling outside the classification. This is most obvious in the case of urban populations, who often lived for several generations in the towns, intermarried with others, speak a dominant language (↗Amharic or ↗Oromiffa in Ethiopia and ↗Təgrəñña or ↗Arabic in Eritrea), but if asked would identify themselves under a variety of "ethnic" labels. One contemporary example is that of the ↗Wälaytta people: in recent decades, tens of thousands of Wälaytta-speakers left for economic reasons their crowded area of origin to settle elsewhere. The second generation growing up in the new environment usually loses the Wälaytta language, adopts Amharic or Oromiffa as a first language and has only a tenuous connection to ethnic heritage (Planel 2003).

Languages

In Ethiopia and Eritrea two of the four large language phyla of Africa are represented: ↗Nilo-Saharan and ↗Afro-Asiatic. Within Afro-Asiatic three large units are present in Ethiopia and Eritrea: ↗Semitic (represented with ↗Ethio-Semitic and Arabic), ↗Cushitic and ↗Omotic. Nilo-Saharan languages are spoken predominantly on the western fringes of the region.

In the following two tables, all recognized languages of the two countries are enumerated, with the corresponding ethnic groups. The list is not definitive and not exhaustive. The numbers of language speakers in Ethiopia are from the 1994 and 2007 Ethiopian censuses (CSA 2009: 98f., 117f.), slightly adjusted upwards to account for the statistically probable increase. They may thus differ, even considerably in some cases, from the figures provided in the corresponding EAE entries so far, but it seems important to provide the up-to-date numbers. Some language and ethnic designations and groupings in the census differ from those used throughout the EAE (marked with asterisk [*] before the name). The tables also give the groups that disappeared from the 2007 census (they are marked with an asterisk after the name). The Eritrean figures are less secure as there are not sufficient published statistics. Neither was a population census held since 1991 Eritrean independence. The numbers given in the Tables are "minimum" population numbers

Table 1. Nilo-Saharan phylum

Language	Speakers in Ethiopia and Eritrea	Associated ethnic group	Ethnic group members in Ethiopia and Eritrea
↗Nara	90,000 (?) in Eritrea	Nara	90,000 (?)
↗Kunama	188,000	Kunama	(? In Eritrea) (7500 in Ethiopia)
↗Berta	209,000	Berta	206,000
↗Gumuz	182,000	Gumuz	180,000
↗Komo	9,100	Komo	8,500
↗Kwama*	320	Kwama	290
↗Opuuo (Úpo, Šita)	2,600	Opuuo, Šita	1,760
↗Mağaŋgir (Messengo)	33,000	Mağaŋgir	28,000 (?)
↗Añwaa	90,000	Añwaa	91,000
↗Ṭwampa*	10,000 (?)	↗Uduk	20–25,000 (?)
↗Meᵓen	151,000	Meᵓen	146,000
↗Baale (Baalesi)	2,400	Baale (Zilmamo)	2,400
↗Čai-Tirma-Mursi	35,000	Čai, Tirmaga, Mursi	35,000
Kʷegu, Koegu, Kʷoygi (s. ↗Kʷegu-Muguği)	2,000	Kʷegu, Koegu, Kʷoygi, (s. Kʷegu-Muguği)	1,700
↗Ñaŋatom	26,000	Ñaŋatom	24,500
↗Nuer	148,000	Nuer	154,000
↗Murle (Olam)	1,500	Murle	970
* Fädaše (?)	4,500	Berta	4,100

The total of Nilo-Saharan speakers in Ethiopia and Eritrea is thus estimated at more than 1.1 million (2007).

Table 2: Afro-Asiatic phylum (in the three major families) Cushitic languages

Language	Speakers in Ethiopia and Eritrea	Associated ethnic group	Ethnic group members in Ethiopia and Eritrea
↗Beğa	160,000 (?)	Beğa	160,000 (?)
↗Sāho	213,800	Sāho	213,800 (33,000 in Ethiopia ↗ Irob)
↗Agäw-Ḫamər	214,000	Ḫamər	267,000
↗Bilin	100,000 (?)	Bilin	(?)
↗Ḫamtaŋa	143,000	↗Ḫamta	(?)
↗Kəmantnäy*	5,500 (plus 950 Fälašan dialect)	↗Kəmant	175,000
↗Awŋi	637,000	Awŋi	489,000
↗Kunfäl*	2,000 (?)	Kunfäl	2,000 (?)
↗Oromiffaa	24,950,000	Oromo	26,500,000
↗ᶜAfar	1,600,000	ᶜAfar	(?) (1,280,000 in Ethiopia)
↗Somali	4,610,000	Somali	4,610,000
↗Sidaama	2,981,000	Sidaama	2,951,000
↗Gideᵓo	976,000	Gideᵓo	976,000
↗Hadiyya	1,270,000	Hadiyya	1,260,000
↗Libido (Maräqo)	59,000	Libido	65,000
↗Kambaata ↗Ṭimbaaro	630,000 98,000	Kambaata Ṭimbaaro	615,000 99,000

↗Qabeena	52,000	Qabeena	53,000
↗Allaaba	227,000	Allaaba	233,000
↗Burǧi	47,000	Burǧi	72,000
↗Konso	243,000	Konso	251,000
↗Mosiye	9,600	Mosiye	20,000
↗Bayso	1000 (?)	Bayso	400 (?)
↗Gawwada (s. also ↗Dullay)	33,000 (?)	Gawwada	34,000 (?)
↗Diraašša	15,500 (plus 50,000 registered as Gidole)	Diraašša	31,000 (plus 42,000 registered as Gidole)
Ṣamay (s. ↗Dullay)	18,500	↗Ṣamay	21,000
↗Arbore	7,300	Arbore	7,300
↗Ðáasanač	48,500	Ðáasanač	48,500
*Mašola (Mašili)	8,600	Mašola	10,500
*Wärǧi	2,100	*Wärǧi	13,000

Omotic languages

Language	**Speakers in Ethiopia and Eritrea**	**Associated ethnic group**	**Ethnic group members in Ethiopia and Eritrea**
↗Wälaytta	1,630,000	Wälaytta	1,680,000
↗Gamo (incl. ↗Dorze)	1,080,000	Gamo (and Dorze)	1,105,000
↗Gofa	360,000	Gofa	363,000
↗Kullo (Dawro)	514,000 (plus 82,000 listed as Konta)	↗Dawro	538,000 (plus 84,000 listed as Konta)
↗Dime	580 (?)	Dime	880 (?)
↗Basketo	93,000	Basketo	78,300
↗Malo *	20,000	Malo	20,000
↗Oyda	45,200	Oyda	45,200
↗Maale	95,000	Maale	98,000
↗Hamär	78,000	↗Banna	27,000 (?)
		↗Bäšada *	3,000 (?)
		Hamär	47,000 (?)
		↗Kara	1500
↗Aari	286,000	Aari	290,000
Gidiččo s. ↗Harro	4,700	Haruro s. Harro	5,500
Gaṣame s. ↗Harro	2,600	Gaṣame/Kač̣ama	2,900
↗Nayi	7,200	Nayi	9,800
↗Dizi	34,000	Dizi	35,000
↗Šeko	39,000	Šeko	38,000
↗Yäm	93,000	Yäm	161,000
↗Č̣ara	13,500	Č̣ara	13,500
↗Benč̣	350,000	Benč̣	353,000
↗Koorete	158,000	Koorete	158,000
↗Zayse	10,000	Zayse	11,000
↗Anfillo (↗Mao)	600 (?)	Mao	1,000 (?)
↗Šinašša	38,000	Šinašša	63,000
↗Käfa	835,000	Käfa	866,000
↗Šakačo	81,000	Šakačo	78,000
Bambassi *	12,000 (?)	Northern Mao (Gwama)	33,000
Ganza *	9,000 (?)		
↗Hozo-Sezo *	12,000 (?)		
*Bača	3,500	Bača	2,700
*Debose-Gawwada	71,000	(?)	69,000
*Donga	31,000	(?)	(?)
*Mer	8,200	Mer	14,200

Languages and peoples in Ethiopia and Eritrea

Semitic languages

Name of group	Estimated speakers	Associated ethnic group	Ethnic group members in Ethiopia and Eritrea
Amharic	21,635,000	Amhara	19,880,000
Təgrəñña	6,800,000 (?) 4,490,000 in Ethiopia	Təgrəñña speakers	4,490,000 in Ethiopia, 2,300,000 in Eritrea
↗Təgre	1,100,000 (?) (in Eritrea)	Təgre	(1,100,000)
↗Gurage (↗Soddo, ↗Ǝnnämor, ↗Mäsqan, ↗Čaha, ↗Ǝndägañ, ↗Ǝža, ↗Geto, ↗Gogot, ↗Gumär, ↗Muḫər, ↗Wäläne)	1,490,000	Gurage (Soddo, Ǝnnämor, Mäsqan, Čaha, Ǝndägañ, Ǝža, Geto, Gogot, Gumär, Muḫər, Wäläne)	1,900,000
↗Səlṭi Gurage	?	Səlṭi (Səlṭe)	935,000
↗Zay	20,000	Zay	20,000
↗Argobba	44,000	Argobba	141,000
↗Harari	32,000	Harari	32,000
Arabic (Hiğāzī variety)	50,000 (?) (in Eritrea)	↗Rašāʾida	50,000 (?) (in Eritrea)

There are also a number of as yet unclassified languages, such as ↗Ongota and ↗Šabo. The tables do not reflect the usage of some languages, notably Amharic, Oromiffaa and Təgrəñña, as second or third languages (s. Hudson 1999). One can also mention that *Ethnologue* reports for Eritrea a number of native speakers of ↗Italian (Lewis 2009).

The lists above show the inherent problems of ethno-linguistic classification: some languages have more, or less, speakers than their ethnic groups; people are not equivocal in their ethnic self-identification, giving rise to various labels for one group, and some language groups have for various reasons split up into more units, e.g., the "Jebelawi" of the 1994 census were in 2007 distinguished in "Fedashi" (4,050) and "Gebato" (1,497). Some groups have dropped dramatically in numbers (like the Dime, still 32,099 in 1994) or seem to lag behind in the population growth trends (like the Amhara), suggesting that people may hide or deny their "identity".

Another indication that the CSO census lists of peoples and language groups are not authoritative is that compared to the 1994 Ethiopian census (CSA 1998:66f.), and for unexplained reasons, in the 2007 census report (CSA 2009:90f.) new groups have emerged while others disappeared.

Among the new ones listed in the 2007 census are (transcribed as in the Census): Kusume, Fedaše, Derashe, Bacha, Brayle (= Birale), Bena (= Banna), Dawuro (= Kullo), Konta, Donga (part of the Käfiččo group), Mer (formerly under Benç), Mashola, Qechem, Shekecho, Silte, Zelmam (= Baale), and Werji (formerly under Oromo).

Among those that disappeared in the 2007 census as ethnic groups are the Ganğule, Bayso, Zay, Gawwada, Fälaša, Šita, Kwama, Kunfäl, Kač̣ama, Libido (= Maräqo), Mabaan and Kəmant (but see Zelealem Leyew 2003:31). Some were renamed, such as the Ethiopian Sāho (now Irob), and Suri (now Surma), others redefined as part of other groups (Ganğule now under Gidiččo/Harro).

This statistical dynamics shows the problem, in Ethiopia like elsewhere, of the nature of an ethnic group and when it must be accorded a status. It reveals local-level political dynamics and changing self-identification that lead to certain groups being newly 'recognized'.

A language community – e.g., Oromiffa or Amharic – may comprise people from different ethnic origins who may have the dominant language as their first language, hence the difference between the numbers in the second and the fourth columns of the tables. This explains why according to some census figures (CSA 1998:79) the number of Amharic speakers was the highest, although in terms of ethnicity the Oromo formed the largest group (CSA 1998:66). In the 2007 census report, however, a significant change occurred in the figures (CSO 2009:118), with Oromo mother tongue-speakers 3.2 million above native Amharic speakers.

In the map issued by the Ethiopian federal authorities in 1992 (with 63 ethno-linguistic units), in the Ethiopian Constitution of 1995 and in the Ethiopian Censuses of 1994 and 2007 we find names of "nations, nationalities and peoples" that are not language groups, and also language names that do not refer to separate ethnic groups, are misnomers, or whose status is unclear. A notable case is ↗Gurage, which is not a cohesive 'ethnic group' but a cover term for a number of different but usually related dialects/languages spoken in the Gurage region (e.g., the Səlṭi now no longer see themselves as Gurage, although linguistically there are some common features). Similarly, the ethnic unit Suri includes Baale, Čai and Tirmaga, of which the latter two groups speak varieties of the same language, Čai-Tirma-Mursi.

In addition, large population groups/peoples like the Təgre in Eritrea and the Oromo (Wärği, ↗Guğği, ↗Arsi and ↗Boorana) have significant internal linguistic differences and also diversity in terms of self-identity. The status of occupational caste groups like Wata or Fuga is also ambiguous: are they part of the wider societies they live in or still separate group? (Freeman – Pankhurst 2002). Finally, small and as yet undescribed ethno-linguistic minorities exist among various peoples, like the Manğa or Band, Šabo and Sabuye in south-western Ethiopia.

In Eritrea, the nine recognized "nationalities" are: ᶜAfar, Hadareeb (part of the Beğa, s. ↗Hadándowa), Rašāʾida, Bilin, Kunama, Nara, Sāho, Təgre and Təgrəñña (Tekle 2003: 120). These groups are coterminous with linguistic groups, except for the Hadareeb, who speak Beğa, and the Arabic-speaking Rašāʾida, but there is significant internal differentiation as to group identity, e.g., among Kunama and Təgre. Standard Arabic was used for literary, diplomatic and educational purposes (Drewes 1976); colloquial Arabic is now spoken as a second language by many Eritreans, especially ↗Beni ᶜAmər and Təgre.

History, state formation and ethnicity

The peopling of Ethiopia and Eritrea was a complex process of ethnogenesis and interaction, spanning more than six millennia and infused by regular immigrations from neighbouring regions like ↗Yemen, ↗Arabia, ↗Sudan and the Somali coastal areas (s. Haberland — Straube 1979). A standard theme repeated in all histories is the immigration of tribal Semitic-speaking groups from southern Arabia in the first millennium B.C., reinforcing communities of Semitic speakers already settled in the highlands. This influx had a formative role for the emergence of early city states, architecture, religious cults and agrarian cultivation systems in the region of north-central Ethiopia and Eritrea, with ↗Aksum emerging in the 1st cent. A.D.

Agäw-speaking and Omotic-speaking groups were perhaps the most ancient populations settled in Ethiopian-Eritrean highlands. The agrarian ↗Agäw peoples were likely present in the area at the time of the more large-scale South Arabian ('Sabaen') migrations in the 2nd half of the first millennium B.C. The Agäw languages also form the substratum of the South Semitic languages Təgrəñña and Amharic. Since the 6th cent. A.D., Agäw peoples were gradually integrated into the expanding Christian culture and political system. Agäw groups are still found across the northern highlands.

Nilo-Saharan-speaking groups were present or moved into the south-western border areas (not part of the medieval Ethiopian highland state) since at least the 12th–13th cent., but remained very marginal to socio-political developments of the imperial state (cf. Bender 1975: 18). Proto-East-Cushitic-speaking pastoral peoples (ancestors of the Somali and ᶜAfar) lived in the coastal plains on the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, migrating towards the interior since at least the 9th cent. Southern Cushitic groups (Oromo) gradually moved north from the southern borderlands especially in the 15th–16th cent. The fertile Ethiopian highlands thus came to be inhabited by a fusion of Semitic-speaking and Cushitic-speaking peoples that in the medieval age since the 9th cent. developed a variety of states – an imperial state in the central highlands, kingdoms with so-called divine ↗kingship, regional conquest states based on trade and military expansion, as well as various tribal federations in the western and southern fringes (e.g., among Somali, Oromo and Omotic-speaking groups). Muslim sultanates emerged in the eastern coastal regions up to Ifat and Bale, and more democratic assembly societies (Boorana-Oromo, Gamo groups) in the South. While these state formations had emerged relatively independently in the later medieval era, before the late 16th cent., there was certainly a process of mutual influence between them in terms of symbolism and regalia, political ideology, structures of governance and rituals. The cases of the ↗Käfa kingdom, the ↗Gonga states, and the Oromo kingdoms, being in some political and religious contact with northern Christian power-holders, made this clear.

The decline of Aksum starting from the 7th cent. had been followed by the development of a state in central Ethiopia ruled by the "Agäw" ↗Zagʷe dynasty, but its continuity with the heritage of the Aksumite state was notable, e.g., in adherence to the Christian faith, royal ideology, mode of administration, and monumental architecture. The establishment of the ↗Solomonic dynasty in 1270 marked the ascent of the ↗Amhara people. In the centuries of expansion up to the 17th cent., military confrontation with peripheral peoples and contesting regional elites led to ethno-regional rivalry, e.g., with the Agäw-speaking Betä Ǝsraʾel, especially since the late 14th cent., and Islamized peoples in the coastal plains (ancestors of the Somali and ʿAfar). In the devastating 16th-cent. war between Christian Ethiopia and the Muslims of ʿAdal, led by ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī ("Grañ"), religion not ethnicity was the idiom of war, but the subtext was again an opposition between Amharic-, Təgrəñña- and Agäw-speaking peoples on the one hand and Somali, ʿAfar and Harari people on the other. This war took a heavy toll of the population of the highlands and adjacent lowlands. Correct figures cannot be calculated, but judging from contemporary accounts, the protracted war reduced the population an estimated 15 to 20 % in some areas, led to depopulation of large stretches of border land, and destroyed the means of livelihood of tens of thousands of people. Both opponents thus came out severely weakened. After the war, in the late 16th cent., the largely but not exclusively pastoral Oromo people expanded from their homelands south-east of Lake Abbayya near the upper Ganaalee River to the north, conquering and settling large tracts of territory. According to some authors (Asmarom Legesse 1973; VSAe II, but *contra* s. Hallpike 1976), this extraordinary movement was related to a relatively sudden population expansion of Oromo in the 16th cent., which apart from northward migration and conquest, led to the formulation of the ↗*gadaa*, the Oromo generation-grading system, which put ritual limits on procreation. Due to the unprecedented upheavals in the political, economic and demographic sense, the mid-16th cent. was a watershed in the political and ethnic history of Ethiopia.

Other Cushitic-speaking areas such as Kambaata and Hadiyya maintained their own independence, although they were reduced in size. In the southern highlands, Omotic-speaking peoples, most of whom were sedentary cultivators (of *ənsät*, grains, root crops) developed their own small-scale polities, relatively untouched by developments in the centre and north of the country. Among these were the Käfa kingdom (Bieber 1920–23), which successfully warded off an Oromo attempt at submission in 1540, other Gonga kingdoms like Hinnario (↗Ǝnnarya), ↗Boša and Šeka, and the smaller divine kingdoms or chiefdoms like in Gofa, Maale, Wälaytta, Dawro (Kullo), Konta and ↗Dizi. They may have adopted kingship ideas and symbolism from the north (HabKön; Haberland 1981), but then developed their own particular forms of it.

The lowlands surrounding the Ethiopian highland area in the south and west were long settled by pastoral-nomadic peoples speaking Nilo-Saharan and Cushitic languages. While trade and raiding relations existed between the highlanders and these people, the latter were not politically incorporated into the various states and largely retained their decentralized, segmentary social systems where leadership did not reside in kings or chiefs but in ritual leaders ('priests', diviners) and age or generation sets. Such non-state societies were predictably more egalitarian than other political formations but structured by gerontocratic rule (↗Gerontocracy) or prestige-based clan group hierarchies.

Ethnic identities, based largely on language difference and certain shared ritual complexes, were always important (although its explicit, political articulation is a modern phenomenon). Still, migrations, political rivalry and conflicts, although culturally interpreted and validated, emerged from an economic logic of competition and conflict (often land issues). While groups were no doubt aware of their cultural, religious and other differences and took pride in their traditions, the conscious use of ethnicity for political purposes is a late 20th-cent. phenomenon.

Peoples, ethnicity and politics

Power and political hierarchy were always in one way or another tied to ethnicity in that a dominant state-building group or other elite usually emerged within a specific ethnic or linguistic community. It has not been otherwise in Europe or Asia. In Ethiopia, the Ethio-Semitic-speaking groups played this role in the Aksumite period, the Agäw possibly in the time of the Zagʷe dynasty (12th–13th cent., s. Taddesse Tamrat 1988: 9; SerHist 237, 265) and the Ethio-Semitic-speaking Amhara in the post-1270 imperial Solomonic state. Likewise, in the "divine kingdoms" formed by the Gonga and other peoples in the south, certain ethnic or clan-based elites came to rule quite heterogeneous populations, often augmented with immigrants and fugitives. This was the case in the powerful kingdom of Käfa (Bušašo rule) and especially in Wälaytta, a good example where peoples of very diverse origins united under an expansive dynasty, whereby state formation under the kingship forged a new "collective" identity among the people, i.e. a primarily political one.

In the 18th and 19th cent. the Oromo in southern and western Ethiopia were significant state builders in the Gibe region (MHasOr) and also became part of the northern state elite (s. Ficquet 2000). In the margins of these emerging states, other ethno-regional groups continued to exist in segmentary political units or emerged as reactive formations against states and predatory overlords (examples are the Gumuz, Meʾen, Hamär and Guǧǧi). In the semi-arid plains not suited to sedentary agriculture and the formation of towns, pastoral nomads retained their mobile and decentralized way of life: Təgre, Beǧa, Beni ᶜAmər, Sāho, Somali, Boorana, Suri, Ñaŋatom, or ᶜAfar.

In the 20th cent. an Ethiopian national state gained ground leading to political centralization, military and educational modernization, and to a new framework of codified law drawn up in the 1950s and challenging customary law traditions. These processes were accompanied by a certain measure of bureaucratization of the countryside, enormously reinforced under the *Därg* regime after 1974. Due to economic and political inequalities in the modernization process, ethno-linguistic and ethno-regional identities were not extinguished but reproduced in hierarchies of power, differential access to central resources, and cultural prestige.

Political protest and mobilization on the basis of ethno-regional identities has played a large role in the politics of Ethiopia and Eritrea in the past 30 years. Due to the geographic, economic and political inequalities that characterized group relations and state formation in the region, some groups (notably the Amharic speakers, Təgrəñña-speakers and Oromiffaa speakers) emerged as the most powerful, and came to rule or assimilate peoples and ethnic groups in their orbit. The Ethiopian empire up to 1974 is an obvious example. Due to its political expansion from the 14th to the 19th cent., various pre-existing ethnic groups were subjected and relatively marginalized in a political-economic and cultural sense, although this mainly applied on the level of elites. The common people were similar in their poverty and lack of power. While not closed to upwardly mobile people of other groups, the empire was dominated notably by Amhara (mainly those from the Šäwa region) and to a lesser extent by Təgrəñña-speaking people as part of the elite. Under the imperial regime the Orthodox Christian faith was expanded and upheld as a civilizational model (s. Teshale Tibebu 1994), and linguistic "amharization" was an ongoing process (Bahru Zewde 2004). Despite this, significant minorities of non-Christians (notably Muslims) always existed within the Amhara and Təgray regions. In the Oromo areas, conquered and minority groups were usually assimilated by the dominant group in the political, linguistic and cultural sense (s. MHasOr). On the other hand, Oromo groups conquered in the late 19th cent. by the imperial state, such as the Arsi and the Afran Qalluu (↗Qottu), were reduced to an inferior position and many adopted Islam as a form of resistance (Mohamed Hassen 1994; Abbas Haji Gnamo 2002). The remarkable generation grading system called *gadaa* system of the Boorana, Guǧǧi and related Cushitic-speaking peoples like Konso, Burǧi, and Gideʾo (s. VSAe II, 171f.) remained in place well into the 20th cent., but its egalitarian and local character was gradually eroded and absorbed into state structures.

In the years of *Därg* rule from 1974 to 1991, the "ethnic" profile was largely shed, certainly as compared to the imperial regime that had imposed linguistic "amharization". The *Därg*'s literacy program used 15 languages and there was rhetorical recognition of ethnic diversity. Still, insurgent movements based on ethnic and/or regional identities emerged in many parts of Ethiopia to combat the government's policies and the perceived lack of democracy and respect of ethno-cultural rights. Examples are movements among the Somali, the Oromo, the Təgrayans, Sidaama and ᶜAfar, and of course the Eritreans. Led by educated but unemployed or socially blocked youngsters, students, and sidelined politicians, administrators or military, they usually demanded autonomy or self-determination. In the absence of developed class relations, political parties or other collective identities, the political and military mobilization of marginalized, disenchanted and largely illiterate people on the basis of ethnicity was relatively easy to do in a country with few economic opportunities and a highly authoritarian political system. The metaphorical "family identity" suggested by this appeal to ethnicity had a more emotional resonance among people than any other identity.

In ethno-federal Ethiopia after 1991, a new political regime was introduced based largely on ethnic identity (s. James et al. 2002). The insurgent movement ↗Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), which came to form the core of the post-1991 government, itself has its roots in an ethno-regional resistance movement against the central Ethiopian *Därg* government. Under the TPLF-EPRDF regime since 1991, ethnic identities and languages were given explicit recognition, and "nationalities" defined from above became the units for decentralisation, district borders, educational reform and local administrative autonomy. Ethnicity came to be defined as a vehicle of identity politics (for one early example, s. Markakis 1998). This has led to the use of mother tongue education and to new forms of ethno-linguistic consciousness and feelings (or demands) of recognition. One remarkable case of ethnic redefinition resulted some years ago in the disengagement of the Səlṭi from the Gurage people as a separate nationality (by referendum). On the basis of this (contested) decision the Səlṭi achieved their own administrative zone. The political use of ethnicity also produced a certain freezing of identities, a possible limitation of social interactions (e.g., of intermarriage), more "border conflicts" fuelled by real or perceived resource competition, and a decline of socio-economically induced migration of people. In the present era of globalization, most larger ethnic groups also have ↗diaspora communities outside Ethiopia and Eritrea. Through publications and modern media their educated elites are engaged in the discursive reconstruction and shaping of ethnic identities. This discourse has an important impact, e.g., by emphasizing ethnic boundaries and identities, but may not bear close resemblance to the facts on the ground in the home country. Indeed, while the political elite in both countries is still dominated by members of one or two groups and ethnic tensions exist and frequently erupt in violence, the social and economic problems of Ethiopia and Eritrea affect all ethnic groups and peoples, having made them more interdependent than in the imperial or *Därg* era. This is the paradox of ethnicization: rhetorical construction of difference but greater interdependence in everyday socio-economic life.

↗Eritrea; ↗Ethiopia; ↗Ethiopian Language Area; ↗Migrations

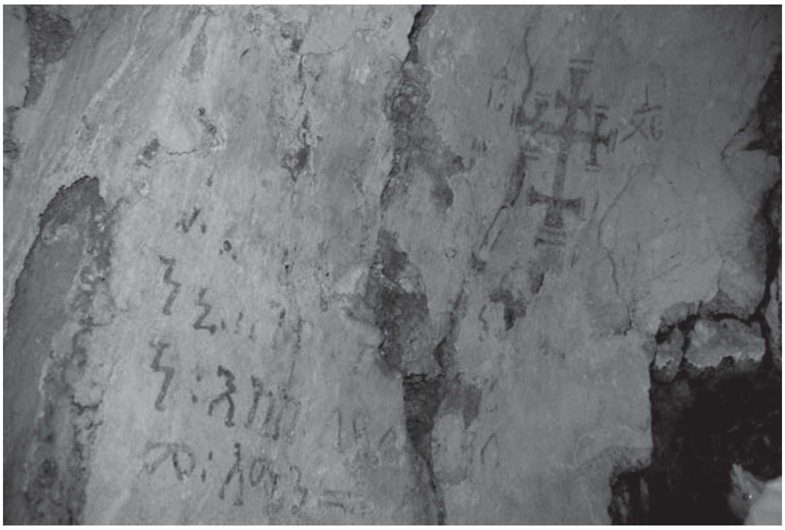
Src.: CSA 1998; CSA 2008; CSA 2009; M. PAUL LEWIS (ed.), *Ethnologue*: *Languages of the World*, Dallas ^{16}2009; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Le canzoni geez–amariña in onore di Re Abissini", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 5, 1889, 53–66; RIÉ I, nos. 185 I; 188–89.

Lit.: ABBAS HAJI GNAMO, "Islam, the Orthodox Church and Oromo Nationalism (Ethiopia)", *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 42, 1 (165), 2002, 99–120; ASMAROM LEGESSE, *Gada*: *Three Approaches to the Study of African Society*, New York – London 1973; BAHRU ZEWDE, "The Changing Fortunes of the Amharic Language: lingua franca or Instrument of Domination?", in: *StudAeth* 303–18; GADI BEN EZER, *The Ethiopian Jewish Exodus*: *Narratives of the Migration Journey to Israel 1977–1985*, London – New York 2002; MARVIN LIONEL BENDER, *The Ethiopian Nilo-Saharans*, Addis Ababa 1975; BendLang; BendNonSLang; FRIEDRICH JULIUS BIEBER, *Kaffa*: *Ein Altkuschitisches Volkstum in Inner-Afrika*, Münster – Wien 1920–23; ABRAHAM JOHANNES DREWES, *Classical Arabic in Ethiopia*, Leiden 1976; ELOI FICQUET, "L'intervention des Oromo-Wällo dans la dynastie éthiopienne salomonide sous le règne de Bäkaffa, Iyasu et Iyoʾas, 1721 à 1769", *AE* 16, 2000, 135–46; DENA FREEMAN — ALULA PANKHURST (eds.), *Peripheral People*: *the Excluded Minorities of Ethiopia*, London 2002; EIKE HABERLAND, "Notes on the History of Konta: a Recent State Formation in Southern Ethiopia", in: *Le Sol, la Parole et l'Écrit*: *2000 Ans d'Histoire Africaine*: *Mélanges en Hommage à Raymond Mauny*, Paris 1981, 735–49; ID. – HELMUT STRAUBE, "Nordost Afrika", in: HERMANN BAUMANN (ed.), *Die Völker Afrikas und ihre traditionelle Kulturen*, Wiesbaden 1979 (SKK 34), vol. 2, 69–156; HabKön; CHRISTOPHER ROBERT HALLPIKE, "The Origins of the Borana Gada System", *Africa* 46, 1976, 48–56; GROVER HUDSON, "Linguistic Analysis of the 1994 Ethiopian Census", *NEASt* 6, 3, 1999, 89–107; ID., "Languages of Ethiopia and Languages of the 1994 Ethiopian Census", *Aethiopica* 7, 2004, 163–75; WENDY JAMES et al. (eds.), *Remapping Ethiopia*: *Socialism and After*, Oxford 2002; DONALD NATHAN LEVINE, *Greater Ethiopia*: *the Evolution of a Multiethnic Society*, Chicago, IL – London 2000; JOHN MARKAKIS, "The Politics of Identity: the Case of the Gurage", in: MOHAMED A. MOHAMED SALIH — JOHN MARKAKIS (eds.), *Ethnicity and the State in Eastern Africa*, Uppsala 1998, 127–46; MHasOr; MOHAMED HASSEN, "Islam as a Resistance Ideology among the Oromo of Ethiopia: the Wallo Case, 1700–1900", in: SAID S. SAMATAR (ed.), *In the Shadow of Conquest*: *Islam in Colonial Northeast Africa*, Trenton, NJ 1994, 75–101; SABINE PLANEL, "Du Wolayta à l'Éthiopie", *AE* 19, 2003, 43–71; SerHist 63, 237, 265; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Processes of Ethnic Interaction and Integration in Ethiopian History: the Case of the Agaw", *JAH* 29, 1988, 5–18; TEKLE WOLDEMIKAEL, "Language, Education and Public Policy in Eritrea", *African Studies Review* 46, 1, 2003, 117–36; TESHALE TIBEBU, *The Making of Modern Ethiopia, 1896–1974*, Lawrenceville, NJ 1994; MAURO TOSCO, "Is There an 'Ethiopian Language Area'?", *Anthropological Linguistics* 42, 3, 2000, 329–65; MICHAEL A. VINSON, *The Struggle for Recognition*: *a Critical Ethnographic Study of the Zay*, Leiden 2012; VSAe II; ZELEALEM LEYEW, *The Kemantney Language*, Köln 2003 (Kuschitische Sprachstudien 20).

Jon Abbink

Lebanon

The presence of Ethiopians in L. is confirmed by two written sources, both analysed by ↗Cerulli (CerPal vol. 1, 325–33).



Gəᶜəz inscriptions in the chapel of Mar Āsīyā, Qādīša, Lebanon; photo 2012, courtesy of the author

An Arabic colophon in the 15th-cent. Ethiopian ↗Psalter Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, ms. Or. qu. 172 (= DillmBerl no. 7), fol. 164v, states that the manuscript belonged to priest Melyos (Miliyos), the head of the Ethiopian monastery on Mount Libanon (Ǧabal Lubnān) and that it was purchased in 1791 of the Seleucid era (1479 A.D.) for 52 drahmas, by Abd as-Sayyid, an Ethiopian from the monastery of Libanos, who in 1794 (1482 A.D.) sold it for 24 drahmas to *qes* Muse (?) from the monastery of ↗Däbrä Bizän in Ethiopia.

Also dating to the end of the 15th cent. is a note in the chronicle written by the Maronite patriarch Isṭifān ad-Duwayhī (Estephan II Boutros El Douaihy; 1629–1704). This records that, in 1470 A.D., a certain churchman by name of Yaᶜqūb (Yaᶜəqob), who emigrated from Ethiopia together with his companions, joined Mār Yaᶜqūb in Ehden, the Maronite monastery in the Qādīša valley, which for that reason was called Dayr al-Aḥbāš. In 1488, as a result of regional conflict between the Maronites and the ↗Jacobites, the Ethiopians, unwilling to accept dependence on a Maronite bishop, were forced to move to the Jacobite monastery of Mār Ǧirǧis in the Ḥadšīt valley. When the Jacobites were expelled from the place and left for ↗Cyprus, the Ethiopians (or some of them) moved to ↗Syria, to the monastery of Mār Mūsa situated in the Qalamūn massif near the village of Nabk. The monastery was later known as [Dayr] Mār Mūsā al-Ḥabašī, perhaps due to the presence of the Ethiopian monks, or to a local church tradition connected to the Egyptian hermit Moses the Ethiopian (↗Moses the Black) whose grave was supposedly located there.

Today the two Lebanese monasteries do not preserve any traces of Ethiopians' presence. However, in 1990, on a wall of the chapel dedicated to the *anargyros* and martyr Mār Āsīyā, and also located in Qādīša, a Gəᶜəz ↗inscription was discovered. Carefully written in large letters (ca. 10 cm tall) and in a trained hand, it was hidden under a layer of whitewash. Only partly uncovered and damaged in the middle by a large crack in the wall, it is difficult to reconstruct but the visible fragments suggest an invocation to ↗Mary. Close to the inscription there are painted ↗crosses (one of them with the sigla) but their forms do not show similarity to Ethiopian crosses. The sketchy figures of horsemen depicted in the vicinity of the inscription bear no Ethiopian characteristics either.

The sources do not provide any information from where the Ethiopians arrived to L. Cerulli points out that there was not a regular community but a group of monks originating from different Ethiopian monasteries, and expresses the hypothesis that they arrived, albeit not directly, from ↗Jerusalem. It cannot be ruled out that they arrived from nearby Cyprus where, in the middle of the 14th cent., an Ethiopian monastic community was established by the exiled monastic leader ↗Ewosṭatewos.

Src.: BudSaint 1030ff.; CerPal I, 325–33; DillmBerl 5f.; Isṭifān ad-Duwayhī, *Tāriḫ al-Azminat 1095–1699*, ed. by Ferdinand Taoutel, Bayrūt 1951 (= Al-Mašriq 44, 1950), 214, 218f.

Lit.: Boutros Abi Aoun – Fadi Baroudi et al., "Site de Mar Asia", *Liban Souterrain* 4, 1993, 2–12; Fadi Baroudi – Paul Khawaja – Alain Maroun, "Découvertes inédites dans la grotte de Assi Hawqa (vallée de la Qadisha): spéléologie, histoire et archéologie", *ibid.* 1, 1988, 6–17; Hanan Charaf – Anis Chaaya, "Syriac Cult Places in Wadi Qadisha in Lebanon", in: Antonio Panaino – Giovanni Pettinato (eds.), *Ideologies as Intercultural Phenomena. Proceedings of the Third Annual Symposium of the Assyrian and Babylonian Intellectual Heritage Project, Chicago, USA, October 27–31, 2000*, Milano 2002 (Melammu Symposia 3), 45–52, here esp. 47 (Lit.); Erica Cruikshank Dodd, "The Monastery of Mar Musa al-Habashi near Nebek, Syria", *Arte medievale* ser. 2a, 6, 1, 1992, 61–144, here 62–65; EAD., *Medieval Painting in the Lebanon*, Wiesbaden 2004, 11ff.; PIERRE JACOB, "Étude analytique de l'inscription éthiopienne dans l'ermitage de Mar Assia (Mont-Liban, vallée de la Qadisha)", *Spéléorient* 1 (1996), 35–38; RAY MOUAWAD, "Les moines éthiopiens au Mont-Liban (fin XVe s.)", *Liban Souterrain* 5, 1998, 188–207; KAMIL SALIBI, *Maronite Historians of Medieval Lebanon*, Beirut 1951, 148–50.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Literature: Ethiopia and Eritrea in literature

I. Introduction
II. Ethiopia and Eritrea in Italian literature
III. Ethiopia and Eritrea in German literature
IV. Ethiopia and Eritrea in French literature
V. Ethiopia and Eritrea in English-language literature

I. Introduction

Ethiopia, Eritrea and the whole of the Horn of Africa have exerted in other cultures from Antiquity through modern, colonial and contemporary times a steady curiosity, interest and fascination that have often been expressed in literary and imaginative form.

Generically understood as the "land of the black people", ↗*Aithiopía* was already the subject of literary compositions from pharaonic Egypt. Ancient Egyptian traditions had a lasting influence on the image of (the unspecific) regions of black people, for which the Egyptian term ↗Kush was used, also found in the Bible, loaned into the Hebrew Bible as *kûš*, and in turn translated in the Greek Bible as *Aithiopía*.

From Ancient Greek through Hellenistic, Imperial Roman and Late Antique times, historians (↗Historiography: Greek sources; ↗Herodotus) and geographers (↗Red Sea; ↗Strabo [s. EAE vol. 5]) wrote on Ethiopia and Eritrea at the best of their knowledge as a field of scholarly and scientific investigation. Also literates (↗Heliodorus) and poets used the concept of *Aithiopía* as an inexhaustible imaginative background, to the extent that in the latter case the mention of the Ethiopians (*Aithíopes*) became a mandatory *tópos* in the epic genre, from Homer, *Od.* I, 23, to the 4th cent. A.D. last great epic poet Nonnus of Panopolis (e.g., *Dionys.* XIII, 347, XXVI, 340–42, etc.). The importance of this perception is confirmed by the fact that in the same 4th cent. A.D. the Aksumites (↗Aksum) identified themselves with the "Ethiopians", as Greek ↗inscriptions show, and in the course of time the Greek loan-word *Ityopya* became the regular self-designation for the country.

From Roman to medieval times, the concept of ↗India also played the same role as "Ethiopia", and was used to designate East African coasts from the Red Sea to the Indian Ocean including the Horn of Africa.

Later on, diverse texts, from geographic works to fiction literature, and even maps in later times, came to identify Ethiopia with "Abassia" or "Habassia" (from the Arabic *al-Ḥabaš*, ↗Abyssinia), as for the well-known case of Marco ↗Polo's (s. EAE vol. 5) "Abasce".

The moving of the legend of ↗Prester John to Africa in the 14th cent. and the growing relationships with Ethiopian communities outside of Ethiopia (↗Jerusalem, ↗Sinai [s. EAE vol. 5], and later Rome [↗Santo Stefano dei Mori]) provided further elements for imaginative and literary inspiration in the European vernacular literatures and arts (↗Moors [s. EAE vol. 5]).

In the 16th cent., the first serious studies on Ethiopia started with the editorial efforts by Johannes ↗Potken, the first extensive and detailed eye-witness report of Ethiopia by Francisco ↗Alvares, and the first historiographic attempt by Mariano ↗Vittori (s. EAE vol. 5). In the following decades the ↗Jesuits' missionary enterprise on the one hand, and the profound linguistic, historical and ethnographical contribution by Hiob ↗Ludolf on the other, fostered an increasing interest and curiosity strived by religious motivation, and along with L. combined to depict a definitely less fanciful Ethiopia at times, at times yet a deliberately utopian or even more imaginative and fictitious land in the works of some authors (Luis de ↗Urreta): Ethiopia actually entered the scene of the modernity as an ideological battlefield.

Since the beginning of the modern period, the focus remained on Christian Ethiopia, but some literary works (especially of geographical nature, but Ludolf's contribution as well) started to be interested also in the diverse non-Christian kingdoms of the region, from ↗Käfa to the Muslim sultanates (↗expeditions, ↗itineraries [s. EAE vol. 5]). Between the 18th and 19th cent., narratives relating to Ethiopia as a "savage" country of feudal warlords and dangerous tribes were the expected outcome of renewed, yet often failing missionary and pre-colonial attempts, while in the 19th cent. adventurous reports and travelogues about "exotic wildlife" also became a widespread custom.

The beginning of an actual colonial interest in the Horn of Africa (↗Colonialism) left a special multifaceted mark in more European literatures, and especially on the Italian one – obviously in consideration of its central role in colonial matters in the Horn and the total amount of people therein involved – where it triggered multi-layered ideological constructions and exerted a lasting and sometimes subterranean imaginative influence.

It is finally only in the 20th cent. that the *tópos* of Ethiopia as a country of poverty and famine appeared in Western literary production, and never remained disjoined from the parallel persistence of utopian fascinations and the everlasting literary and religious popularity of the Solomonic national saga (↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*, ↗Makədda, ↗Rastafari/Rastafarianism).

The evocative power of the Ethio–Eritrean region has thus found its reflection in most literary traditions of the Occident. While most of ancient and medieval works of L., used also as historical sources in ↗Ethiopian studies, have been dealt with in the encyclopaedia entries mentioned above, the present article cluster is dedicated to the pre-modern and modern L. The major modern Western literatures (Italian, English, German and French) are dealt with in detail in the sub-articles below. However, most of other world literatures, too, have at different times and to a different degree made use of the Ethiopian back-drop in their imageries. While many of the authors are mentioned in the entries dedicated to the respective countries' relationships with Ethiopia, examples from several literary traditions including Spanish, Portuguese, Russian, Armenian, Swedish, Danish and Polish are provided below.

In ↗Spain and ↗Portugal, the earliest writings on Ethiopia were either translated or inspired by already existing works. Heliodorus' *Aithiopiká* was rendered in Castilian as *Historia etiópica de los amores de Teágenes y Cariclea* (Anvers 1554) by Fernando de Mena. In Juan de Seguars' text *Processo de cartas de amores* (Venezia 1553), a "collection of love letters", one account is dedicated to an imaginary Ethiopian prince called Luzindaro, who claims he is a prisoner of love. The renowned Spanish author Dom Pedro Caldéron de la Barca wrote a full-length play on Makədda, Queen of Sheba, *La sibila del Oriente y gran reina de Saba* (Madrid 1750).

As for many other Christian countries the legends of Prester John fostered the discussion on his whereabouts by many Portuguese authors. Most Jesuit writers, e.g. ↗Páez, negated the association of him as Ethiopian king. Balthazar ↗Téllez, however, kept this idea in his *História geral da Etiópia a alta, ou Preste Ioam* (Coimbra 1660) and also on a map of Africa. This map served as model for many subsequent writers (e.g., Ludolf) and thus led to manifest the location of the Prester's kingdom. The 17th-cent. Portuguese missionary Jerónimo ↗Lobo, famous for the writings on his missionary travels, *Itinerario e outros escritos inéditos* (written ca. 1640, ed. by Manuel Gonçalves da Costa, Barcelos 1971), inspired, amongst others, the Spanish Alonso de Sandoval to his *De instauranda Aethiopum salute* (Madrid 1647), and later the English Samuel ↗Johnson to his *The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abissinia* (London 1759).

Later Portuguese colonial interest focused, however, more on other parts of the world – the literary imagery concerning Ethiopia being therefore rather small. Out of the rare exceptions one could mention Antonio Lobo Antunes's semi-autobiographic novel *Os cus de Judas* (Lisboa 1979). In this novel the author compares the colonial arrogance of the Salazar era in Angola and Mozambique to that of the 16th cent. Portuguese's interference in Ethiopia. A similar motif is seen in Lidia Jorge's *A Costa dos Murmúrios* (Lisboa 1988).

The Spanish-language Basque poet Bernardo Atxaga's first collection was entitled *Etiopia* (Pott 1978). Recent Spanish writings concerning Ethiopia include, e.g., Juan González Núñez *Etiopia: hombres, lugares y mitos* (Madrid 1990), and Javier Reverte's *Dios, el diablo y la aventura* (Barcelona 2003).

↗Russia's literary interest in Ethiopia has long centred largely on the belief that the African country was the place of origin of Russia's most famous slave: Abraham Ganibal, the great-grandfather of Alexander ↗Pushkin. The poet often reflected to his African root in his poetry and prose and even dedicated to his African ancestor an unfinished seven chapter novel, entitled *Arap Petra velikogo* (St. Petersburg 1829).

Because of its Orthodox Christian heritage, Russia displayed sympathy with ↗Mənilək II in his resistance to (Catholic) Italy's imperialist pretentions. This resulted in the late-19th-cent. exchange of envoys between the two countries, and the dispatch of a ↗Russian Red Cross Mission to Addis Abäba. Aleksandr ↗Bulatovich, Lieutenant of the Tsar's Life-Guard Hussar Regiment, accompanied the Mission in 1896. Besides his official duty he travelled the country and delivered vivid first-hand descriptions of how Mənilək II reorganized his Empire, in his two books *Ot Entoto do reki Baro* (St. Petersburg 1897) and *S Vojskami Menelika II* (St. Petersburg 1900). Bulatovich himself became a literary character, e.g., in Valentin Pikul's *Husar na verbljude* (published in the collection *Tajnyj sovetnik*, Moscow 1988), or, alongside ↗Leontiev, in Yurij V. Davydov's *Zemnaja Atlantida* (publ. in Id., *Izbrannoe*, vol. 3, Moscow 1996).

In the following, Russian literary interest in Ethiopia was largely initiated by the author Petr Nikolaevich Krasnov, who wrote a notable travel book, *Kazaki v Afrike*: *dnevnik načal'nika konvoja Rossijskoj imperatorskoj missii v Abissinii v 1897–98* (St. Petersburg 1899). He was subsequently inspired by his Ethiopian experience to write the first Russian novel related to Ethiopia. It was entitled *Ljubov' abissinki* (*Teruneš)* (St. Peterburg 1903). Krasnov's literary career came to an end when as a monarchist and a White Russian he led the Don Cossacks against the Bolsheviks. Several of his short stories set in Ethiopia were however later published in post World War I Germany, in *Teruneš*: *Aska Mariam. Povesti* (Berlin 1921). Nikolay ↗Gumilev (s. EAE vol. 5), a prominent Russian poet of the "Silver age", travelled extensively in Ethiopia and reflected his experiences in a series of romantically-coloured poems.

Subsequent Ethio–Soviet contacts in the post-World War II period resulted in the publication of four state-favoured Russian novels. The first was Vladimir I. Sinenko's *Strana Ofir. Istoričeskij roman* (Moscow 1960) which told the story of the early Russian traveller E.P. Kovalevskij. Two other Soviet works deal with the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa and the support Ethiopia received from the Russians. One was Nikolaj N. Kit'jan's *Zemeča* (Rostov-on-Don 1966); the other was a children's book, by the aforementioned Yurij V. Davydov, *O druzjah tvoih, Afrika* (Moscow 1962). A fourth novel was Evgenij P. Golubev's *Uale Alemu nahodit druzej. Priključenčeskaja povest* (Kostroma 1963) which recalled the Russian Red Cross mission of 1896/97.

The ↗famine of the 1970s became the backdrop of the childrens story *Mal'čik iz podnebesja* by Vladislav Bahrevskij (Moscow 1987). In the recent decades, Ethiopia has been frequently used as Russian-language fantasy fiction domain. The story of the Ethiopian slave Ganibal was revived in Boris Stern's fantasy novel *Efiop, ili poslednij iz KGB* (Kiev 1997), and Aleksej Šehovṣov's satire *Čornyj vlastelin* (Moskva 2012) transforms a 21st-cent. Russian into the 13th-cent. Solomonic ruler ↗Yagba Ṣəyon.

Diplomatic, scholarly and missionary contact between Ethiopia and Scandinavia led to the publication of several literary works in ↗Sweden and Denmark. Ten Swedish poems by Dr. Eyvind Bratt, the Swedish chargé d'Affaires in Addis Abäba, were published in an attractive volume, entitled *Arcadia Ethiopica: Etiopiska landskap skildrade i sonetter* (Stockholm 1961). They were illustrated by Björn von Rosen. This was followed by the publication of Anna Riwkin-Brick's book of black and white photographs of Ethiopia, entitled *Gennet bor i Etiopien* (Stockholm 1967).

A notable Danish woman writer of juvenile literature at this time was Cecil Bødker, who was invited by a compatriot, Gunner Pauldon, a forestry expert, to "write a novel" set in Ethiopia. Complying with this request she produced two literary works: *Leoparden* (København 1970) and *Dimma Gole*: *en fortaelling om en ethioperdreng* (København 1970). Both works were almost immediately also published in Swedish.

The life of the 19th-cent. Swedish Protestant missionary Johan Carlsson provided the background to two literary works by a Swedish author Kai Henmark (*Den som älskar sover inte*: *en resa i det kristna språket*, n.p. 1975; and *Kärleken är ett träd*: *en övning i det kristna språket*, n.p. 1976).

A fictional account of Ethiopia's Armenian community by William Semerjibashian was published in his "Ethiopian Sketches" in the journal *Ararat* (12, 3, 1981, 22–34).

Apart from a few travellers' accounts translated into Polish prior to ↗World War II, Polish writers began to take interest in Ethiopia in the 1960s and 70s under stimulation by the foreign policy of socialist ↗Poland, which favoured the so-called Third World countries, including Ethiopia. Wacław Korabiewicz, a physician by profession, recorded in *Eskulap w Etiopii* (Warszawa 1963) his working experience in a hospital in ↗Gore in 1954–56. He subsequently also authored *Słońce na ambach* (Warszawa 1970) and *Śladami amuletu* (Warszawa 1974), telling about his own fascination with Ethiopian crosses. Ethiopia appears also in his book about East Africa, *Dobry Simba* (Warszawa 1979), as well as in his autobiography *Złowiłem życie* (Warszawa 1973).

Marian Brandys's *Z Panem Biegankiem w Abisynii* (Warszawa 1962) gives a vivid account of the country, which he visited together with two fictitious heroes – a modest businessman Paweł and amusing Mr. Albin Bieganek – creating a rather bright, though sketchy, portrait of Ethiopia towards the end of the ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's regime. By contrast, *Królestwo za bramą łez* (Warszawa 1971) by Andrzej Bińkowski depicts the same period in fairly dark colours. Another travelogue, *Koniec cesarstwa na dachu Afryki* (Warszawa 1976) by Leon Onichimowski, gives a detailed account of the ↗Coup d'état 1960 (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081f.). In *Każdemu według marzeń* (Łódź 1976), Andrzej Wilczkowski documents a pioneering Polish expedition to the ↗Səmen mountains.

The book which has most attracted the attention of Polish readers to Ethiopia and perhaps has shaped to a certain extent the view of the country is *Cesarz* (Warszawa 1978) by Ryszard ↗Kapuściński, who also authored *Wojna futbolowa* (Warszawa 1978), covering the Ethiopian ↗Revolution of 1974, and *Heban* (Warszawa 1998). In the latter reportage, the author describes ↗Eritrea after gaining the independence in 1991.

More recent and comprehensive travel books are *Etiopia. Ale czat*! (Warszawa 2009) by Martyna Wojciechowska, which gained a vast readership, and *Trzy filiżanki Etiopii* (Poznań 2009) by Wojciech Bobilewicz. Ignacy Karpowicz's *Nowy kwiat cesarza* (*i pszczoły*) (Warszawa 2007) is a reflective reportage about his journey to the northern part of Ethiopia.

The second volume of the Czech travellers' Jiří Hanzelka and Miroslav Zikmund *Afrika snů a skutečnosti* (Praha 1952) is almost entirely dedicated to Ethiopia and Eritrea.

Lit.: WENDY LAURA BELCHER, *Abyssinia's Samuel Johnson*: *Ethiopian Thought in the Making of an English Author*, New York 2012; WALTER B. CARNOCHAN, *Golden Legends*: *Images of Abyssinia, Samuel Johnson to Bob Marley*, Stanford, CA 2008; STANISLAW CHOJNACKI, "Dr. Zagiell's 'Journey' to Abyssinia: a Piece of Polish Pseudo-Ethiopica", *JES* 2, 1, 1964, 25–32; COLIN DARCH, "P.N. Krasnov's Journey to Ethiopia", *Africa* (Roma) 30, 1975, 600–01; ALEKSANDAR HEMON, "Misguided Tour" [review], *The Village Voice*, 24 April, 2001, http://www.villagevoice.com/2001-04-24/books/misguided-tour/ last access 09.08.2012; HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, "The Autobiography of Emperor Haile Sellassie I. 'My Life and Ethiopia's Progress,' 1892–1937" [review], *IJAHS* 10, 1977, 494–500; ISABEL MOUTINHO, *The Colonial Wars in Contemporary Portuguese Fiction*, Woodbridge 2008, 30, 84; BEATA NOWACKA – ZYGMUNT ZIĄTEK, *Ryszard Kapuściński: biografia pisarza*, Kraków 2008; JOHN RYLE, "At Play in the Bush of Ghosts: Tropical Baroque, African Reality and the Work of Ryszard Kapuściński" [review], *Times Literary Supplement*, 27 July 2001, http://www.richardwebster.net/johnryle.html last access 09.08.2012.

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II. Ethiopia and Eritrea in Italian literature

Pre-colonial literature

Until the 19th cent. descriptions of Ethiopia, Eritrea and their inhabitants were not common in Italian poetry and literature. However, some important literary or semi-literary examples can be found:

Late 13th cent., Marco ↗Polo's (s. EAE vol. 5) *Milione* with references to *Abasce* (Abyssinia) and its king (Sergio Solmi, *Il Libro di Marco Polo detto Milione*: *nella versione trecentesca dell'"ottimo"*, Torino 1954: CLXVIII–CLXX); end of 15th cent., Giuliano Dati's poems on an imaginary India and Ethiopia, including *Gran Magnificentia de Prete Janni, Signore della India Maggiore et della Ethiopia* (Roma 1493–94), and *Secondo cantare dell'India* (Roma 1494–95); early 16th cent., Ludovico Ariosto's poem *Orlando Furioso* (ed. Lanfranco Caretti, Firenze 1954 [3rd ed. 1532]), mentioning *Etïopia*, its inhabitants *Etïopi*, their kings *Senapo* and *Preteianni* (↗Prester John); Ludovico de ↗Varthema's *Itinerario* (Milano 1928 [ed. Paolo Giudici]), whose last part is called *Libro della Ethiopia* (while the appendix mentions *Etyopia*), actually referring to different areas in Southern Africa; Paolo ↗Giovio's *Historiarum sui temporis libri* (Pauli Iovii, *Opera, cura et studio Societatis historicae Novocomensis denuo edita*, III: *Historiarum tomus primus*, Roma 1957 [ed. Dante Visconti]), devoted some attention to Ethiopia, both in reliable and legendary ways; 16th cent., Giovanni Battista Ramusio's *Navigationi et viaggi* (Venezia 1550), translating Francisco ↗Alvares's report of his visit to Prester John's kingdom; late 16th cent., Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* (Venezia 1745, canto xii) portraying Clorinda, daughter of the Ethiopian Christian king Senapo (as already mentioned by Ariosto).

Colonial literature

With the rise of Italian colonialism in the Horn of Africa (s. ↗Colonia di Assab; ↗Eritrea, Colonial history; ↗Africa Orientale Italiana), Italian literature started to devote more attention to Ethiopia and Eritrea. In the 19th cent. Italian explorers and missionaries had already travelled widely in the region and reported on it (cp. Antonio ↗Cecchi, Gustavo ↗Bianchi, Guglielmo ↗Massaja, Giuseppe ↗Sapeto, etc.). They were followed by numerous travellers and writers who, in their semi-literary descriptions, often described colonialism as a beneficial encounter between civilizations and a tool for Italy's nation-building rather than as a moment of oppression and exploitation:

Carlo Piaggia's travel reports of 1871/73 (*Le memorie di Carlo Piaggia*, Firenze 1941 [ed. Giovanni Alfonso Pellegrinetti]); Emilio Salgari's (Ammiragliador) numerous articles, referring to Asia, Africa (^{c}Asäb) and colonialism (*A Tripoli!*! *Il Mahdi, Gordon e gli italiani ad Assab nelle "corrispondenze" per la Nuova Arena* (*1883–1885*), repr. Padova 1994); Ferdinando ↗Martini wrote semi-literary accounts whose purpose was to provide reliable descriptions of Eritrea, by combining literary, documentary and administrative scopes (*Nell'Affrica italiana*: *Impressioni e ricordi*, Milano 1891). Martini describes "Affrica" not only as a miserable place, but also as a pure and primordial one, where the human spirit can elevate itself and meet God; Rosalia Pianavia-Vivaldi, *Tre anni in Eritrea* (Milano 1901); Gabriele D'Annunzio's *Più che l'amore* (1905; publ. in: D'Annunzio, *Tragedie sogni e misteri*, Milano 1939, 1065–1231) implied imperialistic intent by evoking the values of Rome; Enrico Alberto d'Albertis, *Una gita all'Harrar* (Milano 1906).

In Martini's texts we start perceiving a *tópos* that would characterize Italian *regard* onto the Horn of Africa: the so-called *mal d'Africa* is a sort of "colonial nostalgia" for a fantasized pre-colonial Africa to which the metropolitan citizen would surely become addicted (in 1934 *Mal d'Africa* is also the title of Riccardo Bacchelli's novel). The battles of ↗Dogᶜali (1887) and ↗ᶜAdwa (1896) also left their mark in Italian literary production:

Martini published *Cose Affricane*: *Da Saati ad Abba Carima* (Milano 1896), analyzing Italian colonialism in the Horn following the battle of Dogᶜali; this was followed in 1889 by Alfredo Oriani's collection of writings, *Fino a Dogali* (Bologna 1923), a semi-literary essay in which the heroic description of the Italian army turns the Dogᶜali battle into a new local Thermopylae; in 1911 Giovanni Pascoli's *La grande Proletaria si è mossa* (publ. in: Giovanni Pascoli, *Prose* vol. 1, Milano 1946, 557–58), evokes Italy's efforts at nation-building in the ancestry of Rome and recalls the trauma of ᶜAdwa; despite the defeat of ᶜAdwa, Enrico Corradini depicts Italian colonialism in Africa as a heroic phenomenon in such novels as *La patria lontana* (Milano 1910) and *La guerra lontana* (Milano 1911).

Around 1900, a number of Italian scientists and intellectuals were apt to stress cultural or genetic links between Rome, the Mediterranean Sea and the Horn of Africa, thus implicitly sanctioning the legitimacy of Italian colonialism. Anthropologist Giuseppe Sergi formulated the theory of the "Euro-African species", and the *Homo eurafricanus*. The shape taken by Futurism (the Italian literary and artistic movement founded by Marinetti in 1909) was also influenced by the issues raised at home by Italian colonialism, although Futurism rejected the myth of ancient Rome as the glue between Italy and its colonies.

Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, influenced by Nietzsche's philosophy, wrote the novel *Mafarka le futuriste*: *Roman africain* (Paris 1909, Italian tr. as *Mafarka il futurista*, Milano 1910). Here Marinetti uses invented words inspired by Arabic and Berber, Amharic, and other languages of Eritrea and Somalia. Moreover, he wanted "Italian colonial literature" to become more realistic, getting rid of sentimental frippery.

Fascist influences

A particularly large number of literary and semiliterary texts were published during Fascism. In 1926 the winner of the newly founded colonial novel prize (*Piccolo amore beduino* by Mario dei Gaslini, Milano 1926) introduced the colonial model of the brave "fascist man" and opened the path to a new "political" literature, committed to building a colonial and imperial image of Africa for common people. During Fascism representations of colonial Africa shifted progressively towards political propaganda and increased racist elements during 1930s:

Raimondo Franchetti, *Nella Dancalia etiopica*: *Spedizione italiana 1928–29* (Milano 1930); Guelfo Civinini, *Ricordi di carovana*: *Abissinia settentrionale 1924, Abissinia occidentale 1926* (Milano 1932); Arnaldo ↗Cipolla, *Un'imperatrice d'Etiopia* (Firenze 1930), *In Etiopia* (Torino 1933) and *L'Abissinia in armi* (Firenze 1935); Lidio Cipriani, *Un assurdo etnico*: *L'impero etiopico* (Firenze 1935); Vittorio Tedesco Zammarano, *Auhér mio sogno*: *Romanzo di terra lontana* (Milano 1935) and *Da Adua al lago Tana*: *Alle sorgenti del Nilo Azzurro* (Milano 1936); Sem Benelli, *Io in Africa* (Milano – Verona 1936); Mario Appelius, *Il crollo dell'impero del Negus* (Milano – Verona 1937); Giuseppe Bottai's diary, *Quaderno affricano* (Firenze 1939); Alba Felter Sartori, *Vagabondaggi, soste, avventure negli albori di un Impero* (Brescia 1940); Ciro Poggiali, *Albori dell'Impero*: *L'Etiopia come è e come sarà* (Milano 1938); Alberto ↗Pollera, *La donna in Etiopia* (Roma 1922) and *Storie, leggende e favole del paese dei Negus* (Firenze 1936); Orio Vergani, *La via nera. Viaggio in Etiopia da Massaua a Mogadiscio* (Milano 1938); the collection of publications *I grandi italiani d'Africa* (including Martini's *Il diario eritreo*, Firenze 1942–43, and Piaggia's *Le memorie di Carlo Piaggia*).

Erotic elements and ↗sexuality always took an important place in Italian colonialism. Relations between Italian men and African women played a central role in colonialist practices. In 1937 the Italian government classified "inter-racial" concubinage a crime, thus opening the road to the wider racist legislation. During Fascism, popular and commercial "erotic-love novels" set in colonial Italian Africa tended to portray a white Italian hero who lived with a black, "docile", North-east-African woman, who was portrayed as "naturally" prone to submit to the man's superiority, thus opening the path to the Italian "mission of civilization" in Africa (s. for instance: Gino Mitrano Sani, *Femina somala. Romanzo coloniale del Benadir*, Napoli 1933; Vittorio Tedesco Zammarano, *Azanagò non pianse. Romanzo d'Africa*, Milano – Verona 1934). Such colonial "erotic-love novels" (which displayed various racist nuances with different degrees of intensity) did not survive the rise of State racism which banned "inter-racial" relationships and their representations during the 1930s.

The Ethiopian campaign

The ↗Italian war of 1935–36 influenced literary production in the following years:

Gabriele D'Annunzio wrote *Teneo te Africa*: *La seconda gesta d'Oltremare* (Gardone Riviera 1936), a collection of writings (including the pamphlet *Adua*), meant to praise the Italian occupation of Ethiopia, as a final revenge for the ᶜAdwa defeat; Filippo Tommaso Marinetti's support and participation in the Ethiopian Campaign is evident in *Il Poema Africano della Divisione "28 Ottobre"* (Milano 1937), where he mentions, among others: *Adua*, *Tigrai*, *Axum*, *Amba Aradam*, *Abbi Addì*, *Addis Abeba*. Marinetti also exalted Italian Africa, suggesting that it gave energy to poetry and art (*L'Africa generatrice e ispiratrice di poesia e arti*, Roma 1940); Indro Montanelli, a volunteer in the Ethiopian Campaign as an officer of the ↗*Askari* troops, published his memoir *XX Battaglione eritreo* (Milano 1936), followed by *Guerra e pace in A.O.* (Firenze 1937), *Ambesà* (Milano 1938), and *Qui non riposano* (Milano 1945); Dino Buzzati, journalist for the leading newspaper *Corriere della Sera*, wrote semi-literary texts on Eritrea, such as *Messaggero del Sud* (1939, republished as *Ombra del Sud* in: Buzzati, *Opere scelte*, ed. Giulio Carnazzi, Milano 1998, 637–43) and *Notte dancala con ingegnere e gattopardo* (1939, republished in Buzatti 1998, 1373–79) that supports Italy's "civilizing" mission.

Post-colonial literature

Even in the post-colonial period, important writers (such as Ennio Flaiano's *Tempo di uccidere,* Milano 2000 [1947] and Giovanni Comisso's *Le mie stagioni*, Treviso 1951) described Eritrean brothels. Riccardo Bacchelli's novel *Mal d'Africa* (Milano 1934), although written during the period of Fascism, did not glorify the "Italian colonial hero", as in Ennio Flaiano's *Tempo di uccidere* (Milano 1947), written right after the end of Italian colonialism and partly based on Flaiano's experiences as a second-lieutenant in the Horn during the Ethiopian campaign. Both Bacchelli's and Flaiano's novels – even if their literary value is greater than the colonial "erotic-love novels"– feature some stereotyped African sex-scenes (or rather rape-scenes). The encounter between an Abyssinian woman and an Italian man is crucial to the development of *Tempo di uccidere*, which is probably the only Italian novel set in a colonial African background that is still well-known in Italy and abroad.

The early post-colonial era sees many accounts of authors who had spent time in the region and had tried to come to terms with their experiences in literary form:

Giovanni Comisso, journalist for *Gazzetta del popolo* in 1937, wrote *Le mie stagioni* (Treviso 1951): a memoir spanning from 1918 to 1945; referring to the "Abyssinian war", Africa Orientale Italiana and numerous sites in the Horn (*Massaua*, *Dancalia*, *Gondar*, *Asmara*, *Lago Tana*, *Dessiè*, *Gimma*, *Harrar*, etc.); the memoir of a military doctor and high-grade colonial official, Alberto Denti di Pirajno, *Un medico in Africa,* was published in Italy in (Venezia) 1952; in (Milano) 1971 Ciro Poggiali's *Diario AOI*: *15 giugno 1936–4 ottobre 1937. Gli appunti segreti dell'inviato del Corriere della Sera* was published posthumously, providing details of the occupation of Ethiopia, colonial life, ↗Graziani's assassination attempt, its revenge and the related massacre in 1937.

Around 1970, the writer and filmmaker Pier Paolo Pasolini (s. also Film, EAE vol. 5) travelled to the Horn of Africa. Some of his writings focused on Ethiopia and Eritrea:

The travelogue *La grazia degli Eritrei* (publ. in: Pasolini, *Corpi e luoghi*, Roma 1981, 50–54 [1968; ed. Michele Mancini – Giuseppe Perrella]), the poem *Poesia amarica* (ca. 1969, publ. in: Id., *Tutte le poesie*, Milano 2003 [ed. Walter Siti], 282f.), the travelogue *Post-scriptum a "La grazia degli Eritrei"* (1973, in: Pasolini 1981, 55-58) and the article *Le mie "Mille e una notte"* (in: *Playboy*, September 1973, re-publ. in: Pasolini, *Romanzi e racconti*, vol. 2, Milano 1998 [ed. Walter Siti], 1884–1921).

These texts, of an autobiographic and narrative nature, provide accurate but disturbing descriptions of people and landscapes, exalt the "grace" and beauty of Eritreans and allow Italian colonial memory to emerge.

Many later accounts were written by travellers or expatriates:

Giorgio Manganelli's description of his 1970's travel, *Viaggio in Africa* (Milano 2006); Erminia Dell'Oro, born and raised in Asmära, moved to Italy in the late 1950s. Dell'Oro wrote (love-)novels that focus primarily on Eritrea and Eritreans, Jewish migration to Africa, and Italian colonial memory, sometimes showing nostalgic feelings (*Asmara addio*, Pordenone 1988; *L'Abbandono. Una storia Eritrea*, Torino 1991; *Il fiore di Merara*, Milano 1994); the novel *Regina di fiori e di perle* (Roma 2007) by Gabriella Ghermandi, born in Addis Abäba to an Ethiopian mother and an Italian father, bases on family saga and storytelling. Ghermandi's novel also focuses on Ethiopia, Italy–Ethiopia relations, migration, on the memory of war and colonialism.

Some of the fictional literature was:

Umberto Eco's *Baudolino* (Milano 2000) "featuring" Prester John and his fabulous kingdom; Carlo Lucarelli's historical-thriller *L'ottava vibrazione* (Torino 2008) which takes place in Massawa of 1896, right before the battle of ᶜAdwa. Lucarelli's novel somehow resembles Italian colonial fictional literature, in particular in its representation of African women; Andrea Camilleri's short novel *Il nipote del Negus* (Palermo 2010) ironically portrays fascist imperialism by focusing on the life of ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's nephew, prince Bərhanä Śəllase, who studied in Sicily in 1929–32.

Lit.: Riccardo Bonavita, "Lo sguardo dall'alto: Le forme della razzizzazione nei romanzi coloniali e nella narrativa esotica", in: Centro Furio Jesi (ed.), *La menzogna della razza*: *Documenti e immagini del razzismo e dell'antisemitismo fascista*, Bologna 1994, 53–64; Id., "L'amore ai tempi del razzismo: Discriminazioni di razza e di genere nella narrativa fascista", in: Alberto Burgio (ed.), *Nel nome della razza*: *Il razzismo nella storia d'Italia 1870–1945*, Bologna 1999, 491–501; Charles Burdett, *Journeys through Fascism*: *Italian Travel Writing between the Wars*, New York – Oxford 2007; Angelo Del Boca, *La nostra Africa, nel racconto di cinquanta italiani che l'hanno percorsa, esplorata e amata*, Vicenza 2003; Derek Duncan, "Italian Identity and the Risks of Contamination: the Legacies of Mussolini's Demographic Impulse in the Work of Comisso, Flaiano and Dell'Oro", in: Jacqueline Andall – Derek Duncan (eds.), *Italian Colonialism*: *Legacy and Memory*, Oxford 2005, 99–123; Emilio Gentile, "*La nostra sfida alle stelle*": *Futuristi in politica*, Roma – Bari 2009; Antonio Gramsci, *Letteratura e vita nazionale*, Torino 1950; Renato Lefevre, "Riflessi etiopici nella cultura europea del Medioevo e del Rinascimento (parte I)", *Annali Lateranensi* 8, 1944, 9–89; Cristina Lombardi-Diop, "Pioneering Female Modernity: Fascist Women in Colonial Africa", in: Ruth Ben-Ghiat – Mia Fuller, (eds.), *Italian Colonialism*, New York 2005, 145–54; Maria Pagliara, "Faccetta nera", in: Gigliola De Donato – Vanna Gazzola Stacchini (eds.), *I best seller del ventennio*: *Il regime e il libro di massa*, Roma 1991, 365–79; Giuseppe Sergi, *Africa*: *Antropologia della stirpe camitica* (*specie eurafricana*), Torino 1897; Id., *Europa*: *L'origine dei popoli europei e loro relazioni coi popoli d'Africa, d'Asia e d'Oceania*, Milano – Torino – Roma 1908; Barbara Sòrgoni, *Etnografia e colonialismo*: *L'Eritrea e l'Etiopia di Alberto Pollera* (*1873–1939*), Torino 2002; Giovanna Tomasello, *L'Africa tra mito e realtà*: *Storia della letteratura coloniale italiana*, Palermo 2004; Giovanna Trento, "The Italian 'Race Laws' and the Representations of Africans: Questioning 'Madamato' and Italian Colonial Fictional Literature", *The International Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences* 9, 3, 2008, 137–48; Ead., *Pasolini e l'Africa, l'Africa di Pasolini*: *Panmeridionalismo e rappresentazioni dell'Africa postcoloniale*, Milano – Udine 2010; Ead., "From Marinetti to Pasolini: Massawa, the Red Sea and the Construction of 'Mediterranean Africa' in Italian Literature and Cinema", *NEASt* 12, 1, 2012, 269–303 (special issue ed. by Jonathan Miran, *Space, Mobility, and Translocal Connections across the Red Sea Area since 1500*).

Giovanna Trento

III. Ethiopia and Eritrea in German literature

Influenced by the legend of ↗Prester John, the regions beyond Egypt, roughly identified as Ethiopia, with its "exotic" cultures and peoples, had an early fascination for German writers. Following the 16th cent. reformation in Germany, interest in "Christians beyond the Catholic sphere" became especially strong in Germany, and out of this, a firm interest in "Abyssinia", in her culture, religious traditions and languages developed. This was further nourished by the rigorous Semitist training of theologians at numerous universities, which, starting from the 17th cent., often included Gəᶜəz in their studies (cp. ↗Germany, relations with).

Two factors eventually led to the rise of Ethiopia as a theme in fiction: from the mid-19th cent. onwards, reports by "explorers" of Africa and of scholarly ↗expeditions (e.g., to Christian Ethiopia, ↗Käfa etc.) often received wide attention; in addition, Ethiopia as an internationally recognized independent state awoke much interest, especially in its (partially only imagined) ancient past. In the later 20th cent., ↗warfare and ↗famine were added as topic, while the fascination with Ethiopia as an ancient land continued to play a role in publications.

Medieval literature

The first reference to "pagan lands of blacks" was by Wolfram von Eschenbach in his monumental epos, *Parzival* around 1200 A.D. (tr. by Dieter Kühn, Frankfurt am Main 1994), referring to a legendary Belacane (Belakane), a black "oriental queen" who fell in love with a Christian French crusader and conceived her son Faireviz (lit. 'mixed son'; Baum 1999: 202; cp. Kühn 1994). This son later went to Europe in search of his father and then, after many adventures Christianized ↗"India". There he becomes the father of Prester John, king of "India". It has been hypothesized that the story is influenced by a medieval version of the myth of the Queen of Sheba (↗Makədda), transferred to Europe through Arabic sources, and thus even antedating the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*. Interesting is also the early reference to Prester John, a narrative on an "utopia" outside Christian Europe (Smidt 2006), which was eventually linked with Christian Ethiopia.

Early modernity

The 16th cent. reformation which marked especially the northern princedoms of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, had a peculiar influence on the image of Christian Ethiopia. The reformers continued the quest of the humanists for lost manuscripts and lost knowledge (the so-called "philosophia perennis") – in an attempt to recover traditions independent of the Catholic Church, traditions which might help to understand the Biblical word of God. Johannes ↗Potken published the first ever printed Gəᶜəz text in 1513, thus raising the interest especially of Protestants in the idea of finding the ancient Biblical "Chaldaic" language.

Due to the systematic collection of (sometimes unpublished) geographic data over generations from the most diverse sources, geographic works are among the most detailed works treating northeast African regions – often mixing facts with legend and misinterpretations. Isaac Vossius (*De Nili et aliorum fluminum origine*, Den Haag 1666), with detailed maps, was one of the first to correctly attribute the rise of the ↗Nile to the heavy rainfall in Ethiopia.

Ethiopia did not appear much in early modern fiction, Happel's *Africanische Tarnolast* of 1689 (Ulm 1689) being a rare exception. More important was the philosophic, geographic and anthropological literature, Immanuel Kant's writings being one example. Kant's imagination of Christian Ethiopia (in German then "Abessinien") was based on extensive reading and thus may be taken as representative of his period: there was a German legend of a "Schlaraffenland" (a 'land of plenty'), which Kant linked to Ethiopia, at least etymologically, explaining it through "schlauer Affen Land" ('land of intelligent monkeys'; Immanuel Kant, *Sämmtliche Werke*: *In Chronologischer Reihenfolge*, ed. by Gustav Hartenstein, Leipzig 1868, 417ff.).

Also in the 18th cent., the famous German writer Knigge (Adolph Freiherr von Knigge, *Benjamin Noldmanns Geschichte der Aufklärung in Abyssinien oder Nachricht von seinem Vetters Aufenthalte an dem Hofe des großen Negus, oder Priesters Johannes*, Göttingen 1791) used Ethiopia as the scene for his dissident novel on the introduction of enlightenment into a monarchy. He seems to have been inspired by the travel account of James ↗Bruce (cp. BruNile), and also to some degree by Johann Heinrich ↗Michaelis's biography of Peter ↗Heyling, who had become a leading courtier, just as Knigge's hero "Joseph Wurmbrand" (*Sonderbarer Lebens-Lauff Herrn Peter Heylings, aus Lübec, Und dessen Reise nach Ethiopien …*, Halle 1724).

Geographers, explorers, researchers until the 20th cent.

The era of the enlightenment created a new approach to the world, soon translated into a thirst for scientific – especially geographic and ethnographic – expeditions. Starting from the early 19th cent., north-eastern Africa, one of the first areas in Africa to open itself up to explorers, attracted German scholars (such as ↗Rüppell) and even settlers, such as Wilhelm ↗Schimper, who partially lived from their writings.

German 19th-cent. literature on Ethiopia is marked by a number of sometimes artfully produced travel reports, some of them with a rather popular approach, addressed to the well-educated, others quite scientific, and often richly illustrated:

Johann Martin ↗Bernatz (s. EAE vol. 5) published his book, *Bilder aus Äthiopien* (*Bilder aus Äthiopien. Nach der Natur gezeichnet und beschrieben. In zwei Abtheilungen: I. Aden und das heisse vulkanische Tiefland der Danakil, II. Das Hochland von Süd-Abyssinien oder Schoa*, Hamburg 1854), with his paintings and drawings from his travels to the Southern ↗Red Sea coast, ↗ᶜAfar, and ↗Šäwa in 1854. He was also asked to illustrate a number of other travel accounts to the East-Sudan and Abyssinia (e.g., ↗Heuglin or ↗Harris); a German prince, Ernest II of Sachsen-Coburg-Gotha travelled the northern "Abyssinian borderlands" (see his work of 1864, partially written by Gustav Freytag and Friedrich Gerstäcker, illustrated by the painter Kretzschmar; *Reise des Herzogs Ernst II von Sachsen-Coburg und Gotha nach Ägypten und den Ländern der Habab, Mensa und Bogos*, Leipzig 1864).

During that period German Protestant missionaries (↗Protestantism) became very active in Ethiopia. The missionaries' writings on Ethiopia shaped the image of Ethiopia especially around the time of the ↗Napier expedition. However, of greater influence were the writings on the Oromo, especially by ↗Krapf (who imagined a country "Ormania", i.e. the unified country of all Oromo, a precursor of Oromiyaa, as a future factor in a radical religious reform of the whole region; cp. ↗Fathme, Pauline; ↗Ruufoo).

As the number of Germans present in Ethiopia rose, especially after 1902 (e.g., ↗Erlanger), there followed an increasing number of publications. The Italian–Ethiopian conflict in the mid-1930s led to a boom; many who had spent time in Ethiopia felt the urge to publish on their experiences, sometimes many decades after their travels. These works can be grouped roughly as follows:

a) rather romantic approaches to Ethiopia; such as Ernst Heinrich Schrenzel's *Land ohne Hunger, Land ohne Zeit* (Berlin 1926);
b) badly-informed, rather curious combinations of touristic travel reports and re-constructed imagination, exaggerations mixed with precise descriptions of persons and events; such as Kurt Herzbruch (*Abessinien, Eine Reise zum Hofe Kaiser Meneliks II*, München 1925) or Rupert Recking (*Ein Kaiserreich auf Aktien*: *Ein Journalist erzählt*, Stuttgart – Berlin 1936);
c) some exceptional, well-informed cases, creating the image of a "quasi-medieval", feudalistic Ethiopia with ancient, i.e. "original", Christian tradition reminiscent of ancient times; such as ↗Rosen or ↗Grühl;
d) the strictly scholarly works; such as Enno Littmann (*Abessinien*, Hamburg 1935).

In general, the image conveyed of Ethiopia is very positive (which is also reflected in the ↗film [s. EAE vol. 5] production of the time, cp. Martin Rikli, *Wie ich Abessinien sah*, Berlin 1935; a photo book accompanying the film). After Italy's victory over Ethiopia in 1936, the production of books on Ethiopia virtually stopped; the few publications that appeared tended to reproduce the new official friendship with fascist Italy, such as a reportage published by a reporter of the *Völkischer Beobachter* (the official organ of the ruling NSDAP). Another work of a pro-fascist German writer was Harun el-Raschid Bey's novel *Schwarz oder Weiß*?, Berlin 1940, which treats the Ethiopian–Italian war of 1935/36 and which was dedicated to Mussolini. The real name of this author was Wilhelm Hintersatz, a high-ranking SS officer, writing under an Arabic pseudonym. Scholarly imagination also found its way into the purely academic scene. Ethiopia encouraged the self-image of an ancient Christian state, and this is reflected in scholarly literature into the 1970s (a classical example being Ernst Hammerschmidt's *Äthiopien, Christliches Reich zwischen gestern und morgen*).

The 19th and 20th cent. saw a great number of richly illustrated books. The visual aspect of these publications, however, has not yet been well studied. These photo books fostered the image of the "exotic other".

20th cent. fictional literature

The rising interest in Ethiopia also led to the publication of novels set in the region or alluding to it:

The first such work was one by the then very popular novelist Karl May, *Der Scheik von Harrar* (Hannover 1966 [Das Waldröschen 27]), in the late 19th cent., written in the tradition of an adventure novel, on the basis of the wide popularity of explorers' travel accounts (Smidt 2004; Dohrmann 2006); allusion to Ethiopia is made in Josef Eckerskorn's one act play *Der Prinz von Abessinien* ('The Prince from Abyssinia', Bonn 1913) as an "exotic" place of origin for one character, who is however never seen on the stage.

Several other German works of fiction relating to Ethiopia followed in the 1920s. The first, which reflected increasing international awareness of ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel (Fälaša), was Selig Schachnowitz's *Salomo der Falascha*: *Eine Geschichte aus der Gegenwart* (Frankfurt 1921).

Soon afterwards, the increasing German interest in early-20th cent. Ethiopia was reflected in the publication of two fictional works:

Kurt von Gagern-Frankenthal's two works published both in Leipzig in 1926, *Der Abessinier* ('The Abyssinian') and *Kaiser Menelik* ('Emperor Mənilək'). The latter work, which was intended for young readers, told how Prince Mənilək had escaped from detention at Mäqdäla, to become King of Šäwa, and was later renowned as the victor of the Battle of ʿAdwa in 1896; scarcely less exciting was Edwin Demel's novel *In der Gewalt der Galla*: *Abenteuererzählung aus dem abessinischen Hoheitsgebiet* (Reutlingen 1928).

Another feature of this time are biographical novels:

Alfred ↗Zintgraff, who had briefly been councillor of state of Mənilək II, published a autobiographical novel based on his experiences in Ethiopia (*Der Tod des Löwen von Juda, Dichtung und Wahrheit aus Kaiser Meneliks von Abessinien letzten Tagen,* Berlin 1926). It is an account of the situation at the court and can be used as a historical source (Bairu Tafla 1981). Although it is a novel, it stays close to the known historical facts, and can be seen as a personal view of the events of those days (Lorenz ↗Jensen etc.); other examples are works on the lives of Werner ↗Munzinger (Valter Keller-Zschokke, *Werner Munzinger Pascha*, Aarau 1891) and Eduard ↗Zander (Friederike von Krosigk, *Ein Weizenkorn fliegt gegen den Wind, Abenteuer eines Deutschen in Äthiopien*, Mühlhausen 1938).

Sundry works, depicting Ethiopia as a sphere of adventure, but with a rather positive undertone, continued to appear in the decade prior to the Italian invasion:

They included Willi Wolff's *Der Magier Good*: *Roman aus Abessinien* (Hamburg 1931), published under this alias by Georg Westfalen; Othmar Krainz produced a novel about oil diplomacy, *Öl um Rickfett*: *Spiel mit Abessinien* (Berlin 1935); Hedwig Weiss-Sonnenburg followed with the children's story, *Arme Kleine Prinzessin*: *Abenteuerliches Schicksal in Abessinien* (Köln 1935); in the following year Alfons Zech, using the nom de plume Peter Rauenberg, published *Weisse Mädchen in Abessinien* (Niedersedlitz 1936).

The ↗Italian-Ethiopian war of 1935–36 and ↗World War II are also the subject of fictional novels, but in a rather poor way in German literature:

Wilhelm Hintersatz's novel *Schwarz oder Weiss*: *Ad Imperium Romanum versus* (Berlin 1940), introduced a racial element lacking in previous German writings on the war; Heinrich Maria Tiede's *Korporal Giambetta*: *Erzählung aus dem Feldzuge Italiens gegen Abessinien* (Reutlingen 1941) was likewise unusual in looking at the Italo–Ethiopian war from the side of Italy rather than that of Ethiopia; in the tradition of cheap soldiers' novels, there is Hans von Derp's story of a German officer in the ranks of the Italian army fighting together with "loyal ↗askaris" against the advancing British (*Auf verlorenem Posten in Abessinien, Deutscher Offizier führt italienische Askaris im abenteuerlichen Kleinkrieg*, München 1941 [Soldatengeschichten und Fliegergeschichten 134]).

Following this tradition, there are also cheap adventure stories produced in later years (such as the fight of a hero against a crazy Italian gangster and ᶜAfar warriors, hiding an atomic bomb in the Danakil desert), but that genre disappeared in about the 1970s/80s.

With Ethiopia's liberation in 1941 the scope of German writings naturally changed. Works in this period included such titles as:

Herbert Hahn's *Im Lande des Bül-bül*: *Romantische Tierfangreise durch Abessinien* (Berlin 1946); Johannes von der Planitz's *Erdöl in Harar*: *Abenteuer im Lande des Negus* (Hannover 1954, written under the nom de plume of Hans von Derp); Helmut Wozonig's short story *Schifta* (publ. in: *MERIAN Magazine* 19, 10, 1966, 76–80); Ernst Otto Gläser's *Die Zeit – es ist noch weit*: *Ausgewählte Gedichte* (Addis Ababa 1967) with only very indirect references to Ethiopia.

The continuous presence of Germans in Ethiopia before and after the war continued to inspire novelists; as an example one should mention Brigitte Beil's novel of 2003 on the family of Mənilək's architect, Carl Haertel (*Maskal*, Köln 2003), based on family papers and elements of fiction. Alex Capus' novel *Munzinger Pascha*, an award winning bestseller, likewise treats a historical personality (Werner ↗Munzinger), based on a thorough study of historical sources, mixed with purely fictitious elements.

In line with a new educational and more progressive children's literature, north-eastern Africa also appears in children's novels, starting from the 1970s; novels such as:

Hedwig Weiss-Sonnenburg's *Man nennt mich Lillith* (Stuttgart 1955), and *Taffara, Fürstensohn aus Abessinien* (Düsseldorf 1964); Otto Strada's *Karawane ins verbotene Land* (Berlin 1957); Corry Blei-Strijbos's *Mark und Anne in Äthiopien* (Konstanz 1977). In more recent years literature for children has regularly mentioned poverty and even famine (e.g., Reinhard Burger *Der Wind und die Sterne*, Weinheim 1991; and Hans-Martin Große-Oetringhaus, *Partisanen in einem vergessenen Land – dokumentarischer Roman über den Befreiungskampf in Eritrea*, Würzburg 1984, on the independence struggle in Eritrea).

The influence of Ethiopian literature itself is minimal, as there are only very few translations (e.g., Daniachew Worku, *Die dreizehnte Sonne*, Olten 1980; ↗Amharic Literature).

A new category is German literature produced by migrants of Ethiopian, Eritrean and Somali origin. The most prominent author is *ləǧ* Asfa Wäsän Aśśərate, in whose books memories of imperial Ethiopia have a prominent place (Asfa-Wossen Asserate, *Manieren*, Frankfurt am Main 2003; Id., *Ein Prinz aus dem Hause David und warum er in Deutschland blieb*, Frankfurt am Main 2007; Id., *Draußen nur Kännchen*: *Meine deutschen Fundstücke*, Frankfurt am Main 2010; Id., *Integration oder die Kunst, mit der Gabel zu essen*, München 2011). His works continue the much older category of literature focusing on the long history of Christian highland Ethiopia. The Ethiopian-Eritrean singer Sännayt Gäbrähəywät Mähari should also be mentioned with her best-selling child memories of war in Eritrea; these works belong to the tradition of German "compassionate" literature fascinated by regions in crisis. These memoirs are also highly contested in debates on their authenticity (Senait G. Mehari [with Lukas Lessing], *Feuerherz*, München 2004; Ead., *Wüstenlied*, München 2006). A recent successful author in German is the Eritrean Zäkaryas Kəbräᵓab, who reflects on his experiences as a refugee (Zekarias Kebreab, *Hoffnung im Herzen, Freiheit im Sinn – Vier Jahre auf der Flucht nach Deutschland*, Köln 2011). Literature produced by authors from the region itself will be an important factor in the formation of a partially new literary image of the region.

Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, *Ethiopia and Germany, Cultural, Political and Economic Relations, 1871–1936*, Wiesbaden 1981 (AeF 5); WILHELM BAUM, *Die Verwandlungen des Mythos vom Reich des Priesterkönigs Johannes, Rom, Byzanz und die Christen des Orients im Mittelalter*, Klagenfurt 1999, 202f.; ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, "Der Beitrag der deutschen Ethnologie zur Äthiopien-Forschung", in: PIOTR SCHOLZ (ed.), *Von Hiob Ludolf bis Enrico Cerulli*, Warszawa – Wiesbaden 2001 (Bibliotheca nubica et aethiopica 8), 159–70; ALKE DOHRMANN, "Karl May und das ostäthiopische Sultanat Harar", in: KERSTIN VOLKER-SAAD – ANNA GREVE (eds.), *Äthiopien und Deutschland, Sehnsucht nach der Ferne*, Berlin 2006, 124–35; JOACHIM FRITZ-VANNAHME, "Die Angst vor der üblen Welt", *Die Zeit* 5, 27 January 2000, 53; WOLFGANG GRIEP, "Vater der Geschichte", *ibid.* 17, 22 April 1999, 64; EIKE HABERLAND, *Three Hundred Years of Ethiopian-German Academic Collaboration*, Addis Ababa 1985 (Sonderschriften des Frobenius-Instituts 2); ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, "Die Äthiopistischen Studien in Deutschland (Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart)", *AE* 6, 1965, 255–77; ID., *Äthiopien, Christliches Reich zwischen gestern und morgen*, Wiesbaden 1967; WOLBERT SMIDT, "Five Centuries of Ethio-German Relations", in: EMBASSY OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY (ed.), *Ethio-German Relations*, Addis Ababa 2004, 6–14; ID., "Der Priesterkönig Johannes: Eine Sehnsuchtsfigur", in: KERSTIN VOLKER-SAAD – ANNA GREVE 2006, 35–39; SIEGBERT UHLIG – WOLBERT SMIDT – MICHAEL KLEINER, *Ethiopian Studies in Germany*, Hamburg 2003, ms.; JOACHIM WARMBOLD, "The Gondar Utopia", in: HAGGAI ERLICH – ISRAEL GERSHONI (eds.), *The Nile*: *Histories, Cultures, Myths*, Boulder, CO – London 2000, 131–38; *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch* 1973 (*Sonderausgabe Äthiopien*).

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IV. Ethiopia and Eritrea in French literature

Probably the first notion of "Ethiopia" within a French text can be found in the anonymous medieval poem *La Chanson de Roland*, produced between 1075 and 1110. Roland, the hero, is fighting against Marganice, ruler of Carthago and Ethiopia, from "a cursed race which is blacker than ink and which has nothing white except its teeth" (Masse 1933: 226).

At the beginning of the Renaissance the poet Jean Lemaire de Belges (*Épîtres de l'Amant Vert*, Lyon 1511) dedicated a number of poems to his patroness, Margaret of Austria (Duchess of Savoy). The first person narrator in these frivolous texts is the Ethiopian parrot of the Duchess, reporting episodes from her bedroom. In the 17th cent. the Ethiopian traveller ↗Ṣägga Krəstos (s. EAE vol. 5) appeared in the country. This inspired the publication of an anonymous novelette entitled *La reine d'Éthiopie. Historiette comique* (Paris 1670). Its author, presumably seeking to distinguish the Ethiopians from the Negroid peoples of Africa then better-known in the West, noted that his hero was handsome, with an aquiline nose and without thick lips.

The publication in London almost a century later of Samuel ↗Johnson's celebrated allegory *The Prince of Abyssinia: a Tale* (London 1759) also had a significant impact in France, where Johnson's novel was immediately translated into French and published in Paris in the following year.

French awareness of the Ethiopian city of ↗Gondär, which had become the country's capital in the early 1630s, was articulated many years later in an anonymous two-volume work, *Grandor ou le Héros Abyssin, Histoire héroi-politique* (Trèves 1789). Supposedly "sold by a Copt in Egypt to a European traveller" the story abandons Johnson's "happy valley" and is set instead in Gondär and several other parts of Ethiopia during the reign of "Saghed", a distortion of several Ethiopian royal names then known in Europe. The work's main thrust was however to introduce the reader, in the year of the French Revolution, to a variety of political terms then coming into increasing usage in France, such as aristocracy, despotism, democracy, arist-democracy, etc.

Subsequent French interest in Ethiopia, in the third quarter of the 19th cent., owed much to the rise of Emperor ↗Tewodros II and in particular to his resistance to the British expedition of 1867–68 (↗Napier Expedition). This resulted in the composition of two French plays set in Ethiopia: Théodore Barrières *Théodoros*: *Drame en 5 actes* (Paris 1868) and Jules Renard's *Deux prisonniers de Théodore*: *Pochade abyssinienne en une acte* (Paris 1869).

These dramatic essays were followed shortly afterwards by a fictitious French travelogue: Emil Jonveaux's *Deux ans dans l'Afrique Orientale* (Tours 1871), which supposedly described conditions in Ethiopia towards the end of the Emperor's reign. An English translation, *Two Years in East Africa* appeared in London in 1875, with the more explicit sub-title*: Adventures in Abyssinia and Arabia, with a Journey to the Source of the Nile*. The French edition states that the author had never actually visited Ethiopia, but this information is omitted in the English edition in which the translator claims to have "carefully revised the details" in the original text and "added many new and interesting particulars from authentic sources". The result, we are assured, was that the Nile and its "mysteries" and the "bloody tragedy" of ↗Mäqdäla were "more truly interesting than the most striking fictions".

Subsequent French perception of Ethiopia was influenced by ↗Mənilək II's unexpected victory at the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa in 1896. This was reflected in François de Courel's play *La fille sauvage*: *Pièce en six actes* (Paris 1902), which was first performed in Paris at the Theatre Antoine. The drama is largely set in a "barbarous country", referred to as the country of Mənilək, which, we are told, had long since "submitted to Christian culture", with the result that it would one day "astonish the universe" by "the rapidity of its progress". This play subsequently inspired a very different American drama. The silent film star, Clara Kimball Young, wrote the script and starred in the film with the title *A Savage Woman* in 1918.

The first largely factually-based French novel set in Ethiopia was *Le soleil d'Éthiopie*: *Novel* (Paris 1929) written by the French nobleman, Viscount Jean Esménard, an accomplished traveller who wrote under the name Jean d'Esme. The book features the imaginary journey across the country of three Europeans, a British couple and an Italian. The author had previously also written a popular travel book *À travers l'empire de Ménélik* (Paris 1928).

This pioneering work was immediately followed by another travel-based novel: André Armandy's *La voie sans disque*: *Roman* (Paris 1931). Its author had previously described his own travel experiences in a travelogue entitled *La désagréable partie de campagne*: *Incursion en Abyssinie* (Paris

1930), and later wrote the amusing novel *Quartier des légations* (Paris 1951). Set in an imaginary town called Atbara, capital of the supposed empire of Arafani, it told of sundry diplomatic intrigues among the foreign envoys.

Other publications of this period include a popular French historical novel: *Le passant d'Éthiopie* (Paris 1936) by Jérôme and Jean Tharaud, which highlights some of the more exciting events in the country's history from the time of the Portuguese in the 16th cent. onwards.

The most prolific French author of this period was, however, Henry de ↗Monfreid, whose numerous works include a mixture of fact and fiction, much of which has been widely translated into other languages.

Subsequent French writings on Ethiopia include several further historical novels. Among them we may mention *Makeda, reine vierge*: *Roman de la reine de Saba* (Paris 1940) by Gabriel d'Aubrède; *Le mystère du Mahteb* (Paris, n.d.), translated from the English *Mystery of the Mahteb* (New York 1942), a fantasy by two American authors, Alice Lide and Margaret Johansen; Pierre Benoîts, *Le Prêtre Jean*: *Roman* (Paris 1952). Also of interest was a collection of French poetry on Addis Abäba and other Ethiopian towns composed by E. Karam, in *Juvénalia* (Beirut 1932).

Life among the teachers at the University College of Addis Abäba was subsequently caricatured by a staff member, Jean Godbout, a French Canadian in his novel *L'Aquarium* (Paris 1972). His colleague, the prolific professor of philosophy Claude Sumner, later produced three volumes of French *Poésies éthiopiennes* (Addis Ababa 1976–78) and a French translation of some of the Ethiopian playwright, Tsegaye Gabre-Medhin's drama in *La couleur de mon chant* (Yaoundé 1977).

Also in the educational field was Marc de Gouverain's novel *Retour en Éthiopie présenté par Hugo Pratt* (Paris 1970), in which a French volunteer teacher in Ethiopia returns after an absence of many years and reports some fantastic as well as many highly probable developments. Gérard de Villiers, author of many dime novels, located one of his sleazy works in Ethiopia, *Le Trésor du Negus* (Paris 1977).

Ethiopia also found its way into some French writing for children already in 1952 through the renowned cartoonist Alain Saint-Ogan. In one episode his famous protagonists Zig and Puce are sent to Éthiopie (*Zig et Puce en Éthiopie*, Paris 1952). Later publications are *Noël aux Quatre Vents* (Paris 1968) by Dominique Saint-Alban, and François Balsan's *Embuscade en Éthiopie* (Paris 1971).

As examples of contemporary writing one could mention Jean-Christophe Rufin's best-seller *L'Abyssin* (Paris 1997) on the basis of Charles Jacques ↗Poncet's travels, showing an Ethiopia of marvels, wonders and intrigues. Another best-selling novel of Rufin, *Asmara et les causes perdues* (Paris 1999), treats the trip of French humanitarian aid workers during the 1985 civil war. The French writer Alain Borer dedicated much of his time to Arthur ↗Rimbaud, thus delivering semi-fictional novels on the latter's life in Africa and especially in Harär (*Rimbaud en Abyssinie*, Paris 1984; Id., *Un sieur Rimbaud, se disant négociant*, Paris 1985; Id., *Rimbaud d'Arabie*, Paris 1991; Id., *Rimbaud, l'heure de la fuite*, Paris 1991).

Lit.: SARAH KAY – TERENCE CAVE – MALCOLM BOWIE, *A Short History of French Literature*, Oxford – New York 2006, 113; FERNAND MASSE, "The Negro Race in French Literature", *The Journal of Negro History* 18, 3, 1933, 225–45.

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V. Ethiopia in English-language literature

Writing until 1800

Ethiopia makes an appearance very early in English literature. The first known reference to "Ethiopia" in English texts is found in John of Trevisa's translation in 1387 of Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon*, a theological history of the world in Latin and one of the first books ever printed (in 1482). In it, "Ethioppe" is described as "moste habundante in miracles" and threaded by the Nile. Another early manuscript is the translation of *Historia Trium Regum,* as *The Three Kings of Cologne,* an extremely popular text of the late 1300s, with garbled information about Prester John, Saba, and "Ethiopes". Many of the histories and geographies translated from Latin in the 15th and 16th cents. mention Ethiopia.

The first novel in English to focus on Ethiopia was a translation of the 3rd-cent. A.D. Greek romance *Aithiopikà*, entitled *An Aethiopian History of Heliodorus,* which was published by Thomas Underdowne in 1587. The country there depicted was, however, ↗Meroë rather than Ethiopia as we know it today. Yet, their allies in the book are the "Axiomitæ".

The detailed information on Ethiopia gathered by the Portuguese diplomatic mission of the 1520s and by the ↗Jesuits half a century later, began to percolate into English literature in the late

1500s. The Ethiopia in which there is a "Mount Amara" in which a "Negus" (who is "wrongfully called" Prester John) keeps his sons imprisoned is first mentioned in an English text in Thomas Blundeville's *Exercises* (London, 1594). It also appeared in the hugely influential work, Samuel Purchas's geography *Purchas His Pilgrimage*: *or Relations of the World* (London, 1613). A recognizable Ethiopia appears regularly in original English literary texts after that, starting with Thomas Peyton's poem about paradise *The Glasse of Time* (London 1620) and then Peter Heylin's *Microcosmus* (Oxford 1621), Edward Stradling's *Divine Poems* (London 1625), Thomas Bancroft's *Epigrams* (London 1639), David Lloyd's *The Legend of Captain Jones* (London 1648), Vincent Le Blanc's *Travels* (London 1660), and Samuel Butler's *Hudibrus* (London 1663), among others.

Peyton's work may have served as a model for one of the most famous works of English literature, John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (London 1667), in which he mentions "Abassin kings" living on "Mount Amara", which "some supposed True Paradise." Since all later English authors read this masterpiece, Ethiopia began to appear more frequently in English literature after that and often as a type of Eden. One of the most famous instances was the Scottish poet James Thomson's *Seasons* (London 1727), among the best loved English poems, but even obscure poems like Bevil Higgons's *Poem on Nature* (London 1688) might mention that the Abyssinian kings were descended from the Queen of Sheba.

In all of these early texts, however, Ethiopia was a subject only in passing. Then, in the early 1700s, a French version of the memoirs of the Jesuit Jeronimo ↗Lobo, published in 1728, came into the hands of Samuel ↗Johnson, an impoverished young English man of letters, who produced an English translation of it (*A Voyage to Abyssinia*, London 1735). This experience was to have a profound, life-long effect on Johnson's fiction (Belcher 2012).

Johnson, subsequently renowned as one of the most important authors of English literature, produced several fables about Ethiopians in his literary periodicals *The Idler* and *The Rambler*, and then a novel, *The Prince of Abyssinia,* which was published in (London) 1759. It became known by the name of its hero, *Rasselas,* and was translated into many foreign languages, including Amharic. It was the first piece of English literature to deal with Ethiopia at length.

Through Milton and Johnson, Ethiopia came to take a more prominent place in English letters. Influenced by Milton, the Romantic poet Coleridge wrote about an "Abyssinian maid" in his famous poem "Kubla Khan" (London 1798). Influenced by Johnson, Ellis Cornelia Knight wrote a now little known sequel to *Rasselas*, entitled *Dinarbas* (London 1770). Archibald Campbell wrote the parody of *Rasselas* titled *Lexiphanes* (London 1767) and George Colman's farce *The Spleen* (London 1776) references Abyssinians eating raw beef. One understudied volume is George Cumberland's remarkable novel *The Captive of the Castle of Sennaar*: *an African Tale* (London 1798), set in Meroë but also engaging Abyssinia. William Dimond wrote the oriental drama *The Aethiop, or Child of the Desert* (London 1813), in which the Persian monarch Alraschid is somehow an Ethiopian magician. Then Raynor Taylor made this over into one of the first American operas.

Travel literature about Ethiopia fuelled the next phase of representations in English literature, with James ↗Bruce's *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile* (London 1790) having the most impact. Spoofs of Bruce's work—including Peter Pindar's *Complimentary Epistle* (London, 1792) and John Marjoribanks's *Trifles in Verse* (Edinburgh 1798)—were especially popular.

Writing until 1900

The 19th cent. saw a surge of works in English by English explorers—such as George Annesley Mountnorris, Henry ↗Salt, Nathaniel ↗Pearce, and Mansfield ↗Parkyns—but also military officers involved in the ↗Napier expedition to ↗Mäqdäla of 1867–68 and the ↗ᶜAdwa war of 1895–96. This proved fertile soil for English creative authors, inspiring, for instance, the second English novel set in Ethiopia: William Dalton's *Tiger Prince* (London 1863), a children's adventure story. The 1868 expedition inspired authors for a long time, for instance forming the backdrop to George MacDonald Fraser's novel *Flashman on the March* (New York 2005).

Then Sir Wallis ↗Budge, began to translate the *Kəbrä nägäśt* into English in the 1880s. He had a number of literary friends so several related novels came about. One was Walter Besant's comedic novel *Herr Paulus*: *His Rise, His Greatness, and His Fall* (London 1888), in which the American hero seduces female listeners through a lively and detailed retelling of the story of the

Kəbrä nägäśt. Verney Lovett Cameron, a British soldier who served in the campaign of 1868, wrote a novel titled *The Queen's Land, or Ard al Malakat* (London 1886) about a race of Africans descended from the Queen of Sheba. Budge's good friend Rider Haggard also wrote about the Queen of Sheba in books that remain some of the best-selling ever published, influencing several generations of popular writers. Two feature the Queen of Sheba by name—his third novel *King Solomon's Mines* (London 1885) is about a "walda nagast" named Maqueda. The *Kəbrä nägäśt* continued to exert an effect over time on English literature, also inspiring George Post Wheeler's *The Golden Legend of Ethiopia: the Love Story of Makeda, Virgin Queen of Axum and Sheba, and Solomon the Great King* (New York 1936) and more recently Prue Sobers's *Makeda* (Victoria 2011).

Writing in 1900–1950

The early 1900s saw quite a few English novels or dramas set in Ethiopia. They included the British author Gilbert Frankau's *Masterson: the Story of an English Gentleman* (London 1926), which told of a European at Emperor ↗Mənilək II's court. For the first time, an American text focused entirely on Ethiopia, with the African American playwrights Jesse Shipp and Alex Rogers writing a humorous drama *Abyssinia* (New York 1906), also focused on politics in Mənilək's court. This perhaps inspired African American playwright Willis Richardson's drama *In Menelik's Court* (Washington, DC 1935) about a love affair between an Ethiopian commoner and princess.

Awareness of Ethiopia was much enhanced by Emperor ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's spectacular ↗coronation in 1930. This was attended by many foreign observers, including the aspiring author Evelyn ↗Waugh. He described his travels in a work differently entitled *Remote People* (London 1931) and *They Were Still Dancing* (London 1932), after which he proceeded to author a satirical novel, *Black Mischief* (London 1932), which did not mention Ethiopia by name, but was clearly a skit on Ḫaylä Śəllase's court. Waugh returned to Ethiopia at the time of the ↗Italian war of 1935–36, after which he produced another travelogue, *Waugh in Abyssinia* (London 1936), followed by a further work of imagination: *Scoop* (London 1938), which was set in an imaginary Republic of Ismailia. Waugh's two novels became classics, and were translated into many languages.

Italy's entry into ↗World War II, and the ensuing extensive fighting in the Horn of Africa, resulted in further novels. The first of these, Frederick H. Rose's *Four Kings in the Street of Gold* (London 1942), featured the Ethiopian Patriots, while several other writings highlighted the role of British officers: Alan Samuel Lyle-Smythe's *Rogue Gambit* (London 1955), Gerald Gordon's *The Crooked Rain* (London 1957) and James A. Brown's *The Anthill* (London 1958), later renamed *Seven against the Sun* (London 1960), which was converted into a play.

Consciousness of Ethiopia was also fostered by the publication of English adventure stories for children: E. Malcolm Shard, *Flying for Ethiopia* (London 1936), Air Commodore L.E.O. Charlton, *The Secret of Lake Tana* (London 1936), and Dennis Wheatley's highly acclaimed *The Secret War* (London 1937). One of the popular Tarzan series, Edgar R. Borroughs's *Tarzan and the City of Gold* (London 1936), featured the hero encountering some "*šəfta*" while in Ethiopia.

Meanwhile, the invasion of Ethiopia produced a strong reaction among African American authors. African American playwright Theodore J. Ward wrote the drama *Falcon of Adowa* (New York 1938), which focuses on Ḫaylä Śəllase. Joseph Harvey Lowell Baxter came out with *Sonnets for the Ethiopians and Other Poems* (Roanoke, VA 1936). Other African American writings included Charles Henry Holmes, *Ethiopia, the Land of Promise* (New York 1917), and Clarence L. Blakely, *The Ethiopian* (New York 1931), while George S. Schuyler contributed two serialized stories to the *Pittsburgh Courier*: "The Ethiopian Murder Mystery: a Story of Love and International Intrigue" (1935–36) and "Revolt in Ethiopia: a Tale of Black Insurrection against Italian Imperialism" (1938/39). It seems likely that many African American novels that did not mention Ethiopia were nevertheless inspired by tales about the place, such as Pauline Hopkins's pan-Africanist epic *Of One Blood* (New York 1902).

Writing after 1950

The post-war period witnessed such a large growth in Ethiopia-based English literature that it is not possible to do justice to it here. Some was historical fiction focussing on specific periods. The ↗Zagʷe dynasty thus provided the background for the American writers Alice Lide and Margaret Johansen's *Mystery of the Mahteb* (New York 1942), while religious rivalry in the country over the centuries provided the *leitmotiv* of John Trench's *Beyond the Atlas* (London 1963). Age-old customs were illustrated in the West Indian Dave Talbot's *The Musical Bride* (New York 1962) and in Dorothy Farella's *The Straw Umbrella* (London 1968), while the American journalist Edmund P. Murray's *Kulubi* (New York 1973), had much to say about pilgrimage and the making of vows in Ethiopia. Emperor Mənilək's redoubtable consort Queen ↗Ṭaytu Bəṭul meanwhile caught the attention of an Italian American author, Settimo Salbucci, who wrote by no means flatteringly of her in his *His Taitu*: *Empress of Ethiopia* (New York 1961).

In sharp contrast to the above was Alan Scholefield, *The Hammer of God* (London 1973), which featured the modernising reign of Emperor ↗Tewodros II. Tewodros later inspired Mason McCann Smith's *When the Emperor Dies* (London 1983) and Philip Marsden's *The Barefoot Emperor*: *An Ethiopian Tragedy* (New York 2007). Fascination with the life in Ethiopia of the sometime French poet Arthur Rimbaud led to the composition of two novels: James R. Ullman's *The Day of Fire* (London 1959) and Paul Strathern's *A Season in Abyssinia* (London 1972).

A variety of books for children were also published in both Britain and the United States. These included Duane Bradley's *Meeting with a Stranger* (Philadelphia, PA 1964), Laura Bannon's *Nemo Meets the Emperor* (Chicago, IL 1965), Wendy Kindred's *Negatu in the Garden* (New York 1970), and part of Pat Baldwin's widely read children's reader *A Streatley Family Story* (London – Eastbourne 1970). Two books were also written by Richard Sherrington, a British Council employee: *The Treasure of Lebna Dengel* (Addis Ababa 1970) and *Adventure in Addis Ababa* (Addis Ababa 1972), set in contemporary Ethiopia. More recently, Jane Kurtz, who grew up in south-west Ethiopia, has written a series of children's novels, including *Fire on the Mountain* (New York 1994), retelling an Ethiopian folktale; *Pulling the Lion's Tale* (New York 1995) and *Only a Pigeon* (New York 1997), telling stories of two Ethiopian children in the 1990s; *Faraway Home* (Orlando, FL et al. 2000), about a migrant child discovering her Ethiopian roots, and *Saba*: *Under the Hyena's Foot* (New York 2003), set in Ethiopia of 1846. The Scottish novelist Elizabeth Laird won numerous awards for *The Garbage King* (London – New York 2003), about street children in Addis Abäba. Getty Ambau published an adventure novel *Desta and King Solomon's Coin of Magic and Fortune* (Guilford CT 2010).

The religion of ↗Rastafari inspired quite a few works as well. Derek Walcott's 1976 drama *O Babylon*! addresses those who long for a visit from "Emperor Selassie, Jah Rastafari, Lion of Judah and King of Kings […] the one God". Roger Mais's *Brother Man* (London 1954) is about a Messianic folk Rastafarian healer.

The fate of the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel in Israel motivated a number of works including Sonia Levitin's *The Return* (New York 1987) and Jeffrey Schrier's *On the Wings of Eagles*: *An Ethiopian Boy's Story* (Brookfield, CT 1998).

A book that had a massive impact on the portrayal of Ethiopia in popular English-language fiction was the pseudo-academic Graham Hancock's *The Sign and the Seal*: *The Quest for the Lost Ark of the Covenant* (New York 1992).

In the 21st cent., English readers showed no sign of losing interest in Ethiopia. Rather, Abraham Verghese's novel *Cutting for Stone* (New York 2010), about twins born in a mission hospital in Addis Abäba, sold over a million copies and was on the *New York Times* paperback fiction list for more than two years. Ethiopia and Eritrea have served as the backdrop of Robert Cohen's *Amateur Barbarians* (New York 2009), Thomas Keneally's *To[wards] Asmara* (Sydney 1989) and the award-winning *Sweetness in the Belly* by Camilla Gibb (Toronto 2005). Several thrillers were also set in the region, including Wilbur Smith's *Cry Wolf* (London 1988), set on the eve of the Italian invasion, and the present-day Gryffyn Jade Phoenix's *Seat of God* (Miami, FL 2013) and Anne-Marie Ruff's *Through these Veins* (Trenton, NJ 2011).

The memories and stories of the numerous refugees from the Horn of Africa, including Ethiopia and Eritrea, found their way into such books as Dave Egger's bestseller *What is What* (New York 2006). Meanwhile, important memoirs about experiences in Ethiopia have been written in English, inclusing Daniel Coleman's *The Scent of Eucalyptus*: *A Missionary Childhood in Ethiopia* (Fredericton, Canada 2003), Tim Bascom and Ted Hoagland's *Chameleon Days*: *An American Boyhood in Ethiopia* (New York 2006), and Dawit Wolde Giorgis' *Red Tears*: *War, Famine, and Revolution in Ethiopia* (Lawrenceville, NJ 1988).

Many migrants of Ethiopian and Eritrean descent have emerged as widely acclaimed English-language writers.

These include Nega Mezlekia, *Notes from the Hyena's Belly* (New York 2001) and *The God Who Begat a Jackal* (New York 2003); Dinaw Mengestu, *The Beautiful Things That Heaven Bears* (New York 2008); Maaza Mengiste, *Beneath the Lion's Gaze* (New York 2010); and Benjamin Zephaniah, *Refugee Boy* (New York 2001).

Lit.: Lorenz Auf der Maur, "*Ethiopia* and *Abyssinia* in English Writing up to 1790", in: *PICES* 15, 523–31; Wendy Laura Belcher, *Abyssinia's Samuel Johnson*: *Ethiopian Thought in the Making of an English Author*, New York 2012; Richard Pankhurst, "Imaginative Writings (Novels, Short Stories and Plays) on Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa", *Africa* (Roma) 40, 1985, 637–63; Id., "Imaginative Writings on Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa: Supplement and Update", *ibid.* 48, 1993, 267–84; Walter Bliss Carnochan, *Golden Legends*: *Images of Abyssinia, Samuel Johnson to Bob Marley*, Stanford, CA 2008; Lockot II.

Richard Pankhurst – Wendy Laura Belcher

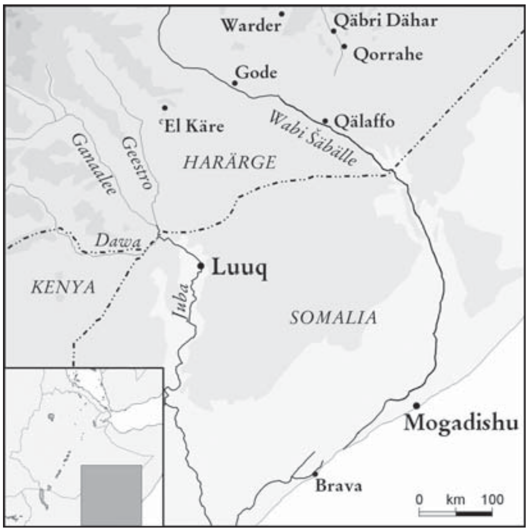
Luuq

L. (also *Luuq Ganaane*; 3° 49' N, 42° 33' E) is a town in ↗Somalia, and capital of the homonymous district (Degmada Luuq) in the Gedo region (Gobolka Gedo), some 300 km from the coast near the present Ethiopian border. Most part of the ca. 35,000 inhabitants of L. are the pastoralists of the Gasar Gudda group (a section of the wider Digil and Mirifle clan family) and the marginalized group of the Gubahin (of Bantu origin; ↗Marginalized people). Marreḥān Somali (Marrexan, ↗Daarood clan family) are also well present in L. town and in the region.

L. is located on a sinuous bend of the Juba River which encircles the whole town. The Dawa, ↗Ganaalee and Geestro rivers merge together to form the Juba in the vicinity of L. which is thus an important point to control the whole hydrographic basin.

The first mention of L. can apparently be found in the report of Captain Thomas Smee who in January 1811 was sent by the Bombay Government to collect information on the African coast of the Indian Ocean: according to Captain Smee's informants, at that time L. (called "Gannana, a town on right bank of the Govind" in the source) was composed of 300 "huts" (Smee 1814: 73; Alpers 1983: 444).

On 15 March 1893 Matteo Grixoni, a member of the Juba expedition, who, after a dispute, abruptly abandoned Vittorio ↗Bottego's group in Arsi, headed towards L. and according to some sources entered the village (Bottego 1895: 373; Ferrandi 1903: 7). It is, however, more likely that Grixoni was not allowed to enter L. and that he only camped in the vicinity (Bonati 1997: 177f.).



On 2 June 1893 engineer Walter Borchardt, member of the second ↗Ruspoli expedition, fell ill and was sent with Emilio Dal Seno to L. to recover (ibid.: 209–12): thus the two were most probably the first Europeans to enter L. (ibid.: 284f.).

Between the 17th and the 21st of July 1893, Vittorio Bottego, still on his Juba expedition, stayed in L. before leaving to Brava together with Dal Seno and Borchardt (Bottego 1895: 360–72). Bottego's travelogue contains a long descriptive chapter on L. (ibid.: 373–454) in which the Italian explorer – as it was recently demonstrated (Bonati 1997: 286, 291 n. 41) – almost all copied of Dal Seno's field notes without any acknowledgment.

The strategic value of the village on the trade route connecting the port towns of Somalia to the Ethiopian and Kenyan hinterland was immediately evident to the Italian colonialists (in particular to the Compagnia Filonardi administering the Benaadir coast on behalf of the Italian government). Also the Ethiopians in their southeast expansion tried to get control of L. and repeatedly raided it. Local population asked for the protection of the Italian costal authorities against the Ethiopian incursions. On 18 November 1895 the Italian explorer Ugo ↗Ferrandi arrived in L. together with the second Bottego expedition. In L. he established a permanent commercial station and had a small fortress built. He was then appointed *residente* on behalf of the Filonardi Company. He successfully repulsed several attacks of the Ethiopian troops led by *däggazmač* Wäldä Gäbrəʾel and *däggazmač* Asfa Wässän, who were definitively defeated in December 1896. While staying in L., Ferrandi collected an impressive amount of information on the history, the culture and the economy of L. which was published in a first report in 1902 and then in a full-fledged monograph in 1903.

In 1897 Ferrandi was succeeded as governor of L. by Saᶜid Muḥammad Sayf, brother of the *wali* of Brava. In 1905 L. was eventually incorporated into the Commissariato Regionale dell'Alto Giuba of the colony of Somalia Italiana. In 1933 it was renamed Lugh Ferrandi by the Italian administration and was confirmed in its status of *residenza* counting about 5,000 inhabitants (Guida 594).

In the Somali Republic, L. was considered of crucial military importance due to its proximity to the Ethiopian and Kenyan borders, its exceptional location on the Juba River and its key position in the trade routes of the costal merchants. Moreover, the fame of L. was enhanced by the never officially confirmed rumour that President Siyaad Barre was born there.

After the fall of the Somali state, in July 1992, an Islamic court was created in L. under the influence of the Islamic radical movement *al-Ittiḥād al-islāmī*, and with the support of clan elders and influential learned men. The court, however, exerted its jurisdiction only on the local Marreḥān clan and functioned until August 1996 (Marchal 2009: 384f.). Subsequently, the town of L. and its region remained under the military and political control of both *Ḥizb al-Islām* and *Ḥarakat šabāb al-muǧāhidīn* Islamic militias who eventually joined forces in December 2010. On 7 March 2011 the army of the Transitional Federal Government of Somalia announced that it had conquered L., expelling all insurgent forces from the town. However, reports from L. confirm that clashes between the Somali government and the *Šabāb* continue to the present day.

Src.: THOMAS SMEE, *The Naval Chronicle* 32, 1814, 71–81; VITTORIO BOTTEGO, *Viaggi di scoperta nel cuore dell'Africa: il Giuba esplorato, sotto gli auspici della Società geografica italiana*, Firenze 1895, 360–454; UGO FERRANDI, *Itinerari africani*, vol. 1: *Da Lugh alla costa (aprile 1897)*, Novara 1902; ID., *Seconda spedizione Bottego: Lugh emporio commerciale sul Giuba*, Roma 1903, 7; *Guida* 594; EUGENIO RUSPOLI, *Nel paese della mirra*, Roma 1892.

Lit.: EDWARD A. ALPERS, "Muqdisho in the Nineteenth Century: a Regional Perspective", *JAH* 24, 1983, 441–59; MANLIO BONATI, *Vittorio Bottego un ambizioso eroe in Africa*, Parma 1997, 177f., 209–12, 284f., 286, 291 n. 41; ROLAND MARCHAL, "A Tentative Assessment of the Somali Harakat al-Shabaab", *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 3, 2009, 3 81–404.

Alessandro Gori

M

Mäftəḥe śəray

The M.ś. (**መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ**, 'the loosening of the spell') is the general title of closely related Gəᶜəz ↗magic texts which have a protective function.

The M.ś. are transmitted in a large number of manuscripts, both in miscellaneous collections and as isolated texts, as well as on ↗magic scrolls. The only edition of M.ś. was prepared by Strelcyn (1955; s. pp. LII–LVIII for the list of manuscripts), therefore large parts of this article are based on Strelcyn's work. The text is frequently accompanied by magic drawings; a good example is the ms. Vat. Aeth. 128 (GréTisVat 504–19) written by *bälambaras* ↗Giyorgis, who completed the text with a rich collection of magic drawings in Gəᶜəz, Latin, Greek, and Arabic.

The texts referred to as the M.ś. vary considerably in length and composition, mostly due to the manuscript format: scrolls often feature only excerpts from the M.ś. Unlike other texts of magic literature, they are all intended to protect against all possible evil spells and ↗demons and sorcerers who command them, up to the extent of throwing back the curses and excommunicating the evil magicians (cp. Strelcyn 1955: XVI, 11). In this the M.ś. shows a certain degree of violence, since it tends not only to defend but also to attack.

Part of the magic of the M.ś. comes from the magic names (↗*asmat*), words (*qalat*) and ↗*ṭälsäm*-drawings (such as angelic alphabet and magic squares; cp. ibid. XXXVIIIff., LXf.); these elements can be found in most manuscripts and indicate the Hellenistic background of this text type (similar sigils appear in Coptic and Copto-Arabic magic papyri; cp. ibid. XL–XLVII). Other elements of the M.ś. typical of magic literature include references to "*melos* the fiery sword", the ↗moon, the stars and the ↗sun, the Archangels Michael and Gabriel. A special role is assigned to the magician and martyr ↗Cyprian of Antioch, to whom the M.ś. refers on several occasions. The M.ś. is sometimes referred to as the *Qopriyanos* (i.e. 'St. Cyprian'). The so-called "long" redaction of the Ethiopic *Prayer of Cyprian* (tr. by Basset 1896 and ed. and tr. Grohmann 1917–18) is very similar to the M.ś. in requesting to loosen the spells with the support of Cyprian (s. Strelcyn 1955: 177).

The M.ś. provides instructions on how to draw *ṭälsäm*, or recipes on how to prepare magic ink, for instance: "collect seven leaves of *ləbč̣*, *awəṣ* and couch grass from seven different places, let the leaves soak in green ink. Squeeze the juice of a lemon and mix with the ink, then write with a reed pen" (cp. ibid. 293). Recipes for certain ↗diseases are also provided, such as eating special roots against vomiting (ibid. 295f.). Many of these are written in a mix of Amharic and Gəᶜəz. Allusions to the recipes can be found in the collection published by Griaule (1930, s. index).

The M.ś. features extensive descriptions of black magic. Mention is made of actions performed by the sorcerers "who bring chronic disease [...] who touch the ↗*tabot*, who pocket earth, who knot threats, who engrave stones, who break trees [...]" (cp. Strelcyn 1955: 13; cp. also the similar list in Littmann 1904: 20).

Next to the general denomination of sorcerers, witches and wizards, the M.ś. addresses representatives of certain social, geographic or ethnic groups as the evil adversary (old women, slaves, "Galla" [↗Oromo], ↗Kəmant, "Fälaša" [↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel], ↗*šanqəlla*, ↗Barya, Egyptians, Turks, Europeans; cp. Dobberahn 1976: 59f., 153–57; s. lists in Strelcyn 1955: 337–58).

Src.: ANON., **መጽሐፈ ፡ ቆጵርያኖስ ። መፍትሔ ፡ ሥራይ ፡ ዘአምሐራ ፡ ወዘእስላም ፡ ዘፈላሻ ፡ ወዘቅማንት ፡ ዘተገብረ ፡ በምድጋም ፡ ወበካልአት ፡ ግብራት** (*Mäṣḥafä Qopṛəyanos. Mäftəḥe śəray zäᵓamḥara wäzäᵓəslam zäfälaša wäzäqəmant zätägäbrä bämədgam wäbäkalᵓat gəbrat*, "The Book of Qopṛəyanos. Loosening the Spell of the Amhara and the Muslims the Fälaša and the Qəmant Done by Reciting and Other Deeds'), n.pl. 1989 A.M. [1996/97 A.D.]; ms. Vat. Aeth. 128 [GréTisVat I, 504–19]; RENE BASSET (tr.), *Les apocryphes Éthiopiens traduits en français*, VI: *Les Prières de S. Cyprien et de Théophile*, Paris 1896; ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "L'*Epistola 70* di Cipriano di Cartagine in versione etiopica", *Aethiopica* 1, 1998, 101–30, here 101; FRIEDRICH ERICH DOBBERAHN, *Fünf äthiopische Zauberrollen: Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar*, Bonn 1976, 59f., 153–57; MARCEL GRIAULE (ed., tr.), *Le livre de recettes d'un dabtara abyssin*, Paris 1930 (Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie 12), here 13f., s. index; ADOLF GROHMANN, "Studien zu den Cyprianusgebeten", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 30, 1917–18, 121–50; ENNO LITTMANN, "Ardeᵓet: The Magic Book of the Disci-

ples", *Journal of American Oriental Society* 25, 1904, 1–48; STEFAN STRELCYN, *Prières magiques éthiopiennes pour délier les charmes* (*maftəḥe šərāy*), Warszawa 1955 (= *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 18).
Lit.: ANAÏS WION, "Un Grec en Éthiopie à la fin du XIXème siècle: le *balambäras* Giyorgis", *AE* 16, 2000, 309–38, here 333f.

Sophia Dege

Mäḥammäde

Mäḥammäde (**መሐመዴ**, also Mäḥammäd) was the local ruler of ↗Yəfat in the first half of the 18th cent. He carried the title of ↗*wälasma* and acted in close political and military alliance with the first ↗*märəd azmač* of ↗Šäwa ↗Səbəstyanos (1703–19) and his successor ↗Abbəyye (1719–43).

Biographical information on M. is very scanty. He was present in Šola Meda at the official mourning celebration held by Səbəstyanos in honour of his father ↗Nägaśi Krəstos. On that occasion, Səbəstyanos wanted to consult M. personally before officially proclaiming himself *märəd azmač* (BTafA 506f.; AWTarik 40, 78). The cooperation of M. with the emerging Šäwa dynasty continued and was even strengthened under the rule of *märəd azmač* Abbəyye. Together with Abbəyye M. fought and defeated the Karrayyu (↗Baarentuu) Oromo (BTafA 430f.). Subsequently, M. supported the *märəd azmač* of Šäwa against the troops of king ↗Iyasu II (AWTarik 42, 82f.), which were crushed at Ayne (BTafA 430f.).

It is not fully clear whether the *wälasma* Amäde to whom Abbəyye granted the newly conquered lowlands up the ↗Käsäm River (BTafA 508f.) was the successor of M., Amäde possibly being another form of his name.

The reliability of the mention of a "Walasma Mohammed of Goncho" defeated by Abbəyye in the battle of Kaso and made tributary of Šäwa (Stitz in USCES 191), lacking any reference to written sources, remains difficult to ascertain.
Src.: AWTarik 40, 42, 78, 82f.; BTafA 430f., 506-09.
Lit.: VOLKER STITZ, "The Western Argobba of Yifat, Central Ethiopia", in: *USCES* 185–92.

Alessandro Gori

Maḥṣ́äntä Maryam

Abba M.M. (**ማሕፀንተ ፡ ማርያም**; d. 1699/1700) was an ecclesiastic and historian from ↗Ṣäᵓazzäga, prominent for having started the compilation of the so-called *Annals of ᶜAddi Näᶜammən*, a short chronicle of the ↗Däqqi Täššəm and ↗Ḥamasen covering the period from ca. 1347 to ca. 1780.

M.M. was ordained priest ca. 1642/43 (KolTrad III, A11), and it is probable that he started compiling the *Annals* soon after, adding the narration for contemporary events and markedly re-editing an earlier text, which possibly originated from ↗Däbrä Bizän (ibid., A13). The compilation was continued after the death of M.M., since at least two more hands can be distinguished in the manuscript for the period after M.M.'s death (one appearing in 1700 and the other in 1703/04, ibid., A11).

This M.M. should not be confused with his older contemporary, M.M. of Mändabba, a member of the Ethiopian community in ↗Jerusalem, who in 1637 brought a 14th-cent. copy of the Biblical Books of Kings (↗Historical Books) – once a gift of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon – to ↗Santo Stefano dei Mori (Borg. aeth. 3; GréTisVat I, 782–87; Roupp 1902: 303; Rahlfs 1918: 185ff.). The manuscript served as a *Vorlage* for the ms. BN éth. 1–2 (ZotBNat 1–4), copied in 1666 by ↗Wansleben together with the colophon mentioning M.M.
Src.: GréTisVat I, 782–87, esp. 786 (Borg. aeth. 3, fol. 3); KolTrad III, A23–29 (text) = A29–37 (tr.), A37 (text) = A37f. (tr.); ZotBNat 1–4, esp. 3 (BN éth. 1–2).
Lit.: GreTisVat II, 21; KolTrad III, A11–15; ALFRED RAHLFS, "Ueber einige alttestamentliche Handschriften des Abessinierklosters S. Stefano zu Rom", *Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, phil-hist. Klasse 1918, 161–203, here 185ff., 203; N. ROUPP, "Die älteste äthiopische Handschrift der vier Bücher der Könige", *ZA* 16, 1902, 296–343, here 303.

Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Mälläs Zenawi

M.Z. (**መለስ ፡ ዜናዊ**, born as Läggäsä Zenawi; b. 9 May 1955, ᶜAdwa, d. 20 August 2012, Brussels) was a guerrilla fighter and Prime Minister of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, a position he held between 1995 until his death.

Läggäsä was the son of Zenawi ᶜAsräs from Təgray and Alämaš Gäbrä Ləᵓul from ᶜAddi Ḵʷala, near Asmära. He later assumed his *nom de guerre* as a tribute to the student activist Mälläs Täkle, who was killed by the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council).

M.Z. received his elementary education at the Queen of Sheba Junior Secondary School in ᶜAdwa. He completed high school in 1972 at the General Wingate School in Addis Abäba after which he joined the Medical Faculty of the Ḫaylä Śəllase I University (↗Addis Ababa University) where he studied for two years and became actively involved in the student union of the university (↗Student movement).

In 1974 M.Z. joined the newly formed ↗Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF). In 1976 he was transferred to the TPLF Political Department, heading the cadre schooling section. In 1977 he was co-opted as a senior cadre into the leadership committee, he was elected to the committee in 1979 and to its executive committee in 1983.

M.Z. was a key member of the forces that toppled the *Därg* regime. Since 1989, he had been chairman of both the TPLF and the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, a political alliance of the four main political organizations in the country. Upon the defeat of the military junta, M.Z. became President of the Provisional Government of Ethiopia (28 May to 10 August 1991), and then President of the Transitional Government (August 1991 to August 1995). When, in 1995, the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia was proclaimed M.Z. became its Prime Minister.

From June 1995 to June 1996 M.Z. served as chairman of the ↗Organization of African Unity, as chairperson of the New Partnership for African Development and of its Heads of State and Government Orientation Committee as well as co-chairman of the Global Coalition for Africa. He also served as a regional spokesman on international platforms.

In 2009 M.Z. was appointed as Chair of the African Heads of State and Government on Climate Change representing the African continent at the climate talks. He was also the chairperson of the Inter Governmental Authority on Development for five years and was actively involved in the efforts to end the conflicts in the ↗Sudan and ↗Somalia.

During his 21 years as head of government, M.Z. earned himself two university degrees in business through distance learning. He was married to Azeb Mäsfən. They had three children. He was buried on 20 September 2012 in the Qəddəst Śəllase Cathedral in Addis Abäba.

Lit.: LOVISE AALEN, *Ethnic Federalism in a Dominant Party State*: *the Ethiopian Experience* (*1991–2000*), Bergen 2002, s. index; AREGAWI BERHE, *A Political History of the Tigray People's Liberation Front* (*1975–1991*): *Revolt, Ideology and Mobilisation in Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Amsterdam 2008, 414 et passim; BÄRÄKÄT SƎMᶜON, **የሁለት ፡ ምርጫዎች ፡ ወግ** (*Yähulät mərčawočč wäg*, 'The Tale of Two Elections'), Addis Abäba 2011, passim; JENNY HAMMOND, *Fire from the Ashes*: *a Chronicle of the Revolution in Tigray, Ethiopia*, *1975–1991*, Lawrenceville, NJ – Asmara 1999; IYASU MÄNGÄŠA, **መለስ ፡ ዜናዊ ፡ እና ፡ የህወሃት ፡ የትግል ፡ ጉዞ** (*Mälläs Zenawi ənna yäHəWäHat yätəgəl guzo*, 'Mälläs Zenawi and the Journey of the TPLF Struggle'), Addis Abäba 2010; KAHSAY BERHE, *Ethiopia. Democratization and Unity*: *the Role of the Tigray People's Liberation Front*, Münster 2005; DAVID HAMILTON SHINN – THOMAS P. OFCANSKY, *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia*, Oxford ^{2}2004 (Historical Dictionaries of Africa 91), 277f.; JOHN YOUNG, "The Tigray and Eritrean People's Liberation Fronts: a History of Tensions and Pragmatism", *Journal of Modern African Studies* 34, 1996, 105–20; ID., *Peasant Revolution in Ethiopia*: *the Tigray People's Liberation Front*, *1975–1991*, Cambridge 1997 (African Studies 91).

Stefan Brüne

Mammo Wəddənäh

M.W. (**ማሞ ፡ ውድነህ**, also ᶜAlämayyähu [name used by M.W.'s mother], baptismal name Gäbrä Mikaʾel; b. 22 October 1930 or 1934, Təlala, Wäg Həmra, Wällo, d. 2 March 2012) was an Ethiopian journalist, translator and author.

M.W.'s parents died when he was young (he later remembered that his mother was killed in bombings during the Italian war of 1935–36) and he was brought up by relatives. He started his traditional ↗education in a priest-run school in ᶜAmdä Wärq just after the death of his mother. After four or five years in this school, he worked for two years as a clerk for a relative who was a judge. When he read from newspapers for the illiterate people in the place, he was praised as a "scholar", and that is when M.W. decided to become a journalist and writer. When he was about 15, he was helped to get into the Nəguś Mikaʾel School in Däse (directed by an Indian recorded as Mr. Daniel). After five-six years, he was taken ill and not re-admitted to the school, so he went to Addis Abäba, where, after several months, he was able to get work for a relative during the day and go to evening classes in the Bərhane Zare Näw School (where David ↗Talbot was the director). He completed grade 10 two years later.

At about the age of 25, M.W. was employed in the distribution office of the film section of the United States Information Service (USIS), and he learned to use film projectors. At this time, he started to write newspaper articles, mostly translating them into Amharic. The editor of ↗*Addis Zämän* at the time was the well-known author *blattengeta* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Wäldä Yoḥannəs, and he taught M.W. to become a journalist. After some years, he was employed in the film section and library of the Soviet Permanent Exhibition in Addis Abäba. He continued to publish translated articles and became well known, eventually becoming a senior reporter for *Addis Zämän*. He also married about this time, and he got six children (four sons and two daughters) by his wife. They remained married for about 50 years.

In September 1960, M.W. was transferred to ↗police headquarters in order to start their newspaper *Polisənna ərməǧǧaw*, which became very popular. The first copy appeared 2 November 1960, and 25 January 1961 there was an important article about the abortive coup d'état attempt in December 1960. During the five years M.W. spent with the police, he grew interested in espionage, and he started to write and translate books in this field; the first was *Yäsetwan fätäna* (1961/62). He was to publish 13 such books, among the most popular of the over 60 books (eight of them plays) that he wrote or (mostly) translated.

During this time, M.W. had been able to travel widely in Ethiopia. Due to articles M.W., who was then working for the Ministry of Information, had written after interviews with the governor of Eritrea, ↗Aśratä Kasa, he was invited by the governor to come to Asmära to work in the press department there. M.W. stayed in Eritrea from 1965 until the Ethiopian revolution of 1974. In addition to newspaper articles and policy papers about "the Eritrean problem", he wrote twelve books on Eritrea, among them a historical novel about *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda (*Alula Abbanäga*; turned into a play and staged in 1973).

After his return to Addis Abäba, he continued to write about the Eritrean question and other political matters, but he met much opposition, and many of his books were banned by the censors. Then he started to write sociological novels, about the various voluntary mutual help organizations in Ethiopia: *ᶜƎqqubtäññočču* (1983/84), and in quick succession came, *Ǝddərtäññočču* and *Maḫbärtäññočču*. After that, he continued to write on such subjects as espionage, politics, history, economics, and social questions.

M.W. was not given government employment after his return from Eritrea, but he kept his salary (and for many years he had a small office in the library of the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies at Addis Ababa University), and he had income from his many books and (as he said) thousands of articles, practically all in Amharic, and only a few in English. He died of heart disease and was buried at the cemetery of the Qəddəst Śəllase cathedral.

Src.: MAMMO WƎDDƎNÄH, **የሴቷን ፡ ፈተና** (*Yäsetwan fätäna*, 'The Woman's Temptation'), Addis Abäba 1954 A.M. [1961/62 A.D.]; ID., **አሉላ ፡ አባነጋ** (*Alula Abbanäga*, 'Alula Abba Näga'), Asmära 1966 A.M. [1973 A.D.]; ID., **ዕቁብተኞቹ** (*ᶜƎqqubtäññočču*, 'Members of the *ᶜƎqqub*'), Addis Abäba 1976 A.M. [1983/84 A.D.]; ID., **እድርተኞቹ** (*Ǝddərtäññočču*, 'Members of the *Ǝddər*'), Addis Abäba 1977 A.M. [1984/85 A.D.]; ID., **ማኅበርተኞቹ** (*Maḫbärtäññočču*, 'Members of the *Maḫbär*'), Addis Abäba 1977 A.M. [1984/85 A.D.].

Lit.: MolLit 185–204.

Reidulf Knut Molvaer

Mantel-Niećko, Joanna

M.-N. (b. 14 August 1933, Warsaw, d. 28 October 2009, Warsaw) was a prominent Polish scholar of ↗Ethiopian Studies.

M.-N. enrolled at the Department of Semitic Studies of the Institute of Oriental Studies of Warsaw University in 1951. In 1956 she graduated with an M.A. thesis on the *Old Amharic Royal Songs*: *Grammatical Analysis, Translation and Commentaries* (in Polish) and was employed as assistant lecturer. In 1966 she completed her Ph.D. thesis, devoted to a topic in ↗Amharic linguistics (publ. 1969).

M.-N. subsequently focused on history, producing, together with Andrzej Bartnicki, one of the few comprehensive textbooks on Ethiopian history (1971, ^{2}1987). In 1976 M.-N. was awarded the degree of *Doctor habilitatus* for her study on Ethiopian ↗land tenure (publ. 1980).

Joanna Mantel-Niećko; photo 1995, from the collection of the library of the Department of African Languages and Cultures, University of Warsaw

From 1977 to 1987, M.-N. headed the Department of African Languages and Cultures which she had established. In 1993 she became full Professor. She also launched and edited the periodical *Studies of the Department of African Languages and Cultures*. For many years, she represented Poland on the International Organizing Committee of the ↗International Conferences of Ethiopian Studies.

M.-N. was also involved in other aspects of academic life. The documents she collected during her activity as a secretary for the Warsaw University Senate Committee for the Imprisoned (1982–86) were the basis for her 1991 monograph on the history of Warsaw University. From 1987 to 1990 she was secretary for the Committee for Social and Law Assistance at the office of the President of the University.

M.-N.'s broad research interests, which ranged from linguistics and philology to history and social studies, allowed her to publish on different subjects and apply different research methodology. To this end, she often collaborated with other specialists, co-authoring many publications.

Src.: for a complete bibliography s. *WälYoh* 25–32 and Witakowski 2010: 222 n. 1; JOANNA MANTEL-NIEĆKO, "Staroamharskie pieśni królewskie" ('Old Amharic Royal Songs'), *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* 3, 23, 1957, 287–305; EAD., *Les verbes de type A/B-C en amharique. Analyse sémantique comparée*, Varsovie 1969; EAD., *The Role of Land Tenure in the System of Ethiopian Imperial Government in Modern Times*, Warszawa 1980; EAD., *Próba Sił: Źródła do dziejów Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego po 13 grudnia 1981*, Warszawa 1991; ANDRZEJ BARTNICKI – JOANNA MANTEL-NIEĆKO, *Historia Etiopii*, Wrocław 1971 (^{2}1987, Russian tr. Moskva 1976, German tr. Berlin 1978).
Lit.: "Professor Joanna Mantel-Niećko", in: *WälYoh* 23–25; WITOLD WITAKOWSKI, "In memoriam Joanna Mantel-Niećko (1933–2009)", *Aethiopica* 13, 2010, 222–24.

Hanna Rubinkowska

Märəd Wäldä Arägay

Märəd Wäldä Arägay during the 14th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies in Addis Abäba; photo 2000, courtesy of Thomas Rave

M. (**መርድ ፡ ወልደ ፡ አረጋይ**; b. 1934, ^{c}Adwa, d. 31 December 2008, Addis Abäba) was an Ethiopian historian. He attended the Yoḥannəs II School in Mäq̱älä and the ↗Mənilək II Secondary School in Addis Abäba. In 1953, M. joined the newly established University College of Addis Abäba and graduated with a B.A. in 1956. He immediately left for the United States, where, in 1957, he obtained a Master's degree in education from Harvard University and, in 1959, a Master's degree in history from the University of Chicago.

On his return to Ethiopia, M. taught at Asfa Wäsän School in Addis Abäba. During a three-year research fellowship in Portugal, beginning in 1961, he mastered Portuguese, a skill which enabled him to become a pre-eminent authority on 16th and 17th-cent. Ethiopian history. His first book, a joint publication with Girma Beshah (1964), was a direct outcome of this fruitful sojourn. Nor would his ground-breaking Ph.D. dissertation (1971) have been conceivable without his mastery of the Portuguese sources so crucial to a reconstruction of the history of that period.

M. taught at the Department of History of Haile Sellassie I University (↗Addis Ababa University) from 1964 until his retirement in 1999, when, in recognition of his long and dedicated service, he was made Professor Emeritus. He headed the Department during some of the most turbulent years of the country's history (1973–82), resuming his work in 1986–90. In that capacity, he was also member of the Advisory Board of the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies. He served in various of the University ad hoc and standing committees and was a member of its highest body, the Senate (1987–89). For about a decade starting in 1982, he was a member of the team of historians who participated in the Swedish SAREC-sponsored project for the microfilming of Ethiopia-related archival records in various European and Middle Eastern countries – a milestone in strengthening the documentary base of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies and the launching of the Ph.D. program in history. He also collaborated with Sven Rubenson in the seminal documentation project *Acta Aethiopica*, co-editing the second and third volumes of that series.

M. participated in a number of conferences and colloquia both inside and outside the country. He was a member of the Organizing Committee of the Eighth ↗International Conference of Ethiopian Studies as well as of the Centenary of the ↗ᶜAdwa Victory (1984 and 1996, respectively).

M.'s publications, in both English and Amharic, covered a wide range of issues and historical periods (e.g., in PICES 4; 1984; 1985; 1997). His Ph.D. dissertation, described by one of his colleagues as "one of the most influential theses ever written on Ethiopian history", remains unpublished.

M. is remembered above all as a dedicated teacher who shared his vast knowledge of Ethiopian history with freshmen as well as with graduate and post-graduate students with equal enthusiasm. M. was survived by his wife, two sons and a daughter.

Src.: Merid Wolde Aregay – Girma Beshah, *The Question of the Union of the Churches in Luso-Ethiopian Relations*, Lisbon 1964; Merid Wolde Aregay, "Political Geography of Ethiopia at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century", in: *PICES* 4, 613–32; Id., *Southern Ethiopia and the Christian Kingdom 1508–1708 with Special Reference to the Galla Migrations and their Consequences*, Ph.D. thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, London 1971; Id., "A Reappraisal of the Impact of Firearms in the Military History of Ethiopia", *JES* 14, 1976–79, 98–122; Id., "Society and Technology in Ethiopia, 1500–1800", *JES* 17, 1984, 127–46; Id., "Some Inedited Land Charters of Emperor Sarsa Dengel (r. 1563–1597)", *AE* 13, 1985, 87–101; Id., "The Early History of Ethiopia's Coffee Trade and the Rise of Shewa", *JAH* 29, 1, 1988, 19–25; "Military Elites in Medieval Ethiopia", *JES* 30, 1, 1997, 31–73; Addis Ababa University, Department of History, Records.

Lit.: Alessandro Triulzi, "In memoriam Merid Wolde Aregay (1934/35–2008)", *Aethiopica* 13, 2010, 208–11 (Lit.).

Bahru Zewde

Marginalized people

M.p. is a theoretical concept used to describe a phenomenon in the context of social division of labour and social segregation or stratification wide-spread in the Horn of Africa: occupational socio-cultural minority groups separated from the agrarian producers by a system of – often reciprocal – cultural regulations and taboos. Such occupational groups are often perceived and described as "despised groups" excluded from a core society of "commoners" but living in tight interrelation with it. Marginalization is just one possible perspective to look at the phenomenon but this view is still influential in the scholarly discourse until today; and it also had some impact on emancipation and identity issues (↗Ethnicity) among the groups concerned here.

Freeman – Pankhurst (2003: 1–8) identified marginalization by varying degrees of (1) spatial segregation, (2) economical discrimination, (3) political disempowerment, (4) social exclusion, and (5) cultural subordination and negative stereotyping. The general model for the concept describes M.p. as social minorities excluded from the political organization of the agrarian "commoners" and endowed with limited judicial rights. Only slaves (↗Slavery) had a lower status. Economically, M.p. were mostly restricted to non-agricultural occupations, and earned their living as craftsmen (↗Handicrafts). Typical occupations of M.p. are, e.g., carpentry or woodwork (↗Wood), ↗pottery and tannery (↗Leather), and ↗hunting, but they may also cover ritually important tasks. Others may work as musicians (cp. also ↗*Ǝnzata*, ↗*Lalibäločč*), heralds or jesters. Occupations such as forging (↗Blacksmiths; ↗Iron), ↗weaving and basket weaving (↗Basketry) are usually not despised and may also be carried out by peasants.

Typical M.p. were excluded from landownership with the justification that they were considered to have certain ritually ambivalent or "polluting" qualities and, therefore, could harm the fertility of the soil or crops and livestock. Often they were accused to bear the evil eye (↗*Buda*) and to have some relation with ↗hyenas. M.p. in many cases dwelled at the edge of the settlements and they were not buried at the cemeteries of commoners. When interacting with commoners, M.p. were obliged to show their submissiveness towards them.

Most occupational groups practiced endogamy towards the commoners. Intermarriage with members of other occupational groups in some cases was permitted. Endogamy, occupational specialization, separate ethnicity and the ways of discrimination led scholars to designate them as "low castes" or "castes" (e.g., cp. VSAe III, 1, s. index; Todd 1977: 404ff.). However, as Amborn (1990) has shown, the concept of "caste", modelled after the Indian caste-system (or more precisely *varna*-system), is not adequate for the Ethiopian cases.

In the south-western regions the social segregation and symbolic marginalization of craftsmen is much more institutionalized than in other areas of Ethiopia. The so-called ↗Fuga among the ↗Gurage, ↗Kambaata and ↗Hadiyya, the ↗Manǧo and Mano/Mana among the ↗Käfa,

↗Dawro and ↗Gamo, the Mani among the ↗Malo, the *Šinašša* (different from ↗Šinašša) among the ↗Wälaytta, the Hadiččo among the ↗Sidaama, and the Hawuda among the ↗Konso are some examples of such groups of craftsmen.

Often hunters among the M.p. are specialized in hunting particular kinds of game, considered to be impure by the commoners; like in the case of the ↗Wäyṭo and the "Fuga", who are known for their consumption of ↗hippopotamus. The hunting methods of hunters such as the hunting with dogs or by bow and arrow or nets, are mostly rejected by commoners.

According to the symbolic value ascribed to their economic specialization there is a social hierarchy among the different occupational groups. For example in Kambaata and Hadiyya the socially subordinate "Fuga" are potters (women, husbands as helpers) and tanners (men, women as helpers) whereas the smiths (*tumaano*) also cultivate on their own land and usually have the same status as peasants.

Traditional rural economy is based on tied economic relations between the specialized workers, who provide the peasants with various items of daily use and the peasants/landowners, who secure the workers' supply with agricultural products. There is a vivid economic, social and cultural exchange and interaction between the craftsmen and the peasants. In certain rituals, such as lifecycle events, M.p. may play an important role. Despite this deep socio-economical and ritual interdependence, on the emic ideological level, both the craftsmen and peasants are seen as two completely disparate categories of people.

Historical processes of marginalization

Various theories have been developed on the question of the origins of the phenomena subsumed under the concept of M.p. It was proposed (e.g., by Cerulli [CerEt vol. 1: 80, 187, 190, 195, 229, 231, 234–38, vol. 2: 17, 200; 1954]; Jensen [1936: 36ff., 104ff.] and Straube [VSAe III]) that M.p. may represent the "remnants" of earlier or autochthonous ethnic groups, that were subsequently subdued and marginalized by "superior" immigrants. Haberland (1964) suggested that in the case of such invaders, coming from the northern Ethiopian realm, brought with them groups of craftsmen that subsequently mixed with the conquered population.

Another explanation for the existence of occupational groups is that the social stratification developed out of differentiation of social tasks carried out by interdependent social segments. The differentiation may be essentially a result of the internal division of labour driven primarily by economic factors (not cultural as with the caste system). According to Amborn (1990: 10f. et passim), specialist groups are to be seen in the context of the differentiation of a society of which they are not a marginal but important integral part. Such differentiation is not restricted to state or early state societies but is also to be observed in non-centralized societies.

Intensive agricultural production and the production of tools and material culture in general necessitate different methods of production and organization of working processes. Certain items cannot be produced parallel to, or combined with, agricultural activities by every member of society. For their production special skills and materials are necessary and too much time, or a different temporal rhythm, is needed for this kind of work. A consequence of the incompatibility of work processes was the social division of labour between agrarian producers and different groups of specialists (ibid. 19, 22, 48, 50).

Important differences between agriculturalists and specialist groups do directly result from the different materials as well as modes and organization of work. In order to purchase necessary raw materials and to market their products craftsmen have to be also traders. Therefore, they have a high degree of mobility and more contact to other, sometimes alien, societies, or may even migrate permanently (ibid. 333).

While agricultural production strongly depends on the natural conditions and, in the traditional worldview, on the supernatural (e.g., ↗ancestors), craftsmen create their products themselves. The processes of production are not fully understood by non-craftsmen who, therefore, may ascribe ambivalent or dangerous magical skills or qualities to specialist groups (ibid. 313, 334f.).

The social and symbolic position of the specialist groups separate them from the agriculturalists; this very distance allows, however, them to fulfil certain ritual functions in the society. Therefore, their separation allows also their integration (ibid. 334).

Based on a phenomenological analysis Freeman (2003: 301ff.) constructed four categories of specialist groups (s. below). They may share historical similarities (migration, conquest, the development of increasing political complexity) in the processes which led to their formation

Hadiyya potter Kabbabuš Baqqälä at work; photo 1999, courtesy of the author

and marginalization as minorities. However, Amborn's hypothesis was not considered by Freeman, and deeper studies on the individual groups in their social and historical context may lead to other categorizations.

The first category is that of craftsmen, which are not to be considered M.p. in the full sense, but share their status as distinct group of specialists. Only little social and no spatial distance is kept to them. They are agriculturist landowners, not necessarily endogamous and not seen as impure. Neither they have a special role in the rituals of the peasant nor do they have separate rituals. Examples of such groups are the smiths (Nəfurä and Wägačä) in Gurage and Dawro and the weavers (Šamer/Šamano) in Gurage and Käfa. According to oral history most of these groups in southern Ethiopia came from the north. Smiths and weavers may have come together with the northerners during the 16th-cent. expansion of the Christian kingdom, where they already had a comparable social position (Freeman 2003: 304ff.).

A second category is characterized by negative stereotyping and the belief that the occupational groups concerned might bring misfortune or infertility. Sometimes they may be accused of eating impure meat. They may live among or in the periphery of the agriculturalists and have little ethnic distance. According to origin myths their occupation was imposed on them by the king or they chose it on their own. They have no separate rituals. Examples for this type are the tanners (Awačo, Degala) in Sidaama, ↗Dokko and Dawro, Wälaytta and Gamo and the weavers, smiths, tanners, potters and butchers (Hawuda) among the Konso (Freeman 2003: 306ff.).

The woodworkers, tanners and potters in Kambaata, Hadiyya, Gurage and the hunters in Käfa (the Manǧo) may be subsumed under a third category. The landowners traditionally consider them "lawless" and "uncivilized" and associate them with the wild bush. They are accused of eating impure meat and are believed to smell. Their alleged supernatural powers are considered dangerous but they also fulfil a ritual role linked to the peasants' rituals and connected to the maintenance of fertility. They have their own separate rituals. Due to their alleged ritually ambivalent character, they mostly live on the periphery and are buried separately. Legends often tell that they fell from grace because of a certain impure act (Freeman 2003: 309–12).

Perhaps the most despised occupational groups, such as the smiths (Gitsu/Gito) in Malo, ↗Aari and ↗Dime, are seen as a completely different kind of people, with whom contact should be avoided as far as possible. Stereotyping and discrimination in their case is most extreme. They are said to control strong magic powers and to eat impure meat. However, they are not associated with fertility. They have no role in peasant rituals and are feared for their alleged dangerous powers (Freeman 2003: 312f.).

Emancipation

Early attempts to improve the symbolic and social status of craftsmen date already to the reign of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II. According to *aläqa* Täklä Iyäsus Waqǧera's chronicle (Girma Getahun 1991: 279), already this emperor issued a decree which interdicted the defamation of craftsmen as ↗*däbän ansa* (ibid.; cp. also KaneDic 1786). The Italian occupational administration in its propaganda defined the craftsmen as "workers" as did the Socialist government after the ↗Revolution of 1974. Notwithstanding the anti-discrimination policy (equal rights, access to land etc.) of the *Därg*, in many cases discrimination continues or even increased again under the current government. Especially negative stereotyping can be observed until today and the fear of evil eye still is alive. Today, some M.p. started to struggle for political representation and social rights. Protestant and Catholic missions as well as modern Islam in many cases successfully introduced their concept of equality. The more the rural areas become part of greater trade networks, the more local craft products have to compete with industrially produced commodities and imported products. Many craftsmen migrated to the cities or became members of the army to improve their living standard. Others developed local micro-strategies, such as the foundation of special ↗*əddər*-cooperatives that organize the sale of their crafts, in order to improve their position.

Src.: GIRMA Y. GETAHUN, *The Goǧǧam Chronicle*, Ph.D. thesis, Oxford 1991, vol. 2: *Introduction, Translation and Annotation of Selected Chapters*, 279; KaneDic 1786.

Lit.: HERMANN AMBORN, *Differenzierung und Integration*: *Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu Spezialisten und Handwerkern in Südäthiopischen Agrargesellschaften*, München 1990, 10f., 19, 22, 48, 50 (Lit.); CerEt vol. 1, 80, 187, 190, 195, 229, 231, 234–238, vol. 2, 17, 200; ENRICO CERULLI, "I gruppi etnici di bassa casta dell'Africa Orientale", *Rivista di Antropologia* 41, 1954, 372; DENA FREEMAN – ALULA PANKHURST (eds.), *Peripheral People*: *the Excluded Minorities of Ethiopia*, London 2003 (Lit.), passim; DENA FREEMAN, "Understanding Marginalisation in Ethiopia", in: FREEMAN – PANKHURST 2003, 301–33; EIKE HABERLAND, "König und Paria in Afrika", in: ID. et al. (eds.), *Festschrift für Ad. E. Jensen*, München 1964, 155–66; ADOLF ELLEGARD JENSEN, *Im Lande des Gada, Wanderungen zwischen Volkstrümmern Südabessiniens*, Stuttgart 1936, 36ff., 104ff.; DAVID M. TODD, "Caste in Africa", *Africa* (London) 47, 1977, 389–412; ID., "The Origins of Outcastes in Ethiopia: Reflections on an Evolutionary Theory", *Abbay* 9, 1978, 145–58; VSAe III, s. index.

Alke Dohrmann

Märḥa Krəstos

Abunä M.K. (**መርሐ ፡ ክርስቶስ**, birth name Fəṣṣum Bərhan, monastic name before bishopry Yared; b. 22 March 1927, Ç̣äläqot Śəllase, Ǝndärta, d. 6 February 2008, Addis Abäba) was a prominent ecclesiastic of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC).

Son of *qes* Gərmay Gäbrä Iyäsus and *wäyzäro* Taddäläčč Täklä Haymanot, Fəṣṣum Bərhan received his primary church ↗education from his father, and studied ↗*dəggʷa*, ↗*məᶜəraf* and ↗*aqqʷaqʷam* from *mämhər* Qälämäwärq in Ç̣äläqot Śəllase. He later studied ↗*qəne* under *liqä ḫəruyan* Wäldä Sänbät in Zobəl Angot Mädḫane ᶜAläm; *mämhər* Ṭəbäbu Gämme in Śəre Mädḫane ᶜAläm (Sälale); *mämhər* Maᶜəbäl Fänte Wase in Wašära (Goǧǧam); and *mämhər* Qalä Maᶜənäq Täsämma in Däbrä Mäwiᵓ Maryam (Goǧǧam). He subsequently taught *qəne* in Goǧǧam before continuing his studies of the commentary (↗*tərgʷame*) under *mämhər* Ləyäw Mulu in Moṭa Giyorgis and *aläqa* Ḫəruy Fanta in Addis Abäba (N.T.); and *liqä liqawənt* Ayyälä Alämu and *aläqa* Ṭərunäh Kasa in Addis Abäba (O.T.). He also studied all subjects of the ↗*mäṣḥaf bet*.

M.K. was ordained deacon, by the name Yared, by *abunä* Yəsḥaq; then joined ↗Däbrä Libanos (Šäwa) and was ordained priest by *abunä* Yoḥannəs. He was also given the title *mäggabe śərᶜat* and taught at Taᶜəka Nägäśt Bäᶜata Lämaryam monastery memorial school (1967–69) and in Mäq̱älä at different parishes. He was also *yädäbr aläqa* of Ç̣äläqot Śəllase.

In 1978, M.K. was ordained bishop (↗*p̣ap̣ṗas*) by *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot and appointed Bishop of Eritrea diocese (1978–80). He subsequently served as Archbishop of Dərre Dawa (1980–84), Western Harärge and Dərre Dawa (1988–90), and Təgray (1990–93 and 1998–2000).

M.K. also served as Chair of the Scholars Council (*Liqawənt gubaᵓe*, s. ↗*Liq*; 1984–88) and Head of the Sunday School Department of the Patriarchate. He was also the dean of the ↗Theological College of St. Paul (1993–97), ↗Holy Trinity Theological College (1997–98) and St. Frumentius Abunä Sälama Theological College (2001–05), where he also taught many EOTC disciplines.

From 2000 until his death in 2008 M.K. was Archbishop of the Mäqälä diocese and professor at the Frumentius Abunä Sälama Theological College.

Beside teaching in different colleges and parishes, M.K. was active as traditional scholar. He published four theological books (1967/68; 1999a; 1999b; 2003) and gave public lectures (e.g., at Addis Ababa University in May 2005 on the traditional pronunciation **ድምፀ ፡ ፊደላት** (*Dəmṣ́ä fidälat*, 'Sound[s] of the *fidäl*').

Src.: Addis Abäba, archives of the EOTC Patriarchate (letters 1978–2008); MÄRḤA KRƎSTOS [here as *mäggabe śər^{c}at* YARED] et al., **ሥርወ ፡ ሃይማኖት** (*Śərwä haymanot*, 'Root of Faith'), Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.]; ID., **የቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ትምህርት** (*Yäbetä krəstiyan təmhərt*, 'Teaching of the Church'), Addis Abäba 1991 A.M. [1999a A.D.]; **ትምህርተ ፡ ሃይማኖት** (*Təmhərtä haymanot*, 'Teaching of Faith'), Addis Abäba 1992 A.M. [1999b A.D.]; **ትምህርተ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን** (*Təmhərtä betä krəstiyan*, 'Teaching of the Church'), Mäqälä 1995 A.M. [2003 A.D.].

Lit.: **ዜና ፡ ሕይወቱ ፡ ወዕረፍቱ ፡ ለብፁዕ ፡ አቡነ ፡ መርሐ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ጳጳስ** (*Zena ḥəywätu wä^{c}əräftu läbəṣ́u^{c} abunä Märḥa Krəstos liqä p̣ap̣as*, 'Biography and Decease of His Grace *Abunä* Märḥa Krəstos, the Archbishop'), Mäqälä 2000 A.M. [2008 A.D.]; **ብፁዕ ፡ አቡነ ፡ መርሐ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ዐረፉ** (*Bəṣ́u^{c} abunä Märḥa Krəstos ^{c}arräfu*, 'His Grace *abunä* Märḥa Krəstos has Passed Away'), *Zena betäkrəstiyan* 246, February 2008; *mäl^{ɔ}akä məkr* KÄFYALÄW MÄRAḤI, **ዝክረ ፡ ሊቃውንት** (*Zəkrä liqawənt*, 'Memory of the Scholars'), Addis Abäba 2003 A.M. [2010/11 A.D.], 275–81; *Səm^{c}a ṣədq zä^{ɔ}ortodoks täwaḥədo* [Addis Abäba], 15, 147, 1–15 *Yäkkatit* 2000 A.M. [2008 A.D.].

Amsalu Tefera

Marrassini, Paolo

M. (b. 16 March 1942, Florence, d. 10 January 2013, Florence) was an eminent scholar in Semitic and ↗Ethiopian Studies.

M.'s father Dante was a cartographer employed at the Istituto Geografico Militare, Florence, while his mother Clara Bosi was a primary school teacher. After attending the gymnasium and classical high school, in 1961 M. entered the University of Florence, first enrolling at the Faculty of Law, then moving to the Faculty of Arts in 1962. He studied linguistics and Semitic Studies under the eminent Italian Semitist Pelio Fronzaroli (in turn a pupil of Giacomo Devoto and Sabatino Moscati). M. got his M.A. degree in 1967, with a thesis on the lexicon of military architecture in 1st millennium A.D. Semitic (published 1971).

Having taught in school for some years, from 1971 until 1982 M. was research fellow in Semitic Philology at the University of Florence. After initially taking interest in Assyriology (among his long-time acquaintances was Jean Bottéro) and linguistic palaeontology (also including Near East archaeology), M. turned his attention to Ethiopian Studies. In 1974–76 he attended the seminars held at the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei by Stefan ↗Strelcyn under the auspices of Enrico ↗Cerulli. With the latter's support, M. followed Strelcyn's courses in Manchester in 1975–76. In 1977, M. became adjunct professor at the University of Pisa, first for Hebrew (1977–78) and then for Semitic Philology (1978–82).

During this period, sponsored by Cerulli, M. completed his first major Ethiopianist publication, the critical edition with introduction and annotated translation of the *Gädlä ↗Yoḥannəs Məśraqawi* (1981). In this work M. introduced two profound innovations: the application of a modern philological method to Ethiopic text editions and the appreciation of the hagiographical literature (↗hagiography) in its proper sense. M. consistently maintained the so-called "neo-Lachmannian" approach (also noted by Contini 1990: 66), which he explicitly defended in later contributions (e.g., 1987a; 1996; 2003; 2008; 2009). As for his approach to hagiography, he later extended it also to historical texts, at the example of the so-called "chronicle" of *aṣe* ↗^{c}Amdä Ṣəyon (MarAmdS 22–39), and other case studies.

In 1983 M. became Associate Professor for Ethiopic language and literature at the University of Florence, also teaching Semitic Philology (1983–84). In 1990, under the auspices of Lanfranco ↗Ricci, M. succeeded Luigi ↗Fusella as Full Professor for ↗Gə^{c}əz language and literature at the ↗Istituto Universitario Orientale of Naples. His additional charges included chairing the academic programme for Oriental languages and civilizations in 1991–93, teaching Coptic (1990–91) and Semitic linguistics (1991–93).

In 1994 M. was called to the chair of Ancient Ethiopic language and literature at the University of Florence. He continued teaching Gə^{c}əz language at literature at Naples in 1994–95, where he also remained, for the rest of his life, an active member of the Ph.D. programme in African studies, coordinated by Alessandro Triulzi.

In Florence, M. was President of the academic programme for Humanities (1996–98), and later Dean of the Faculty of Arts for two terms (1998–

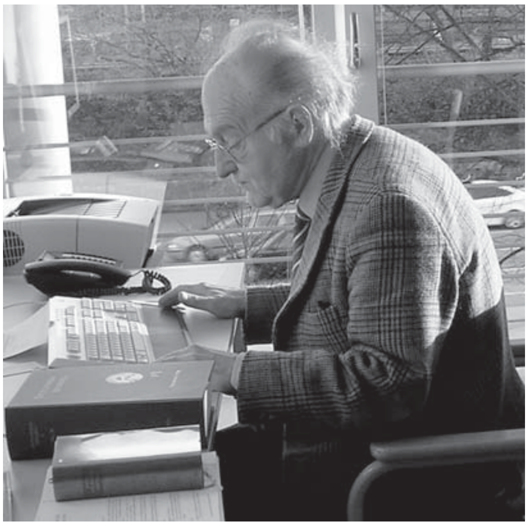
04). After Fronzaroli's becoming emeritus in 2003, M. assumed the Chair of Semitic Philology, in which he remained until his retirement in 2009.

In addition to his work in Florence, M. was active teaching internationally. He did much for promoting studies in Ethiopic philology in Ethiopia and was among the initiators of the graduate programmes in Philology at ↗Addis Ababa University. He was Adjunct Professor of that University since the launch of the M.A. and Ph.D. programmes respectively in 2004 and 2007 and until after his retirement, teaching several courses and tutoring dozens of students. In 2008 he was Guest Professor for Ethiopian Studies at the University of Hamburg.

M. was a member of several scientific associations. Their range testifies to the wide spectrum of his interests. They include the Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, the Associazione Italiana per lo Studio del Giudaismo, the Association pour l'Étude de la Littérature Apocryphe Chrétienne, the Associazione per lo Studio della Santità, dei Culti e dell'Agiografia, and the Società Italiana di Glottologia. He was also among the founders and director of the Centre for Theoretical and Historical Linguistics: Italian, European and Oriental Languages, at the University of Florence.

M. was the Italian representative (since 2003) in the International Organizing Committee of the ↗International Conferences of Ethiopian Studies. From 2010 until his death M. was the editor-in-chief of the ↗*Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, of which he edited the issues 3 (2012) and 4 (2013) of the new series. M. was also member of several editorial boards, including the journals *Africa* (Rome) and ↗*Aethiopica* (1998–2000), as well as the EAE.

M.'s scholarly achievements ranged from Ancient Semitic and Assyriology to Ethiopian Studies, from comparative and historical linguistics to philology as text criticism and hagiography, from manuscript cataloguing to religious studies, from Old and New Testament apocrypha to the history of Oriental Studies. He substantially contributed to Semitic lexicography and linguistics, with a special attention to South Semitic classification (s., e.g., Marrassini 2007; 2010; ↗Ethio-Semitic); to the critical edition of Ethiopic hagiographic and historical texts; to the vast field of apocrypha, in Ethiopic (↗Pseudepigrapha and apocrypha) as well as in other languages (s., e.g., Id. in EtRicci); to manuscript studies, with his catalogue of the Ethiopic ↗manuscripts of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence (s. Id. 1987b–88); to several crucial questions in Christian Ethiopian history and culture, such as the so-called ↗Syriac and Jewish influences (s. Id. 1999), and others.



Paolo Marrassini in his office at the Asien-Afrika-Institut of the University of Hamburg; photo 2008, courtesy of Maria Antonia Gronchi

M. was a passionate and sensitive person, a meticulous investigator with a broad cultural horizon, a devoted and generous teacher, and a methodological innovator in all the fields he dealt with. He was friend of such scholars as David Cohen, Maxime ↗Rodinson, Taddesse Tamrat (Taddäsä Tammərat), and many others.

M. is survived by his wife Maria Antonia, a daughter, and a son.

Src.: for the full bibliography s. BAUSI 2013; PAOLO MARRASSINI, *Formazione del lessico dell'edilizia militare nel semitico di Siria*, Firenze 1971 (Quaderni di semitistica 1); ID., *Gadla Yohannes Mesraqawi. Vita di Yohannes l'Orientale*: *Edizione critica con introduzione e traduzione annotata*, Firenze (Quaderni di Semitistica 10); ID., "L'edizione critica dei testi etiopici: problemi di metodo e reperti linguistici", in: VITTORE PISANI (ed.), *Linguistica e filologia*: *Atti del VII Convegno Internazionale di Linguisti tenuto a Milano nei giorni 12–14 settembre 1984*, Brescia 1987a, 347–56; ID., "I manoscritti etiopici della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze", *RSE* 30, 1984–86 [1987b], 81–116, and 31, 1987 [1988], 69–110; ID., "L'Apocalisse di Pietro", in: *EtRicci* 171–232; ID., *Il* Gadla Yemreḥanna Krestos: *Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione*, Napoli 1995 (*Annali IUO* Supplemento 85); ID., "Problems of Gəᶜəz philology", in: PETR ZEMÁNEK (ed.), *Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Literatures*: *Memorial volume of Karel Petráćek*, Prague 1996, 371–78; ID., "Ancora sul problema degli influssi siriaci in età aksumita", in: LUIGI CAGNI (ed.), *Biblica et Semitica*: *Studi in memoria di Francesco Vattioni*, Napoli 1999 (Series Minor 59), 325–37 [Engl. tr. by CATERINA FRANCHI, "Once Again on the Question of the Syriac Influences in the Aksumite Period", in: ALESSANDRO BAUSI (ed.), *Lan-*

guages and Cultures of Eastern Christianity: *Ethiopian*, Farnham, Surrey 2012 (Variorum, The Worlds of Eastern Christianity [300–1500] 4), 209–19 (no. 13)]; Id., "*Vita*", "*Omelia*", "*Miracoli*" *del santo Gabra Manfas Qeddus*, Lovanii 2003 (CSCO 597, 598 [SAe 107, 108]); Id., "Il ruolo dell'ebraico nella linguistica semitica comparativa", *Quaderni del Dipartimento di Linguistica* 17, 2007, 271–90; Id., "Salient Features of Philology: the Science of Establishing Primary Sources", *Ethiopian Philology. Bulletin of Philological Society of Ethiopia* 1, 1, 2008, 4–12; Id., "Problems in Critical Edition and the State of Ethiopian Philology", *JES* 42, 2009, 25–68; Id., "South Semitic Again", in: Frederick Mario Fales – Giulia Francesca Grassi (eds.), *CAMSEMUD 2007*: *Proceedings of the 13th Italian Meeting of Afro-Asiatic Linguistics Held in Udine, May 21st–24th, 2007*, Padova 2010 (History of the Ancient Near East/Monographs 10), 103–09; MarAmdS.

Lit.: Alessandro Bausi, "In memoriam Paolo Marrassini (1942–2013)", *Aethiopica* 16, 2013, 202–14 (Bibl.); Gianfranco Contini, *Breviario di ecdotica*, Torino 1990 [1st ed. 1986] (Paperbacks Letteratura 222), 66; Lanfranco Ricci, "Studi di Etiopistica", in: *Atti del Convegno Gli studi africanistici in Italia dagli anni '60 ad oggi. Roma, 25–27 giugno 1985*, Roma 1986, 150–66.

Alessandro Bausi

Marriage

I Endogamy and exogamy, s. "Marriage" in EAE vol. 3
II Types of Marriage, s. "Marriage" in EAE vol. 3
for sacramental marriage, s. ↗Matrimony
III Ceremonies and customs, s. "Marriage" in EAE vol. 3, s. also ↗Wedding
IV Divorce, s. "Marriage" in EAE vol. 3
V Early marriage

V Early marriage

The term early M. refers here to M., arranged before or after the birth of the future couple, before the age of 18. It is a widespread custom in the Horn of Africa and is practiced by followers of all religions in the rural sphere as an integral part of traditional culture until today.

Among ruling families early M. was mostly practiced in order to forge political alliances, to accumulate wealth and to avoid the loss of land. Historical examples for such dynastic early M. are the M. of the 6-year-old ↗Zäwditu (later *ətege*) with the 13-year-old ↗Arᵓaya Śəllase (later *ras*), or of *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Täklä Haymanot's daughter, Säblä Wängel, who married *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu, when she was 14 (Alemante Amera 2004; Heran 2005; 2006; Pankhurst 1979).

According to Guday Emirie's study in two districts of Western Goǧǧam four typologies of early M. can be identified:

(1) *yäqal kidan gabəčča* 'marriage of matrimony', i.e. promissory M. betrothal before birth;
(2) *yanqälba gabəčča*, lit. 'marriage of the *anqälba* [leather backpack for carrying a baby]', i.e. M. of a newborn or between the age of 1 and 2. In this case the bride remains at her parents' home till she reaches the appropriate age to live with her husband;
(3) *yämadägo gabəčča*, lit. 'marriage of the *madägo* [i.e. child of either sex raised as a servant of the family], i.e. M. of a girl-child between the age of 5 and 9. The bride is expected to commute between the parents' and in-laws' families until she reaches the age of 10;
(4) *yäləǧənnät gabəčča*, i.e. the M. between females aged 10 to 14 and males aged 15 to 17. The bride aged 10 to 11 is expected to live with her in-laws. After reaching the age of 12 to 13 she is expected to establish, together with her husband, her own household next to her in-laws' homestead.

The theme of early M. has been object of a number of contemporary Amharic novels, among which **የልብ ፡ ሐሳብ ፤ የብርሃንና ፡ የጽዮን ፡ ሞገሳ ፡ ጋብቻ** (*Yäləbb ḥassab*: *yäbərhanənna yäṣəyon mogäsa gabəčča*, 'Heartly Desire: the Marriage of Bərhan and Ṣəyon Mogäsa', Addis Abäba: Goha Ṣäbah 1930) by Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase, **የልምዣት** (*Yälməžat*, 'day-night dream') by Ḥaddis Alämayyähu (Addis Abäba: Kuraz Publishing Agency 1988).

Socio-cultural and economic factors

The virginity of the bride is considered a fundamental prerequisite for early M. Since Ethiopians give a high social and cultural value to virginity, a girl is expected to be a virgin at her first M. In case the bride is not a virgin the M. is dissolved and she is sent back to her family which seldom welcomes her back. Therefore, parents might give their daughters in M. at an early age in order to protect them from pre-marital sex and to be recognized for their capability to look after their daughters properly (Guday Emirie 2005: 93; s. also Haile Gabriel Dagne 1994: 36; Mitike Molla – Yemane Berhane – Lindtjørn 2008, passim; Berihun M. Mekonnen – Aspen 2011: 436). Furthermore, the economic value of a woman (in terms of *mača* 'dowry') is higher if she is virgin and it decreases if she is married or has children.

Other socio-cultural factors behind early M. are: (a) the desire of the parents to see the M. of their daughter and/or a grand-child before they pass away (*saləmot abäbayen ləy* 'before I pass away, let me see my flower'); (b) fear of being considered as undesirable for M. and, consequently, stigma-

A boy (age 6) and girl (age 5) at their wedding ceremony in Goǧǧam; photo 2009, courtesy of Achille Piotrowicz

tized as *qomo qärräčč* 'impossible to marry' or as *galämota* 'left over', 'not wanted', then 'dissolute woman'; (c) when the request for M. is negotiated by the elders (*šəmagəlle mälak*) or by a family of such a status that a negative answer is unthinkable (Amhara, Təgray), or, as in Oromiyaa, when the request is from a *balä wəkabi* (a person in control of/controlled by a *wəkabi* ↗spirit) or ordered by him; (d) the need to marry before menstruation (Argobba), to stake first-claim (Təgray), to give a ↗wedding feast (Amhara, Kəmant), as a repayment for attending that of others, to get the services of a son-in-law (Agäw), and fear of abduction (Oromo); (d) the competition to find a good match for their daughters increasing the social capital of the family urges the parents to marry their children as soon as they find someone considered a suitable bridegroom; (e) the high respect and consideration that the community shows the father who marries her daughter as early as possible; (f) the necessity that the daughter will be subservient to her in-laws and to her husband, if he is adult enough, drives the parents to marry her out while she is still a child, which means when she still does not have the required maturity to make decisions for herself (Alemante Amera 2004; Guday Emirie 2005: 46ff., 137ff.; Haile Gabriel Dagne 1994: 35f.).

Alongside socio-cultural reasons some of the economic factors behind early M. are to be mentioned: (a) the will to organize an exemplary wedding in order to acquire social prestige; (b) to strengthen economic alliances with well-off families; (c) to bequeath the land and the cattle to the sons.

Psychological and physical effects

Sexual intercourse (s. also ↗Sexuality) between the bride (below the age of 9) and her husband is formally forbidden. According to the custom of early-childhood M. arrangements, the mother-in-law should protect the bride from her son's sexual advance until she reaches the customary age of a young married girl for sleeping with her husband (*läʿaqəmä hewan* 'the age of Eve'), usually 9 years or above. The custom of protecting the young married girl from sexual intercourse with her husband is locally known as *gedo* (Guday Emirie 2005: 125f.).

The experience of early M. has serious effects both on the physical and mental health of the female children: (a) they are forced to loveless M. which may end in running away from their husband, sometimes into ↗prostitution; (b) they are denied education; (c) their first sexual intercourse mostly occurs against their will and may be a proper rape; (d) they started childbearing when their bodies are physiologically not mature enough to carry a pregnancy which results in a high maternal mortality; (d) the premature pregnancy very often causes obstructed labour, damage to the uterus and to the vagina, and obstetric fistula; the victims of fistula being mostly abandoned by their husbands and handed off on the fringes of society (Alemante Amera 2004; Erulkar 2004; Guday Emirie 2005; Haile Gabriel Dagne 1994; Yamrot Girma 2008).

Early marriage today

While the Civil Code of 1960 set the minimum age of M. for girls at 15 years and for boys at 18 years (Guday Emirie 2005: 31ff.), nowadays early M. is illegal in Ethiopia. In the Revised Family Code of Ethiopia (213/2000) the minimum legal age of M. for both girls and boys is 18 years. The law also establishes equal rights for both men and women in the formation of M., during M. and at its dissolution. Furthermore, the Revised Penal Code (626-627/2005) penalizes the sexual abuse of children with imprisonment from 13 to 25 years for a man guilty of sexual activity with a child below the age of 13, and from three to 15 years imprisonment where the child is between the age of 13 and 18.

Although the Ethiopian government laws-policies legislate against early M. the custom is still largely attested.

The persistence of the tradition depends on several factors (Berihun M. Mekonnen – Aspen 2011: 438, 442f.), and firstly on the fact that, early M. being a cultural norm, no one considers it as an illegal issue. Furthermore, like with female genital mutilation (↗Circumcision, female), government officials who are themselves part of the local community often are reluctant to enforce national laws contradicting old-established local practices (Guday Emirie 2005: 163).

The Transitional Civil Code of Eritrea also abolished, in 1991, the discriminatory clauses and gave women a higher level of protection, including the minimum age of M. of 18 years (these clauses do not apply to M. governed by ↗*šarīʿa* law). Despite the laws, early M. is still a persistent custom also in Eritrea (Silkin 1989).

According to a survey carried out in 1997 (National Committee on Traditional Practices in Ethiopia [NCTPE], today *Yäʾitoṗya Goǧi Ləmadawi Dərəǧətočč Aswogaǧ Maḫbär* ['Ethiopian Harmful Practices Elimination Committee', EGLDAM]), the prevalence rate of early M. at the national level is 54 %. In Eritrea the rate of early M. is 46 %.

Guday Emirie's study on Western Goǧǧam allows recognizing, in the areas investigated, an evolution in the custom of early M.: 98.69 % of the daughters got married between 80 days after birth to 9 years, whereas 99.71 % of their mothers were married off between the ages of 10 to 17. This means that within one generation the average age at first M. reduced from 11 to 8 years (Guday Emirie 2005: 137).

Src.: Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, *Report of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia on the Implementation of the AU Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa*, Addis Ababa 2006; The Revised Family Code. Federal Negarit Gazetta Extra Ordinary Issue No. 1/2000; The Revised Family Code Proclamation No. 213/2000, Addis Ababa 2000; The Ethiopian Civil Code 1960 amended by Proclamation No. 2/1991, Transitional Civil Code of Eritrea, vol. 1, 1991.

Lit.: Alemante Amera, *Early Marriage and Reproductive Health in Eastern Gojjam: the Case of Machakel Wereda, Sostu Debir Shellel Paesant Association*, M.A. thesis, Department of Social Anthropology, Addis Ababa University 2004; Berihun M. Mekonnen – Harald Aspen, "Early Marriage and the Campaign against it in Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 16, 432–43; Jo Boyden – Alula Pankhurst – Yisak Tafere, "Harmful Traditional Practices and Child Protection: Contested Understandings and Customs of Female Early Marriage and Genital Cutting in Ethiopia", *Development in Practice* 22, 4, 2012, 510–22; Donald Crummey, "Family and Property amongst the Amhara Nobility", *JAH* 24, 2, 1983, 207–20; Annabel S. Erulkar et al., *The Experience of Adolescence in Rural Amhara Region Ethiopia*, Accra – Ghana New York 2004; Guday Emirie, *Early Marriage and its Effects on Girl's Education in Rural Ethiopia: the Case of Mecha Woreda in West Gojjam, North-Western Ethiopia*, Ph.D. thesis, Göttingen University 2005; Haile Gabriel Dagne, "Early Marriage in Northern Ethiopia", *Reproductive Health* 2, 4, 1994, 35–38; Heran Sereke-Brhan, "'Like Adding Water to Milk': Marriage and Politics in the Nineteenth-Century Ethiopia", *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 38, 2005, 49–77; Id., "Drying Bad Blood: Notes on Elite Marriages, Politics and Ethnicity in 19th and 20th Century Imperial Ethiopia", in: *PICES* 15, 266–74; Mitike Molla – Yemane Berhane – Bernt Lindtjørn, "Traditional Values of Virginity and Sexual Behavior in Rural Ethiopian Youth: Results from a Cross-sectional Study", *BCM Public Health* 8, 2008, 9; Richard Pankhurst, "An Eighteenth Century Ethiopian Dynastic Marriage Contract between Empress Mentewwab of Gondar and Ras Mikaʾel Sehul of Tegre", *BSOAS* 42, 3, 1979, 457–66; Trish Silkin, "Women Can Only be Free when the Power of Kin Groups is Smashed: New Marriage Laws and Social Change in the Liberated Zones of Eritrea", *International Journal of the Sociology of Law* 17, 1989, 147–63; Yamrot Girma, *Obstetric Fistula in the Lives of Women: the Case of Fistula Patients Under Treatment at the Addis Ababa Fistula Hospital*,

M.A. thesis, Institute of Gender Studies, Addis Ababa University 2008.

Antonella Brita

Matewos

Märigeta M. (**ማቴዎስ**, in oral tradition "Awsteli ʿ*abi*", 'the elder Apostoli'; b. ca. 1800, ʿAdwa, d. after 1840s) was the first known Təgrayan translator of the Bible into ↗Təgrəñña (↗Bible translation into Təgrəñña).

M. was the son of a Greek craftsman called Apostoli (Tgn.: Awsteli), who worked in the service of the Təgrayan prince Wäldä Gäbrəʾel in ʿAdwa. *Däbtära* M. was first mentioned in 1835, the year in which the Protestant missionaries Samuel ↗Gobat and Carl Wilhelm ↗Isenberg arrived in ʿAdwa. M. was hired by them to translate the Four Gospels into Təgrəñña, which he did by 1837. His translation was based on a European *Vorlage*, possibly Greek. The manuscript was sent to Europe, revised by Isenberg and published 30 years later by Johann Ludwig ↗Krapf (1866). Another version of the Gospels in Təgrəñña is also attributed to him. This one was translated on the basis of a Gəʿəz *Vorlage* and is greatly influenced by this language; it is possibly his first translation attempt (unpublished, with exception of a small extract in Praetorius 1871, annex 1–6; cp. UllBibl 69).

It seems that later M. converted to Catholicism, possibly around the time of the expulsion of the Protestant missionaries (cp. ↗Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam). In 1838 M., now called *märigeta*, appears as the spokesman of the clergy of St. Gabriel of ʿAdwa, declaring their allegiance to the Pope. In the 1840s he was an important informant for the French traveller ↗Lefèbvre; the geographical lexicon found in his book was prepared by M.

M. was the father-in-law of the Təgrayan officer *bašša* Ǧəhon (also Ǧon, "John", the Ethiopian son of Mansfield ↗Parkyns). M.'s brother was Əngəda Apostoli, who at times acted as the legal representative for the d'↗Abbadie brothers in Təgray; Əngəda's grand-daughter married the Təgrayan governor *ras* ↗Mängäša Yoḥannəs.

Src.: THOMAS H. DARLOW – HORACE F. MOULE (eds.), *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, vol. 2: *Polyglots and Languages other than English*, London 1911; FRANZ PRAETORIUS, *Grammatik der Tigriñasprache in Abessinien hauptsächlich in der Gegend von Aksum und Adoa*, Halle 1871, 10f., 13, annex 1–6; RubActa I, 39.

Lit.: WOLBERT SMIDT, "Matewos", in: TRAUGOTT BAUTZ (ed.), *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 30, Hamm 2009, 971–74 (Lit.); UllBibl 63, 69.

Wolbert G.C. Smidt

May Anbäsa Kidanä Məḥrät

M.A. (**ማይ ፡ አንበሳ ፡ ኪዳነ ፡ ምሕረት**) is a monastery located in the district of May Anbäsa, in ↗Əndärta, East Təgray.

M.A. is located ca. 20 km north-east from ↗Mäqälä, in an area with many traces of historical monastic activities. It lies on a terraced mountain slope, above the River Gəba. A cave under the drop of the waterfall located nearby is said to have been a former church dedicated to *abunä* ↗Zärʾa Buruk. Traces of construction and dwelling use inside, as well as the presence of a *tabot* dedicated to Zärʾa Buruk in the main church, render this tradition credible.

The old main church of M.A. was dismantled years ago; the new church is a recent rectangular structure at the very entrance to the monastic compound. Besides the main *tabot* of Kidanä Məḥrät and the *tabot* of Zärʾa Buruk, the church hosts the *tabot*s dedicated to the Holy Trinity (Śəllase) and, reportedly, ↗Kiros. Deep inside the settlement, there is another small round church, currently used as ↗ʿ*əqa bet*.

According to local tradition, the monastery was founded under ↗ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I in the first half of the 14th cent., by *abunä* Abrəham "of Qata" (KinBibl 61). He was succeeded as abbot by *abunä* Wäldä Tənśaʾe who is said to have come from ↗Waldəbba riding a lion, bringing the *tabot*s of Kidanä Məḥrät and Śəllase. Other prominent heads were Maḥṣäntä Maryam and, during the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt,* Täklä Haymanot (a contemporary of *ras* ↗Wäldä Śəllase; cp. EllLusAnt 80). During the time of *mämhər* Kidanä Maryam (in the 18th cent.?), the monastery suffered from a raid of the Guttuu Oromo. In the 19th cent., the monastery is reported to have received land grants (↗*Gʷəlt*) from *däǧǧazmač* ↗Säbagadis Wäldu and later from *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV, whose vestments are reportedly preserved in the ʿ*əqa bet*. One of the most important ecclesiastic institutions of the area, M.A. was also popular with other rulers; *ras* ↗Alula Əngəda, *ras* ↗Mängäša Yoḥannəs and others are said to have visited and favoured the place.

The prominence of the monastery well into the 20th cent. is confirmed by the records of Giovanni Battista ↗Ellero, who mentions a community of over 40 monks, a major round church with a completely painted *mäqdäs* and a collection of over 200 ↗manuscripts (EllLusAnt 80). While there were up to 80 monks in the post-war time of ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I, the monastery declined after the ↗Revolution of 1974. Today there are no more than 15 monks. The community follows strict *andənnät*-rule (↗Monasticism), and, though poor, seeks to achieve complete self-subsistence. The monastery still preserves an important manuscript collection of several dozen manuscripts, none of them, however, dating into the period around M.A.'s purported foundation time (one was used by Cowley 1974; his dating of the manuscript to the 17th cent. is, however, questionable).

A small ↗nunnery called Ǝnda Mäḥṣun, with 5–7 nuns, is located some 5 km away from M.A. and is administered from M.A. Local tradition claims that it used to have been large in the past. There is a ↗*ṣäbäl*-source in the vicinity of the community; the church of the monastery, small and circular, resembles the old church of M.A.

Src.: interview with the abbot *abba* Ṣəge Dəngəl Kidanä Maryam, May Anbäsa, November 2011; author's field notes November–December 2011.

Lit.: Roger W. Cowley, "A Text in Old Amharic", *BSOAS* 37, 1974, 597–607; EllLusAnt 80; KinBibl 61; Denis Nosnitsin, *Churches and Monasteries of Təgray*: *A Survey of Manuscript Collections*, Wiesbaden 2013 (Aethiopica Supplement 1), 264–74.

Denis Nosnitsin

Measurement

Ethiopians traditionally employed a wide range of M. units. Many were apparently of local origin, while others were based on Biblical concepts, or borrowed from Greece, Arabia, Persia, Turkey, or Western Europe. Some M. were in general use, while others were employed only for specific articles, e.g., grain, butter (↗Milk and milk products), or ↗honey, or for specific purposes, e.g., ↗trade or ↗tributes and taxation. There were innumerable regional or even seasonal variations, resulting at times in considerable imprecision. Many M. units were considered to be in a precise relationship to each other, e.g., as halves, quarters, etc. Many M. units had a market relationship to each other as well as a mathematical ratio. In order to prevent cheating, for the maintenance of the market peace and for tax collection, rulers or market communities on the local or regional level defined standard M. units, such as ↗iron cubits, standardized measuring ropes etc. which were established with some government authority.

Although the international metric system was gradually introduced from the 19th cent. onwards, in the rural context traditional M. methods often predominate even today, i.e. in traditional house construction and small scale market trade.

Volume and capacity

Volume was sometimes measured by the human body. The smallest unit was the pinch, the amount which could be held in two fingers. The amount that a person can take between the extremity of his fingers, the little handful (e.g., Amh. **ቍንጣሪ** *q^{w}ənəṭṭari*) was a bigger measure as was the mouthful (Amh. **ጕርሻ** *g^{w}ərša*). The hand was the major M. unit for market goods, such as ↗coffee, ↗spices and herbs, ↗salt, butter etc. There was differentiation between the fist or closed handful (e.g., Tgn. **ዕዅቲ** *^{c}ək̠^{w}əti*), the palmful (Gə^{c}əz **እድ** *əd*, Tgn. **ሕፍኒ** *ḥəfni*, Amh. **እጅ** *əğğ* ['hand'], **ጭብጥ** *č̣əbbət*, **ጭባጭ** *č̣əbbač̣* ['fist']), or double-palmful. The **ጭባጦ** *č̣əbbaṭṭo* (Tgn.) was also employed for a bundle held in one hand. In cases where the vendor's hand was considered too small, a complimentary amount was given (Amh. **መርቅ** *märq*). Based on the handful other M. were determined. In Harär, e.g., grain was measured by the **ጢት ፡ ታራድ** *ṭit tarad* (45 handfuls, Har.: *käbäl*, 'handful') and the **ታራድ** *tarad* (270 handfuls). Likewise the ↗*qunna* (Amh.) was sometimes equated with handfuls (e.g., eight double handfuls with open palm). Bigger amounts could be measured by the armful, which again determined bigger units.

Apart from M. units based on the human body, capacity was measured by different types of containers, such as specific types and sizes of baskets, cups, tins, horns, bottles, gourds and pots. A cattle horn was frequently used to measure market items like coffee. Use was also made of the mule-load (Amh., Tgn. **ጫን** *č̣an*), and of donkey-loads (of pack animals, Amh. **ጘንብ** *ğänb*, a loanword from Arab.) or camel-loads, as well as the size of a typical grain-store, or pit. Grain in particular was also measured in various containers, such as specific types and sizes of traditional baskets, gourds or skin sacks, or else imported cups or tins. Among Təgrəñña-speakers there is also employed a system of volume M. whose units are based on a container called **ምሰ** *məssä* which equals more or less one litre. The amount measured by one *məssä* is called an **እንቅዓ** *ənqə^{c}a*, two *məssä* are a **ምዕሮ** *mə^{c}əro*, four *məssä* are a **ካዕቦ** *ka^{c}əbo*, six *məssä* are a **ካዕቦ ፡ ምዕሮ** *ka^{c}əbo mə^{c}əro*, eight *məssä* are a **ንፍቂ** *nəfəqi* (**መንፍቕቲ** *mänfəq̱əti*), twelve *məssä* are a **መስለስ** *mäsläs*, 16 *məssä* are a **ገበታ** *gäbäta*, 128 *məssä* are an **እንተላም** *əntälam* and 256 *məssä* are a **ካዕቢ** *ka^{c}əbi* (**ካዕቦ** *ka^{c}əbo*).

An important concept in the context of tithe was the ↗*dərgo* (Amh., Tgr.), defined as the amount of cereals for one person for a day or one fourth of a *qunna* (s. above).

Dividing or uniting of items into artificial units, like the bundle (e.g., a 'load [carried on the back, e.g., a bundle of wood]', Amh. **ሸክም** *šäkkəm* or Orom. *baᵓaa*) was another principle used for the M. of volume.

Weight

Weight was often assessed, vaguely, by looking at an object (**በዐይን ፡ መዘነ** *bäᶜayn mäzzänä*, 'to weigh by eye'), or lifting it by hand, sometimes with another item in the other hand for comparison. Higher weights were expressed in terms of a donkey-, mule- and camel-load or a human carrier's capacity.

The principle of balance had long been applied in Ethiopia. The balance (Gəᶜəz **መዳልው** *mädaləw*) is depicted in many church paintings and Gəᶜəz texts. Scales, also known as **ሚዛን** *mizan* (from Ar. *mīzān*), were used to measure objects against different kinds of weights. The two types of balances used were the two-trays balance and the one-tray steelyard. For the weighing of smaller units of M. seeds and coins (↗Coinage; ↗Currency) were used. Higher weights were measured by ↗*amole*, natural or worked stone weights (e.g., Amh. **አሞሌ ፡ ድንጋይ** *amole dəngay*, '*amole* stone'), iron weights and coins, especially ↗Maria Theresa thalers. The latter were considered as weighing a **ወቄት** *wäqet* (from Arab. *wiqīya*) or ounce, one of several widely used M. concepts of Arabian origin. *Wäqet* was especially used for the M. of gold, civet (↗Zibeth) and ↗incense. Related to the *wäqet* was the **ነጥር** *näṭr* (s. below) copper bullion. According to Paulitschke (1893: 330), two or two and a half (ca. 432 gr) **ነጥር** *näṭr* equalled one Maria Theresia thaler.

Some units for the M. of weights were introduced into Ethiopia through biblical texts and other foreign literature translated into Ethiopic of Hebrew origin were the Shekel (Gəᶜəz **ሰቅል** *säqəl*), the Mina (Gəᶜəz **ምናን** *mənan*) and the Talent (Gəᶜəz **መክሊት** *mäklit*) as well as the *dinar* (↗*Dīnār*); mediated through Greek texts and Arabic, Greek weights like the Drachma (**ድርህም** *dərhəm),* the Greek ounce or *holkē* (Gəᶜəz **ሕልቅ** *ḥəlq*) and *litra* (Gəᶜəz **ልጥር** *ləṭr*; Amh. *näṭr*), the Greek pound.

Length

Small units of length were based on the human body. The smallest units derived from the thickness of a finger (Gəᶜəz **አጽባዕት** *aṣbaᶜət*, Amh. **ጣት** *ṭat*, Tgn. **ጻት** *ṣat,* **ኣጽባዕቲ** *aṣbaᶜəti*) the length of a finger joint or the finger. The width of four fingers together was used for M. as well. The span (Amh. **ስንዝር** *sənzər*), i.e. the distance from the end of the thumb to the middle finger or the index finger was the next unit. The length of a foot (Amh. **እግር** *əgər*) or shoe (Amh. **ጫማ** *č̣amma*) was also employed as a M. as well as the step (Amh. **እርምጃ** *ərməğğa*, Tgn. **ስጉምቲ** *səgʷəmti*).

A basic unit of length M. all over the Horn of Africa was the cubit (Gəᶜəz **እመት** *əmät*; Amh. **ክንድ** *kənd*; Orom. *abote, čiikili, dunduma, dagduma*) mostly defined as the distance from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger taken from the inner side. Other kinds of cubits were, e.g., measured by the distance from the elbow to the wrist (Tgn. **ቅልጽም** *qəlṣəm*) or from the elbow to the end of the clenched fist. The length of the cubit was not uniform, but depended on the different methods of measurement and differences in the size of the measurer's arm. In trade the M. procedure was based on agreement and local customs. In order to settle differences, e.g., between the longer cubit at the Red Sea coast and those used in the interior, the length of one or two fingers was added, the addition called **እስፊ** *əsfi* (Eritrea) or **መቃደጃ** *mäqqadäğa* (Wällo).

Based on multiples of the cubit other M. units were in use, such as, for instance, the *lemi* (Orom.) defined by two cubits, the **እሺል** *əšil* (Amh.) by two or three cubits and the *ğari* (Orom.) extending to six cubits. The term **መቃጫ** *mäqač̣a* (Amh.) was used for a variety of lengths, such as, three cubits or the combined length of a cubit and a span or a cubit and a finger width. The cubit was also divided into smaller units, such as, e.g., the **ሩብ** *rub* (Amh., Tgr.), a quarter of a cubit, the **ተሙን** *tämun* (Eritrea), an eighth of a cubit or of a thaler and the **ከቢብ** *käbib* (Tgr.), i.e. four fifths of a cubit.

For the M. of cloth (↗Clothing), apart from cubit, span and finger, a variety of special M. units were used, such as the **ጋቢ** *gabi* (Amh.) the **ሸማ** *šämma* (Amh.), **ገርባብ** *gärbab* (Tgn., Tgr.) and the **ጣቃ** *ṭaq̠a* (Tgn.) called after specific types of cloth.

Another unit of length M. derived from the human body was the width of a man with horizontally extended arms, the **ኢያሱ ፡ ቁመት** *Iyasu qumät* or **በሰው ፡ ቁመት** *bäsäw qumät*.

For the length of about a metre the term **ዱራ** *dura* (Amh. from Arab.) was sometimes employed. For more extended lengths use was made of sticks of locally defined length, like the **ሽመል** *šəmäl* and the **ዘንግ** *zäng* or **በትር** *bätr* (Amh., Gurage etc.). In Gurage, additionally, a pole (*žər*) of six, seven or twelve cubits was in use. Moreover, everywhere thongs were employed for tethering mules measuring multiples of the cubit. The thong (Amh. **መጫኛ** *mäč̣aña*, Tgn. **መጽዓኛ** *mäṣə^{c}añña*), about 24 cubits or 12 m long, used to tie loads to pack animals was used widely. The thong again was divided, e.g., the *mäs^{c}an* of the Təgrəñña-speakers had the sub-categories **ሞራን** *moran*, i.e. half a *mäs^{c}an* (ca. 12 cubits or ca. 6 m), and **ንስቶይ ፡ ምራን** *nəstoy məran*, i.e. a thong of eight cubits.

Longer distances were measured with the help of a cord or rope (Amh. **ገመድ** *gämäd*, **ቀላድ** *qälad*, Gurage **ወደረ** *wädärä*, Orom. *wadaroo*), which was also the major means for the M. of area. The length of the rope varied locally and throughout history. While during *aṣe* Iyasu I's reign the **ያጤ ፡ ገመድ** *yaṭe gämäd* ('emperor's rope') was about 40 cubits or 19 m long, the *gämäd* by the time of *aṣe* Mənilək II was roughly between 63 m and 67 m. *Aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's pre-war government used a metal chain with the initials of the ruler and standardized the *gämäd* to 50 m.

Distances that extended beyond the reach of ropes were measured by the number of hours, weeks, months, or even years required for a journey. Old Ethiopic units for M. of longer distances were the **ምዕራፍ** *mə^{c}əraf* and the **ፈረስክ** *färäsək*, which was defined by four *mə^{c}əraf*. However, the estimations of travellers of a *mə^{c}əraf* vary from 200 spans or 50 m, up to "one Graeco-Roman stadium" or "an eighth of a Roman mile".

Land

A small area was measured in Eritrea by the square cubit (**መረባዕ** *märäbba^{c}*) of ca. 54.5 cm^2. ↗Land was measured or assessed visually by the assumed size of an ordinary plot of land, by the use of a rope, by the time needed for cultivation or by productivity. There existed several categories of size for plots of land. In Gə^{c}əz (also Tgn., Amh.) the term **መደብ** *mädäb* was used for a small plot for vegetable cultivation, between 50 m^2 and 250 m^2. In Wällo the **ትልም** *təlm* was a strip of land of ca. 269 m^2. Another small-size plot, was the **ቦይ** *boy* (Amh.), called after the ditch separating two plots, measuring ca. 700 m^2.

An important concept for the M. of land was the labour time needed. The area a man could dig in one day was called a 'day' (Amh. **ቀን** *qän*). The area ploughed by a pair of oxen in one day was the M. unit used throughout the region (Amh. **ገዝም** *gäzm*, **ማሳ** *masa*, **ምድር** *mədər*, **ቀደማ** *qädäma*, **ጥማድ** *ṭəmmad* or **ጠማጅ ፡ መሬት** *ṭämağ märet*, Harari *bāra moy*, *ğarīb*). The actual size, however, varied according to the local topographical circumstances, the design of the fields etc. between ca. 1,000 m^2 and ca. 1,800 m^2. A similar M. method used was to estimate the distance that could be ploughed before the oxen were tired and lost their ability to pull in a straight line (Amh. **ፈር** *fär*, **መቃን** *mäqan*, **ቃዳ** *qada*, **ቅርጥ** *qərṭ*).

In the contexts of the ↗*gäbbar*-system, land tenure and taxation, it was not the size of an area that was the major category of assessment but the estimated productivity of the land. The **ሺቤታ** *šibeta* in the Harär area, for instance, categorized area by the size of the stack of grain before threshing. Likewise, the land allocated to soldiers (↗*Näfṭäñña*) by the emperor, the ↗*gašša* varied with the quality of the soil. Sub-categories of the *gašša* were the **ግማሽ ፡ ጋሻ** *gəmmaš gašša* ('half *gašša*'), the **ሲሶ** *siso* (third of a *gašša*), the **ኩርማን** *kurman* (quarter of a *gašša əngära*) and the **ተሙን** *tämun* (eighth of a *gašša*).

Src.: KaneDic; KaneTDic; LesCDic; WOLF LESLAU, *Etymological Dictionary of Harari*, Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles, CA 1963 (Near Eastern Studies 1), 44, 116.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Appunti e comenti", *RSE* 3, 1943, 94–110 (§I "Sulle misure di capacità tigrine"); MICHELE CHECCHI, *Pesi e misure in uso nella Colonia Eritrea*, Roma 1910 (Biblioteca di studi coloniali 6); RICHARD PANKHURST, "A Preliminary History of Ethiopian Measures, Weights and Values", *JES* 7, 1, 1969a, 31–54 [length and area]; *ibid.* 7, 2, 1969b, 99–164 [volume and capacity]; *ibid.* 8, 1, 1970, 45–85 [weight]; PHILIP PAULITSCHKE, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*: *Die materielle Kultur der Danākil, Galla und Somāl*, Berlin 1893, 330.

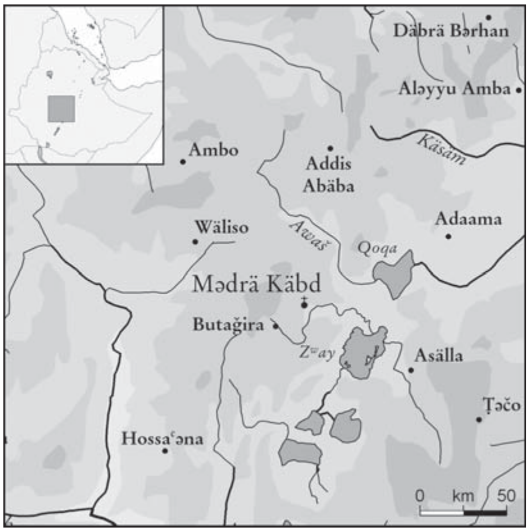
Richard Pankhurst – Red.

Mədrä Käbd

M.K. (**ምድረ ፡ ከብድ**, lit. "land of Käbd", or just Käbd, Käb[b]ad, 8°16'00" N, 38°36'00" E) is the name of a village and an ancient monastery (for possible etymologies, s. Marrassini 2003: xxx [tr.]) located on a slope above the basin of the Arsi lakes, north-west of Lake Z^{w}ay, in the old ↗Gurage district of ↗Aymällät (s. EAE vol. 5). Today, it belongs to the Dugda Bora *wäräda* of East Šäwa zone, Oromiyya *kəlləl*. The area surrounding M.K. is mostly inhabited by Ğillee ↗Oromo and Kəstane (↗Soddo).

In the late 13th cent., the area was the scene of struggles between ↗Ifat and the Christian rulers, as was commonly assumed on the basis of a reference in the so-called Arabic “Chronicle of Šäwa” (Cerulli 1941: 9, 13, 36 and n. 3; however, reservations were recently expressed about the originality and historical value of the document, s. History of ↗Šäwa). The existence of an early monastic community (↗*Gädam*) at M.K., by the late 14th–15th cent., can be interpreted as evidence for the early Orthodox Christian identity of the Kəstane, which emerged at that period in the course of the evangelization of the ↗Šäwa region and areas further to the south.

According to Ethiopian Orthodox Church tradition the monastery in the “land of Käbd” was founded by *abunä* ↗Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus. The Acts of the Saint (Marrassini 2003) recount that Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus moved to M.K. from his first seat on Mount ↗Zəqʷala, and dwelled there as a hermit for a longer period of time. Local traditions refer to numerous miracles worked by the Saint. He is said to have remained standing in M.K. for six months without any movement. During this ascetic exercise, the ↗Devil in the form of a raven is said to have pecked out his eye and blinded him. Only “90 years” later his eyesight was given back to him by the archangels Gäbrəʾel and Mikaʾel. After this miracle the Saint returned to Zəqʷala (Meinardus 1964: 36; Kriss – Kriss-Heinrich 1975: 11). The spiritual connection between M.K. and Zəqʷala is also reflected in an oral tradition claiming that once there was a secret underground passage between the two monasteries. The tradition of M.K. claims that Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus died and was buried there (Täsfa Gäbräyyäs 1994/95: 94).



Historical information on M.K. is meagre. The monastery was destroyed during the *ğihād* of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī but re-established by *aṣe* Gälawdewos (Täsfa Gäbräyyäs 1994/95: 94). Later, as a result of the 16th/17th-cent. Oromo migration, it may have been completely abandoned, but by 1908 it was rebuilt and re-established by *aṣe* Mənilək II (GueCopMen 524 and n. 2), and later became well known.

Today, the monastery of M.K. also includes a nunnery. It has two churches consecrated to Abbo (i.e. Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus) and Maryam.

Src.: ANDRÉ CAQUOT, “L’homélie en l’honneur de l’archange Ouriel (Dersāna Urāʾēl)”, *AE* 1, 1955, 61–88, here 64, 76 (text) = 87 (tr.); ENRICO CERULLI, “Il Sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XIII secondo un nuovo documento storico”, *RSE* 1, 1941, 5–42, here 9, 13, 36 and n. 3; GueCopMen 524 and n. 2; ANNA-LENA JÖNSSON, *En karavanfärd till de hedniska gallernas land*, Stockholm 1927, 68f.; PAOLO MARRASSINI (ed., tr.), “*Vita*”, “*Omelia*”, “*Miracoli*” *del santo Gabra Manfas Qeddus*, Lovanii 2003 (CSCO 597, 598 [107, 108]), esp. xxix–xxxi (text), s. index; TÄSFA GÄBRÄYYÄS, **አይመለል** (*Aymälläl*), ed. by WÄRQU TÄSFA, Addis Abäba 1987 A.M. [1994/95 A.D.], 94.

Lit.: RUDOLF KRISS – HUBERT KRISS-HEINRICH, *Volkskundliche Anteile in Kult und Legende äthiopischer Heiliger*, Wiesbaden 1975, 9–29, here 36; OTTO MEINARDUS, “The Zequala, the Holy Mountain of Ethiopia”, *Orientalia Suecana* 8, 1964, 34–47, here 36; DENIS NOSNITSIN, [Review of Marrassini 2003], *Orientalia* 74, 2005, 173–77.

Dirk Bustorf – Denis Nosnitsin

Meron

M. (**ሜሮን**, Ar. *mīrūn*, from Gr. μύϱον, ‘perfumed oil’) corresponds to the Western holy chrism. In the Eastern Churches, it is made of balsam, olive oil and a variety of perfumes and cooked according to methods somewhat varying from one Church to the other (Mälkä Ṣedeq 1992: 101). In the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*ṭəmqät*, it is referred to as *fəlḥatä meron*, ‘the coction of M.’. An expression of the apostolic tradition, M. is consecrated by a bishop (2nd Council of Carthage, 390, can. 3; ↗*Kəhnät*), together with the *Galilaion* at ↗baptism as an “oil of exorcism”, with which the priest ought to anoint “with the sign of the cross the heart, the chest, the hands inside and outside, the knees and all the parts of the body of those who will be baptized, saying: “NN …, I anoint you with the *oil of gladness* …’” (as in the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*krəstənna*, cp. mss. Vat. aeth. 4, fol. 129rb [GreTisVat 60, 116f.]; BN d’Abbadie 213, fol. 66r [ChAbb 54f.]; not included in the printed liturgical editions since it has been inexistent, except in Eritrea, since 2004; Tgn. **ቐሊላውን** [Biğimi Zäʾabunä Bisoy 2004; Habtemichael Kidane 2008: 16]; Gr. ἔλαιον ἀγαλλιάσεως, originally καλλιέλαιος ‘cultivated olive’, s. Burmester 1945: 69). It has become the general custom in the East that the consecration of M. is done only when the need arises and normally during the Holy Week (↗Lent), and is the privilege of the patriarch surrounded by all its bishops (Villecourt 1923a; Youhanna Nessim Youssef – Zanetti 2013).

According to the Ethiopian tradition expressed in the commentary to the ↗*Qəddase*, the M. goes back to Jesus Christ himself. The apostles took pieces of the balsam tree which grew where his sweat had fallen during the Flight to Egypt and added them to the blood that came from Jesus’s hands and feet on Good Friday. The apostles took the mixture – which had the ability of boiling without fire when they prayed over it – to their respective regions of preaching (ed. Gärima Wäldä Kidan 1926: 117, no. 32). In the ↗*Säqoqawä dəngəl*, M. is identified directly with the sweat of the Child Jesus during the flight to Egypt (Hayoz 1956: 222, § xxxlii), which was mixed with balsam by the apostles to produce the ointment (cp. Zanetti 1993 and also Youhanna Nessim Youssef – Zanetti 2013: 12 and § 458).

The ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt* (ch. 3; Paulos Tzadua, 1968: 14) mentions neither chrismation nor M. (cp. Id. 1973, n. 124). The 16th-cent. Portuguese envoy ↗Alvares claimed that M. did not exist in Ethiopia (BeckHuntAlvar 109f.); ↗Ludolf, informed by *abba* ↗Gorgoryos, also denied its existence (LudHist 44).

Chrismation was described by ↗Täklä Maryam Sämharay (1931:35), who edited the initial rubric, writing: “The celebrant takes the holy chrism (which was only consecrated since the beginning of the baptismal rite)” and is, therefore, not actual chrism.

Reportedly, Ethiopia used to receive the M. from Jerusalem. It is also likely that Metropolitans used to bring some with them. In fact there is so far no reliable information beyond the claim of certain monastic churches (e.g., ↗Däbrä Wärq) to have held it for centuries. In reality, *qəbʾa qəddus* (‘holy ointment’) has been used up to the present day, the bishop or presbyter blessing imported olive oil as appropriate in the various services.

The first consecration of the M. in Ethiopia was done in Arabic by Coptic bishops before *abunä* ↗Basəlyos in 1959, in the crypt of the church of Qəddəst Maryam in Addis Abäba – the *Mafəya meron*, ‘the boiling place of the M.’. On 19–24 September 2004, M. was consecrated by Pope Shenouda III of Alexandria and *abunä* Ǝnṭonəs I, patriarch of Eritrea, in the church of ↗Ǝnda Maryam of Asmära, on which occasion the *Galilaion* was also blessed (Biğimi Zäʾabunä Bisoy 2004). *Abunä* P̣awlos I, patriarch of Ethiopia, consecrated M. on 12 July 2006 (5 *Ḥamle*, the feast of Peter and Paul; Asrat Gäbrämaryam 1998/99; Anon. 2006: 1–11); the M. was subsequently distributed to the archbishops (22 August) for them to take it to their parishes (Habtemichael Kidane 2008: 15f.; Fritsch 2009). This M. incorporated what remained from *abunä* Basəlyos’s M. used “as yeast” so that continuity is preserved. The *Galilaion* was not blessed and remains absent from Ethiopia.

M. is used to consecrate persons or things. Neophytes are anointed with M., thereby receiving chrismation (*śərʿatä qəbʾatä meron*, i.e. confirmation), now firmly considered one of the seven sacraments to be given immediately after Baptism (Mälkä Ṣedeq 1992: 100–04; s. also *Mäṣḥafä krəstənna*). Many priests used to use baptismal water with simple olive oil, or anointment by olive oil, for chrismation; the practice is diminishing since M. has become available. It is sometimes documented that those who receive the episcopal order (↗*Kəhnät*) “are ordained with Oil and inflation” (**ዘይሠየሙ ፡ በቅብዓት ፡ ወበንፍሐት**, s. Marqos 1942: 1). The anointment of kings – the last being *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase on 2 November 1930 – was also conducted with M., especially consecrated in Egypt in 1931 (Youhanna Nessim Youssef – Zanetti 2013, introduction, n. 209). Objects consecrated with M. include the baptismal (or ↗*ṭəmqät* celebration) water; the ↗*tabot* (Habtemichael Kidane 2008: 17f.); liturgical objects such as paten, chalice and communion-spoon (↗*Qəddase*: paraphernalia).

Src.: mss. Vat. aeth. 4 [GreTisVat 116f.]; BN d’Abbadie 213 [ChAbb 54f.]; [ANON.], “**የኢትዮጵያ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ለመጀመሪያ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ቅብዐ ፡ ሜሮን ፡ አወጣት**” (*Yäʾityopya betä krəstiyan lämağämmäriya gize qəbʿa meron awäṭṭat*, ‘First-time Production of Meron Ointment in Ethiopian Church’), *Zena betä krəstiyan zäʾityopya* 51, 235, *Ḥamle-Näḥase* 1998 A.M. [July–September 2006 A.D.], 1, 11; ASRAT GÄBRÄMARYAM, with ANTUN YAʿQOB MIKAʾEL (tr.), **ቅዳሴ ፡ ሜሮን ። ከዐረብኛ ፡ መጽሐፍ ፡ በዝርዝር ፡ የተተረጎመ ፡ ሜሮኑንና ፡ ጋሊላውን ፡ መቀደስና ፡ እርሾውን ፡ መጨመር** (*Qəddase meron*; *käʿaräbəñña mäṣḥaf bäzərzər yätätäräggomä meronunənna galilawən mäqäddäsənna əršowən mäčämmär*, ‘The Hallowing of the Meron and the Galilaion with the Addition of the Leaven, Translated in Detail from a Book in Arabic’), London [ca.] 1991 A.M. [1998/99 A.D.]; BauSen A1 § 3, A2 § 3, LP §§ 24, 44, 52; BeckHuntAlvar 109f.; *abba* BIĞIMI ZÄʾABUNÄ BISOY (tr.), **ሥርዓት ፡ ሜሮን ፡ ምስ ፡ ቐሊላውን ፡ አብ ፡ ኤርትራ ፡ ንመጀመርታ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ሜሮን ፡ ዝተዳለወሉ ፡ አብ ፡ ዘበነ ፡ አቡነ ፡ ሲኖዳ ፡ ፫ ፡ ፖፕ ፡ እስክንድርያን ፡ መበል ፡ ፻፲፯ ፡ ፓትሪያርክ ፡ ስብከተ ፡ ማርቆስን ፡ አቡነ ፡ እንጦንዮስ ፡ ፩ ፡ ፫ ፡ ፓትሪያርክ ፡ ኤርትራ ፡ አብ ፡ ቤተክርስቲያን ፡ እንዳ ፡ ማርያም ፡**

አስመራ ፡ ኤርትራ ፡ ካብ ፡ ዕለት 17/09/2004 **ክሳብ** 24/09/2004 (*Śərᶜat meron məs q̄älilawən ab Erətra nəmäğämmärta gize meron zətädaläwällu ab zäbänä abunä Sinoda 3 Pop əskəndəryan mäbäl 117 patriyark səbkätä Marqosən abunä Ǝnṭonyos 1 3 patriyark Erətra ab betäkrəstiyan Ǝnda Maryam Asmära Erətra kab ᶜəlät 17-09-2004 kəsab 24–09-2004*, 'The Rite of Meron with the Galilaion Prepared for the First Time in Eritrea by *abunä* Šenuda III, Pope of Alexandria and 117th Patriarch of the Predication of Mark, and *abunä* Ǝnṭonyos I, 3rd Patriarch of Eritrea, in the church of Ǝnda Maryam, Asmära, Eritrea, from 17.09.2004 until 24.09.2004'), Mariyūt 2004; MARCOS DAOUD, *The Liturgy of the Ethiopian Church*, Cairo 1959; *mämhər* GÄRIMA WÄLDÄ KIDAN (ed.), **መጽሐፈ ፡ ቅዳሴ ። ከቀድሞ ፡ አባቶች ፡ ጀምሮ ፡ ሲወርድ ፡ ሲዋረድ ፡ የመጣው ፡ ንባቡና ፡ ትርጓሜው ፡ የኢትዮጵያ ፡ ሊቃውንት ፡ እንደጻፉትና ፡ እንደተረጎሙት** (*Mäṣḥafä qəddase. Käqädmo abbatočč ğamməro siwärd siwwaräd yämäṭṭaw nəbabunna tərgʷamew yäʾityop̣ya liqawənt əndäṣafutənna əndätäräggʷämut*, 'The Book of the Hallowing. Its Reading and Interpretation as Transmitted from the Ancient Fathers'), Addis Abäba 1918 A.M. [1926 A.D.], repr. 1988 A.M. [1995/96 A.D.]; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "Ordre du baptême et de la confirmation dans l'Église éthiopienne …", *ROC* 3e sér. 6, [26], 1927–28, 105–89; CHRYSTOSTOME HAYOZ (ed., tr.), *Portrait de Marie* [*Salām salām la kwellon malkʾekı*], *Complainte de la Vierge* [*Saqoqāwā Dengel*]. *Deux poésies mariales inédites*, Ph.D. thesis, Fribourg 1956; LudHist 44; *abba* MARQOS ITYOP̣YAWI ZÄ-DÄBRÄ BIZÄN, **መጽሐፍ ፡ ዘሢመት ፡ ክህነት ። መጽሐፈ ፡ ሥርዓት ፡ ሢመት ፡ ዘሥዩማን ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ኢትዮጵያዊት** (*Mäṣḥaf zäśimätä kəhnät. Mäṣḥafä śərᶜatä śimät zäśəyyumanä betä krəstiyan ityop̣yawit*, 'Book of the Ordination of Priesthood. Book of the Rite of Ordination of those Ordained of the Ethiopian Church'), ms. 1933–35 A.M. [1941–42 A.D.]; PAULOS TZADUA (tr.), *The Fetha Nagast. The Law of the Kings,* Addis Ababa 1968; LOUIS VILLECOURT, "La lettre de Macaire, évêque de Memphis, sur la liturgie antique du chrême et du baptême à Alexandrie", *Le Muséon* 36, 1923a, 33–46; ID., "Les observances liturgiques et la discipline du jeûne dans l'Église copte", *ibid.* 249–92; *ibid.* 37, 1924, 201–80; *ibid.* 38, 1925, 261–320; YaqMist 275 (tr.); YOUHANNA NESSIM YOUSSEF – UGO ZANETTI, *La consécration du Myron par Gabriel IV, 86e patriarche d'Alexandrie, en 1374*, Münster 2013 (Jerusalemer Theologisches Forum 20).

Lit.: OSWALD HUGH EWART KHS. BURMESTER, "The Baptismal Rite of the Coptic Church", *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte d'Alexandrie* 9, 1945, 27–86; EMMANUEL FRITSCH, "Mēron et chrismation dans la liturgie éthiopienne moderne", in: *Chrismation et confirmation. Questions autour d'un rite post-baptismal, LIVe Semaine d'Études Liturgiques, Paris 2007*, Roma 2009 (Bibliotheca «Ephemerides liturgicae», Subsidia Centro Liturgico Vincenziano), 253–63; ARCHDALE A. KING, *The Rites of Eastern Christendom*, vol. 1, Rome 1947, 572–646; HABTEMICHAEL-KIDANE, *Bibliografia della liturgia etiopica*, Roma 2008 (OrChrA 280), 15–18; *abba* MÄLKÄ ṢEDEQ, **ትምህርተ ፡ ክርስትና** (*Təmhərtä krəstənna*, 'Catechism'), vol. 2, Addis Abäba 1984 A.M. [1992 A.D.]; TAKLA MARYAM SAMHARAY SELAM, *De SS. Sacramentis secundum Ritum Aethiopicum*, Roma 1931; PAULOS TZADUA, "The Ancient Law of the Kings – the *Fetha Nagast* – in the Actual Practice of the Established Ethiopian Orthodox Church", *Kanon* 1, 1973, 112–46; UGO ZANETTI, "Matarieh, la Sainte Famille et les baumiers", *ABoll* 111, 1993, 21–68.

Emmanuel Fritsch

Migrations

I. Migrations before 1400

II. Migrations after 1500 s. ↗Population history vol. 4

I. Migrations before 1400

M. have been frequent over the course of time in Ethiopia and Eritrea. The highlands have been especially subject to migration, from East, North, and South. M. before 1400, into, within, and to a minor extent, also from, Ethiopia, Eritrea and nearby regions, are attested by various evidence – from archaeology to linguistics, from written epigraphic and literary sources to oral traditions – and are largely used to explain the history of the earliest settlement in Ethiopia and Eritrea, the origin of the first historical Ethiopian civilization which emerged in the first millennium B.C. as documented by the earliest written evidence, as well as the ethnic situation which arose in the middle ages. An accurate investigation of place names has in not a few cases revealed the stratification and subsequent settlements of Ethiopian and Eritrean M. (↗Topography, historical, s. EAE vol. 5).

The distribution of strictly related Semitic languages on both sides of the ↗Red Sea actually is a phenomenon of major importance, to be explained by the presence of immigrants from South ↗Arabia who settled first in northern Ethiopia (as widely attested by the evidence of place names) probably even before the emergence of the monumental South Arabian civilization, between the first and the second millennium B.C. These immigrants brought with them their own South Semitic dialects. Besides this, Sabaean linguistic evidence and institutional, monumental, and religious features, including the establishment of a state institution itself, is positively attested by archaeology, epigraphy, onomastics, and points to more frequent and strict relations with Yemen, including also migration processes, with all probability through the present Eritrean coast, much more likely also through the southern coast beyond the ↗Bāb al-Mandab. It cannot be doubted that the ancestors of the ↗Sāho were among the first to be exposed to the South Arabian M., which, over a long period of time, crossed their territory, e.g., through the ↗Buri Peninsula to the highlands.

Considering the linguistic evidence – with all the limitations implied by the necessary distinction between language and ethnicity – the theory of a north-to-south movement direction for this migration is largely supported by parallel movements within the whole of the Semitic area (cp. Marrassini 2011), and the burden lies with those who deny this hypothesis by suggesting a migration movement of ↗Semitic speaking people in prehistoric times from south to north, i.e. from Ethiopia as the original cradle of ↗Afro-Asiatic, to the North (Egyptian, Berber, ↗Cushitic), West (Hausa), as well as East (Semitic), i.e. Arabia and beyond (e.g., Hudson 1977, 2000a, 2000b, 2002), while most Cushitic and Omotic speakers would have remained where they always were, i.e. within Ethiopia. The north-to-south movement, moreover, is later attested for Semitic speakers by linguistic evidence within the same Ethiopian area, with a continuous migration to the south of peoples whose original home was in the north, probably already in the ↗Aksumite period and certainly during its decline. Movements in the opposite direction – as the Ethiopian presence in South Arabia in the 3rd and then in the 6th cent. A.D. attests – seem to have been of a quite different character and only exceptionally must have given rise to stable settlements.

M. at a later period (after 3rd cent. A.D.) have been supposed to be linked to the fall of ↗Meroë and the possible role Aksum might have played in it, when early Nubians are supposed to have migrated from the 4th cent. A.D. on, actually the only hypothesis advanced to explain the "fall" of Meroë. Not much later is dated the migration of the ↗Beğa people. An episode of this early migration might be the deportation attested by the so-called pseudo-trilingual inscriptions of ↗ᶜEzana, for which also the place of destination, MḌ/Ματλια – probably to be identified with Dämba Məč̣č̣, in ↗Säraye (Rodinson 1981) – is known.

Numerically much less important migration has been hypothesized for the so-called "second Christianization" of Ethiopia at the turn of the 5th/early 6th cent. A.D. At the time groups of monks would have reached Ethiopia and Aksum, as refugees from the eastern provinces of the ↗Byzantine Empire as a consequence of doctrinal and theological debates, playing a pivotal role there in the development of monastic institutions. Although there is general agreement about their decisive cultural significance, the language and place of origin of these immigrants have been thoroughly debated in the last decades (Brita 2010).

M. of proto-islamic groups are recorded on the eve of ↗Islam (↗*Hiğra*). According to widely established traditions, the first emigration of Muslims left for Ethiopia in 615 A.D. and was given shelter by *nägaš* ↗Aṣḥama (↗Nağāšī). The Ethiopian righteous king not only saved Islam, but, according to Islamic sources, later in 628 A. D. personally accepted ↗Muḥammad's call and embraced Islam. Descent from ancestors belonging to this first migration are claimed, e.g., by the ↗Mänsaᶜ and by the ↗Marya. It is not clear to what extent any connection between these early immigrants and the earliest documented Islamic settlement in Ethiopia can be established.

M. from the Iranian (↗Iran, relations with Ethiopia) area (initially intended to balance growing Aksumite expansion) are hinted at by confused traditions about the *Furs* or 'Persians' (also mentioned in relation to the ↗Dahlak islands). These M. seem to have taken place over a long time span and encompass subsequent waves, from Sasanian Iran and, much later, the Persian Gulf and ↗Oman. The impact of these M. becomes definitely detectable, in terms of prosopography and literary and monumental evidence, from the 13th cent., when Iranian people and features are more clearly seen on the East African coast, from ↗Somalia to ↗Kenya, and all along the African coasts of the Indian Ocean. Along the same coasts, esp. on the Benaadir coastal area, the earliest Swahili settlements are believed to have been built around the 9th or 10th cent. From there Islamic urban civilization may have spread southwards to the rest of the East African coast. During the 12th cent., population pressure, continued Arab immigration, and possibly a series of droughts forced ↗Somali clans (e.g., the ↗Isaaq), to migrate to the Tana River region in Kenya and to the ↗Harär area in Ethiopia. In the wake of these M., two trade routes emerged: from ↗Zaylaᶜ to the ↗Šäwan highlands and from ↗Berbera to Harär via the ↗Ogaden. Similarly, by the 13th cent., Somali immigrants from the northern interior seem to have repeatedly overrun the coast, changing its character from Arab/Persian to Cushitic/Somali.

After the fall of Aksum, and as a possible active factor in that, Beğa groups – formerly subjected to forced dislocation southwards, to the inland Ethiopian highlands, as attested by the epigraphic Aksumite evidence – and known in the oral tradition as ↗Rom (s. EAE vol. 5; possibly a result of their identification with people coming from the Mediterranean "Rom", i.e. from the Byzantine Empire, or associated with them) or ↗Bäläw, migrated along the ↗Barka valley and settled in the Eritrean and Northern Ethiopian highlands coming from the north, partly also along the Red Sea coasts, around the 8th cent. A.D.

M. of people from the south around the 10th cent. is probably presupposed by the episode of the occupation and devastation of Aksum by queen Gʷədit (↗Ǝsato). South-to-north M. of ↗Agäw certainly started with the ↗Bilin (the so-called 'first Agäw migration'), moving from ↗Lasta, that according to their traditions is considered their place of origin. This first wave of Agäw immigrants must have taken place probably around the 10th cent. A.D. as well, or a bit earlier. Similar M. also affected people later settled in ↗Ǝggäla. Further waves of Agäw-speaking immigrants (the "second Agäw migration") reached the northern highlands around the 13th/14th cent. A.D. Most of these were semitized in the course of time (e.g., the ↗Adkämä Məlgaᵓ, in the central ↗Ḥamasen and Säraye regions) and replaced in turn the Rom/Bäläw.

The spreading of the Christian faith from the established religious centres in the north towards the southern regions, under the impulse of renewed monastic movements and the territorial expansion pursued by *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon in the 14th cent., also determined M. of religious groups of monks (the migration of an individual or of a group also being a hagiographical *tópos*), but also of troops who probably established military colonies. It is not to be excluded that the ethnogenesis of some of the ↗Gurage people (e.g., ↗Gogot, ↗Mäsqän, ↗Ǝndägäñ, from ↗Guraᶜ, etc.), nor that a first wave of migration is in fact to be related to this event, as oral traditions also report. Other M. concern, e.g., people who settled in ↗Wäğğärat moving from the ᶜAfär plain and from Ǝndärta, ↗Ǝnda Mäkwännən, Bora, ↗Säläwa, ↗Säqota, ↗Gayənt, ↗Sayənt and ↗ᶜAddi Q̱äyyəḥ.

M. have also been invoked in relation to the question of the ethnogenesis of the Fälaša (↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel; an initial migration from the Hebrew colony of Elephantine in the 7th/5th cent. B.C. has been hypothesized). Much more certain is the fact that not later than the 14th cent., under increasing pressure to convert and conform, the Fälaša might have migrated to less-valued inhospitable regions, where the competition for land was reduced and royal control minimized.

M. and merging of populations coming from different places – Arab immigrants arriving between the 9th and 12th cent. and local residents, as well as alter strategic inter-ethnic marital alliances at the time of the arrival of the ↗Oromo in the 16th cent. – is probably also at the origin of the ethnogenesis of the ↗Harari, as the historical literature suggests.

Lit.: Antonella Brita, *I racconti tradizionali sulla «seconda cristianizzazione» dell'Etiopia*, Napoli 2010 (SASEt 7); Carlo Conti Rossini, *Studi su popolazioni dell'Etiopia*, Roma 1914 (repr. of "Studi su popolazioni dell'Etiopia: I. Gli Irob e le loro tradizioni", *RSO* 3, 1910, 849–900; "II. La seconda migrazione Agaw dell'Eritrea (Zaguà e Adcheme Melgà)", *ibid.* 4, 1912, 599–651; "III. Note sul Sahel eritreo; IV. Antiche popolazioni Nuba-etiopiche; V. Appunti di lingua gonga; VI. I Bambala di Amarr Burgi e il loro linguaggio", *ibid.* 6, 1913, 365–425); Id., "Schizzo etnico e storico delle popolazioni eritree", in: Ferdinando Martini et al., *L'Eritrea economica*, Novara – Roma 1913 (Biblioteca geografica dell'Istituto geografico de Agostini 1), 61–90; Id., "Saggio sulla toponomastica dell'Eritrea tigrina", *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* ser. 7ª, 3, 1938, 785–816; CRStor 37, 73, 91–106, 203, 208f., 272, 276ff., 286; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Di alcune fonti islamiche per la storia del medioevo etiopico", in: Alessandro Gori – Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti (eds.), *L'Islam in Etiopia*: *Bilanci e prospettive* [*Atti del Convegno, tenutosi presso l'Università degli Studi di Napoli "Federico II", il 18 e 19 giugno 2008*], Napoli 2010 (= *Civiltà del Mediterraneo* 16–17, Dicembre 2009 – Giugno 2010), 183–209; Grover Hudson, "Language Classification and the Semitic Prehistory of Ethiopia", *Folia Orientalia* 18, 2002, 119–66; Id., "A Neglected Ethiopian Contribution to Semitic and Afroasiatic Reconstruction", in: Kevin Moore et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the 20th Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistic Society*: *Special Session on Historical Issues in African Linguistics*, Berkeley, CA 2000a, 47–56; Id., "Ethiopian Semitic Overview", *JES* 33, 2, 2000b, 75–86; Id. – Grover Hudson, "Ethiopian Semitic Archaic Heterogeneity", in: *PICES* 14, vol. 3, 1765–85; Phillip LeBel, "Oral Tradition and Chronicles on Guragé Immigration", *JES* 12, 2, 1974, 95–106; Karel van Lerberghe – Antoon Schoors, *Immigration and Emigration within the Ancient Near East*: *Festschrift Edward Lipiński*, Leuven 1995 (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 65); Paolo Marrassini, "'Early Semites' in Ethiopia?", *RSE* n.s. 3, 2011 [2012], 75–96; Bradford G. Martin, "Arab Migrations to East Africa in Medieval Times", *IJAHS* 7, 1974, 367–90; Id., "Migrations from the Hadramawt to East Africa and Indonesia, c. 1200 to 1900", *Research Bulletin* (University of Ibadan, Nigeria) 7, 1–2, 1971, 1–21; François Piguet, "Les migrations internes en Éthiopie. État de la question et perspectives", *AE* 22, 2006 [2007], 179–218; Lanfranco Ricci, "Zĕbā̀n bur, Zĕbā̀n Abùr", in: *MiscAethKur* 235–39; Maxime Rodinson, "Les nouvelles inscriptions d'Axoum et le lieu de déportation des Bedjas", *Raydān* 4, 1981, 97–116; Taddesse Tamrat, "Processes of Ethnic Interaction and Integration in Ethiopian History: the Case of the Agaw", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 6, 192–206; Id., "Processes of Ethnic Interaction and Integration in Ethiopian History: the Case of the Agaw", *JAH* 29, 1, 1988, 5–18; Andrzej Zaborski, "Some Eritrean Place-names in Arabic Medieval Sources", *Folia Orientalia* 12, 1970 [1971], 327–37.

Alessandro Bausi

Mikaᵓel Ǝmməru

Ləǧ M.Ǝ. (**ሚካኤል ፡ እምሩ**; b. 1926, or 1929, Addis Abäba, d. 27 October 2008, Addis Abäba), was a diplomat and politician of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's era and the Prime Minister of Ethiopia during the last days of the Empire.

M.Ǝ. was the son of *ras* ↗Ǝmməru Ḫaylä Śəllase, thus, a descendant of *nəguś* ↗Śahlä Śəllase, and *wäyzäro* Ṣəge Maryam.

M.Ǝ. spent the Italian occupation with his family in Jerusalem. After Liberation he attended Ḫaylä Śəllase I Secondary School and later studied at Oxford University where he graduated in Economics, Political Science and Philosophy.

M.Ǝ., as his father, was known for being a liberal aristocrat who favoured social reform. As a sign of his radicalism he wore his hair in the style of Emperor ↗Tewodros II (Greenfield 1967: 385). Moreover, he was known for distributing his land to the farmers.

In 1957 M.Ǝ. took the position of administrator of the Planning Board, which he held until 1959. In 1958 he was also nominated Vice-Minister of Agriculture, a position he held until 1959, when he represented Ethiopia as ambassador to the ↗United States. In 1961, for only two months, he held the office of Minister of Foreign Affairs, but was relieved of this office and sent on another diplomatic mission to Moscow (↗Russia, relations with) where he stayed until 1965. In 1965 M.Ǝ. represented Ethiopia at the UNESCO Conference on Trade and Development in Geneva. He returned to Ethiopia after he had been nominated Prime Minister on 22 July 1974, to replace ↗Mäkʷännən Ǝndalkaččäw. His nomination was meant to serve as a sign of the *Därg's* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) will to cooperate with the Emperor and to maintain continuity. M.Ǝ. arrived from Geneva on 25 July and was met at the airport by ↗Aman Mikaᵓel Andom. He held the office of Prime Minister until 12 September of the same year. M.Ǝ. was among those who accompanied Ḫaylä Śəllase when he was deposed.

The Ambassador of Ethiopia Mikaᵓel Ǝmməru and President John F. Kennedy in the White House; photo 1961, courtesy of the John F. Kennedy Library and Museum

M.Ǝ. continued his political activity after the ↗Revolution of 1974 and served as Minister of Information. In his later career he worked for the World Bank. He also actively fought for the return of cultural objects, taken out of the country during the Italian occupation.

M.Ǝ. is buried in the Qəddəst Śəllase Cathedral in Addis Abäba.

Lit.: ANDRZEJ BARTNICKI – JOANNA MANTEL-NIEĆKO, *Historia Etiopii*, Wrocław 1971, 458, 471, 515; BZHist 205; ClapHS 97, 197; CHRISTOPHER CLAPHAM, *Transformation and Continuity in Revolutionary Ethiopia*, Cambridge 1990, 40, 42; RICHARD GREENFIELD, *Ethiopia*: *a New Political History*, London 1967, 385; HAROLD GOLDEN MARCUS, *A History of Ethiopia*, Berkley, CA – Los Angeles, CA 1994, 187ff.

Hanna Rubinkowska

Military units and organization

I. Aksumite army s. ↗Army: Army of the Aksumites

II. Military units and organization until the 19th cent.

III. Military units and organization in the 19th and 20th cents.

II. Military units and organization until the 19th cent.

In the Christian army as known from late medieval times, there were four kinds of troops: 1) regular troops of the Emperor; 2) regular troops of individual military leaders; 3) specially mobilized territorial troops; 4) irregular troops. The traditional military units were the ↗*č̣äwa*, grouped according to areas and clans (CRHist 113 [text]). Units or whole armies were also called **ሰራዊት**, *särawit*, **ሐራ**, *ḥara* ('army') and **ጭፍራ**, *č̣əfra* ('body of troops'). The ↗*nəguś* was often involved in ↗warfare, while typical commanders of units were the ↗*azmač*, ↗*däǧǧazmač*, ↗*ras*, ↗*fitawrari*, ↗*balambaras*, ↗*azzaž* and ↗*bašša*. The number of men commanded by each type of officer varied. Typically, though a *ras* was the one commanding larger armies (up to 40,000), the *däǧǧazmač* or *fitawrari* commanded mid-size corps (up to 10,000 men) and the other officers smaller bodies of men (2,000 to 5,000) (Pankhurst 1963: 118).

Historically, during major expeditions, a substantial part of the Christian army consisted of local units, a fact that provoked constant tension between central and regional forces. The religious-ethnic composition of the units was mixed. A large part might have been Təgrəñña- and Amhara-speaking Christians, but other religious and/or ethnic groups were also active. Muslim, Fälaša (↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel) and other populations (such as ↗"Barya" i.e. ↗Nara, ↗Damot, ↗Hadiyya, ↗Kayla, ↗Oromo) subdued by the Christian state contributed considerable numbers of men to the central army. ↗Yəkunno Amlak's huge army, for instance, probably included a large number of Muslims (TadTChurch 91f., 126).

During the reign of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I, when such units are first reported, the emperor carried out a major reorganization and upgrading of the royal army. Thus the balance of power swung in favour of the Christian emperor; a situation that remained unchanged for over 200 years (TadTChurch 90). Three different types of units are recorded in the chronicle of ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon: 1) territorial forces named after the provinces in which they were recruited; 2) probably elite contingents with prestigious names asserting their military strength; 3) corps distinguished by the weapons or equipment they carried (↗spears; ↗swords and knives).

ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon's specifically territorial units came from a number of towns, provinces and regions: ↗Amhara, ↗Šäwa, ↗Goǧǧam, Damot, Hadiyya, Säqält, Gondär, Ḥarb Gʷända (probably ↗Gafat) and Nara. Some of them were ↗cavalry units, divided into two parts – those "of the right" (ግራ, *gra*) and those "of the left" (ቀኝ, *qäññ*) (cf. PerrAmdS 293, 382f., 399; MarAmdS index).

Units known by prestigious titles might have corresponded to elite troops used as a strike force and closely attached to the royal court, some of them being split into smaller units. Each unit was headed by an officer directly responsible to the king, often from among his intimate friends and relatives (TadTChurch 90, 94). Such units included the ተኵላ (*Täkʷəla*, 'Jackal'), a name that, according to the Chronicle of ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon, suggests its particular strength; the ቀስተ ፡ ንህብ (*Qästä nəhəb*, lit. 'bow of a bee'), and the ኮረም (*Koräm*, 'Cavalry'; arranged as mentioned in MarAmdS 63, 65, 113, 115).

Units known by their equipment or arms included the ጸዋርያነ ፡ ወርመት (*Ṣäwarəyanä wärmät*, probably 'carriers of spear(s)'); the ጸዋርያነ ፡ ወርመት ፡ ዐቢያን (*Ṣäwarəyanä wärmät ᶜabbiyan*, probably 'carriers of large spears'); the ጸዋርያነ ፡ አሳይፍት (*Ṣäwarəyanä asayəft*, lit. 'carriers of swords'); ጸዋርያነ ፡ ነረንጋሬ (*Ṣäwarəyanä närängare*), the ሰራዊት ፡ እለ ፡ ይጸውሩ ፡ ወልታ (*Särawit əllä yəṣäwwəru wälta*, 'troops which carry shield(s)'); the ጸዋርያነ ፡ መንበር (*Ṣäwarəyanä mänbär*, lit. 'carriers of the throne'); and the ጸዋርያነ ፡ መነስንስት (*Ṣäwarəyanä mänäsnəst*, probably 'carriers of fly-whisks') (s. PerrAmdS 382f.). Many of these warriors, mainly ↗infantry, are described here as highly skilled in using the bow, javelin, fighting like eagles, and running like wild goats; the movement of their feet is likened to the rolling of stones, and the noise they made to the roaring of the sea (MarAmdS 11; HuntAmdS 81f.).

Regiments and units in the armies of subsequent emperors followed similar patterns. A few unit names were used under several emperors, whilst others were possibly not resumed after the ruler's death. Names found in the Chronicle of *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob are clearly metaphors of power: በድል ፡ መስቀል (*Bädəl mäsqäl*, lit. 'through the victory of the Cross'), በድል ፡ መብረቅ (*Bädəl mäbräq*, lit. 'through the victory of lightning'), በድል ፡ ደመና (*Bädəl dämäna*, lit. 'through the victory of a cloud'), በድል ፡ ሾተል (*Bädəl šotäl*, lit. 'through the victory of a dagger'), or በድል ፡ ድብ (*Bädəl dəbb*, lit. 'through the victory of a bear'). Others seem to incorporate geographical allusions, such as በአደል ፡ አምባ (*Bäᵓadäl amba*, lit. 'through Adäl mountain'), or ደመና ፡ አደል (*Dämäna adäl*, lit. 'cloud of Adäl') (PerrZarY 31, 35, 45). Another important unit was the ↗*Ǧan Amora*, or 'royal eagle', which also appears under *aṣe* ↗Bäᵓədä Maryam (PerrZarY 143; for the use of animal names in military context, cp. Drewes 1998 and Conti Rossini 1910).

The military drew its economic support from the peasantry. As studied by Taddesse Tamrat, two systems seem to have been prevalent, at least since the time of ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I. During campaigns armies collected their provisions from the country through which they happened to march. However, when an effective and a more permanent occupation was intended the same arrangement was simply extended far and wide, and the occupied land was divided into a number of ↗*gʷəlt* each assigned for the maintenance of an officer and his dependants. The *gʷəlt* thus provided the means of maintaining a large territorial army and it simplified the task of governing the expanding state by dividing it into small, easily manageable units (TadTChurch 98, 101, 102 n. 2).

Towards 1529, ᶜArabfaqīh in the ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* describes the Christian army of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl as being "as numerous as locusts" (at one point about 16,000 cavalry and 200,000 infantry), and composed of men from ↗Təgray, ↗Agäw, Goǧǧam, ↗Bägemdər, ↗Angot, Qəda and ↗Gäñ (BassHist 34, 55f. [text]).

Under *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos, a remarkable military innovation took place which involved integrating a company of foreign soldiers into his army, mostly Portuguese (↗Portugal), who had arrived in Ethiopia with Christovão da ↗Gama. With their arrival, ↗fire-arms and artillery were used for the first time on a large scale by the Christian army (cp. BeckHuntAlvar 516). The Portuguese also introduced modern European infantry tactics. A few of them (in ca. 1625 such company numbered 40 men; BecRASO VII, 42) served well into the reign of *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs (cf. Martínez 2011).

In the army of *aṣe* ↗Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl, a number of units were known to be active. The ↗*Zenahu lägalla* tells of the continued existence of the ᶜ*Adäl Mäbräq* and the *Ǧan Amora* (BeckHuntAlm 115f.; SDHist 225 [text]). Elite units bore protective or evocative names: **ሥሉስ ፡ ኀይሌ** (*Śəllus ḫayle*, 'The Trinity is my force'), **በድል ፡ ፀሓይ** (*Bädəl ṣ́äḥay*, 'through the victory of the sun'), **ጊዮርጊስ ፡ ኀይሌ** (*Giyorgis ḫayle*, 'Giyorgis is my strength). The latter were once involved in an act of insubordination when they raided the ↗*kätäma* of Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl and pillaged the tents of *ətege* ↗Säblä Wängel (CRHist 27 [text]). Other units from the army of the same king were: **አቄት ፡ ዠር** (*Aqet žär*, 'mason', cp. ↗*Aqetzär*), **አረጓ ፡ ጨዋ** (*Arägʷa č̣äwa*), **መሪር** (*Märir*), **ግርሜ** (*Gərme*, perhaps from *gərma*, 'Glory'?), **ቍርባን** (*Qʷərban* 'Eucharistic offering'), including cavalry and riflemen, **ወድ ፡ ኀዳር** (*Wäd ḫədar*, also *wäd ḫadär*; cp. Amh. *Wättaddär* 'soldier') as well as **ጋላ** (*Galla*, i.e. Oromo) companies. Units of riflemen – of Portuguese but also of Turkish origin (**ትርኵ**, *Tərkʷ*, 'the Turks', ↗*Mäläsay*) were used successfully to storm difficult positions. Among the latter were the **ናር** (*Nar*, cp. Arab. *nar* 'fire'), and perhaps the **ትሙር** (*Təmur*) and **ኤርማግ** (*Ermag*; CRHist 5, 30, 36, 38ff., 89, 114, 128 [text], 185 [tr.]; PerChron vol. 1, 90f. [text], vol. 2, 342). Slave troops were referred to as **አግብርት** (*Agbərt*, 'slaves') .

During the succession wars at the turn of the 16th cent., the *Qʷərban* corps was especially active and influential (e.g., PerChron vol. 1, 10, 41, 52–56, 85 [text]).

In 1604, *aṣe* ↗Zädəngəl, fearing the power of his rival *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, made an extraordinary levy and formed what appears to have been an enormous corps called **መለክ ፡ ሐራ** (*Mäläk ḥara* 'Royal Army'; PerChron vol. 1, 51 [text]), which reappeared under Susənyos (ibid. 324 [text]). The *Aqetžär* were also active around 1604 (ibid. 70 [text]).

An important innovation at this time was the incorporation of Oromo units in the Christian armies. *Aṣe* ↗Yaᶜəqob had such units at his disposal, but it was Susənyos who used them more effectively. Units of ↗Tuulama, "Bartuma" (↗Baarentuu), ↗Mäč̣č̣a, "Borän" and Liiban (↗Boorana), were sporadically active on Susənyos's side during his years as a *šəfta* (PerChron vol. 1, 38, 42, 46, 57, 112 [text]). Various corps of **የሀበታ** (*Yähabäta*), horsemen and fighters, having lived among the Mäč̣č̣a (cf. MHasOr 69), were also active in the Christian army. They were divided into tribes: **ጭሌሃ ፡ ኦቦ** (*Č̣əlleha obo*), **ጭሌሃ ፡ ጋላን** (*Č̣əlleha galan*), **ጃዊ** (*Ǧawi*), **ሆኮ** (*Hoko*) (PerChron vol. 1, 148–51, 260 [text]; BecRASO XII, 488; cp. PerChron vol. 2, 538f.).

Under Susənyos's rule old units also reappeared, such as the *Giyorgis ḫayle*, who were amongst those proclaiming him Emperor in 1604. Among his elite units the [**ሐራ**] **ኮከብ** (*Ḥara Kokäb*, 'army of star') and the *Henok* (**ሄኖክ**) stood out. The former was said to comprise about 1,000 horsemen under imperial command; they were reported to be "among the oldest and best soldiery in Ethiopia", and "accustomed to fighting and skilled in combat" (BecRASO VII, 26; PerChron vol. 1, 170, 295 [text], vol. 2, 459; BecRASO XII, 371). The Henok, referred to in Jesuit sources as "Enaceeis", and commanded by *ras* ↗Śəᶜəlä Krəstos, was described as a well-trained Catholic company with more than 2,000 soldiers, mostly cavalry (BecRASO VII, 113; XII, 489). A third elite unit could have been the **ጨረቃ** (*Č̣äräqa*, 'Moon'), who carried a white shield with the shape of the moon. About 1631, they defected from the Emperor and joined rebel forces in Lasta (BecRASO VII, 159).

Among the units of other lords, ↗Fasilädäs was once at the head of the Kayla and ↗Maya companies (PerChron vol. 1, 307f. [text]; BecRASO VII, 159). ↗*Goǧǧam nägaš* ↗Kəflo commanded a **ኀይላት** (*Ḫaylat*; Guidi 1940: 6) unit from Goǧǧam and another, the **ማርያም ፡ ኀይሌ** (*Maryam ḫayle*, 'Mary is my force') from Amhara (PerChron vol. 1, 119, 176, 254 [text]).

Owing to the religious wars ravaging the country in the 1620s and early 1630s, the names of a few anti-Catholic units are also reported in European sources: in Təgray a unit of *Č̣äräqa* and **ሥልጣን ፡ ክርስቶስ** (*Śəlṭan Krəstos*, 'Power of Christ'; BecRASO VII, 27); and in Šäwa and Amhara units guided by Orthodox priests and monks were called "Dioscorite" and "Jacobite souls" (Roiz, 13 February 1625, 228r; Paes, 15 June 1625, 236r, 240r; BecRASO VI, 386, 394).

Military organization is seldom described in Ethiopian sources. Throughout most of the period surveyed the greater part of the soldiery was not considered distinct from the general population and a regular payment system was unknown until the 19th cent. (Pankhurst 1963: 118f., 128f.). Additionally, the size of the units varied, though evidence from Susənyos's times indicates that a normal unit had around 500 men (BecRASO VII, 26, 42). In a campaign of 1629, the Emperor led an army of 20,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry who were divided into 40 squadrons or companies; the army was also followed by a retinue, composed mostly of family members, servants and slaves, of about 80,000 (BecRASO VII, 41f.).

Units could be specialized or mixed, for instance including archers and cavalry. In the early Gondärine period the title of ↗*šaläqa* first appears in the historical record; theoretically the *šaläqa* was the head of a thousand men, but usually of a regiment of a few hundred (though with several inaccuracies, cf. Tsegaye Tegenu 1996: 69f.).

As for training, only elite troops under the emperor or prominent local lords appear to have been put through regular exercises. From the time of Ləbnä Dəngəl, there is evidence of regular training manoeuvres practiced at the *kätäma* in the presence of the ruler (Alvares 1989: 246; cp. Castanhoso 1898, ch. 7).

Susənyos, seldom defeated in battle, seems to have benefited markedly from adopting Oromo tactics (PerChron vol. 1, 91 [text]), and at least one of his best commanders, *däggač* ↗Bukko, trained his army using Portuguese infantry tactics (cp. BecRASO VI, 429 and Castanhoso 1898, ch. 6). Battle was joined by playing the *dəbb anbäsa* (a special kind of *nägarit* drum), and *nəsər qana* (type of flute or trumpet; e.g., PerChron vol. 1, 117). Tactics were reportedly simple, consisting of massed frontal attacks by an advanced guard as well as guerrilla warfare (PerGov 167; cf. also AbbSéjour vol. 1, 302ff., 311ff.).

By the late 18th cent., the emperor's "household troops" were said by Bruce to consist of 8,000 infantry men, 2,000 of them with fire-arms. They were divided into four companies, each known as **ቤት** (*bet* 'house'), for which he provides the names of three, namely the *Anbäsa* ('↗Lions'), *Ǧan* (cp. *Ǧan Amora*, ↗ *Ǧan Bädəl*; ↗elephants) and *Wärq* (↗Gold). He also informs us that companies each bore their own distinctive standard (BruNile III, 309ff.).

Src.: AbbSéjour vol. 1, 245–379; Francisco Alvares, *Verdadeira informação das terras do Preste João das Indias*, ed. by Neves Aguas, Portugal 1989, 246 (ch. 127); BassHist 34, 55f. (text) = 77ff., 116ff. (tr.); BeckHuntAlvar 516; BecRASO VI, 386, 394, 429; VII, 26f., 42; XII, 371, 488f.; BruNile III, 309ff.; Miguel de Castanhoso, *Dos Feitos de D. Christovam da Gama em Ethiopia*, ed. by Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira (ed.), Lisboa 1898, ch. 6; CRHist 5, 27, 30, 36–40, 89, 113f., 128, 225 (text) = 31f., 35, 42, 44ff., 102, 129, 132f., 146, 179, 185, 187f., 198f. (tr.); DAE IV, nos. 4–7, 10; Ignazio Guidi, *Supplemento al Vocabolario amarico-italiano, compilato con il concorso di Francesco Gallina ed Enrico Cerulli*, Roma 1940, 6; HuntAmdS 81f.; MarAmdS 11, 63, 65, 113, 115, 117; MHAksum 224ff., 227; PerChron vol. 1, 10, 38, 41f., 46, 51–57, 70, 85, 90f., 112, 117ff., 170, 176, 191–96, 254, 295, 307f., 324 (text) = vol. 2, 8, 31, 33f., 37, 41–46, 55, 67, 71, 87, 91f., 131, 136, 148–51, 195, 200, 227f., 238, 251, 342, 459, 538f. (tr.); Gaspar Paes, "Annual Letter, 15 June 1625", Rome, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Goa 39 I, 236r–59v, here 236r, 240r; PerrAmdS 293, 382f., 399; PerrZarY 31, 35, 45, 143; RIÉ nos. 185.I, 185.II, 185bis, 188, 270, 270bis; Antonio Roiz, "Annual Letter, 13 February 1625", Rome, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Goa 39 I, 220r–30r, here 223r, 228r.

Lit.: Carlo Conti Rossini, "Sud-ar. *asad* = et. *anbasa* «uomo d'arme»", *ZA* 24, 1910, 337–44; Abraham Johannes Drewes, "Noms propres dans les documents épigraphiques de l'Éthiopie", *Semitica* 48, 1998, 127–43, here 141; Merid Wolde Aregay, "Military Elites in Medieval Ethiopia", *JES* 30, 1, 1997, 31–74; Hiroki Ishikawa, "Changes in the Military System during the Gondar Period (1631–1769): Their Influence on the Decline of the Solomonic Dynasty", *AE* 18, 2002, 215–29; Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner, "Early Portuguese Emigration to the Ethiopian Highlands: Geopolitics, Missions and Métissage, in: Stephan Halikowski Smith (ed.), *Indian Ocean Worlds: Essays in Honour of K.N. Chaudhuri on the Occasion of his 75th Birthday*, Cambridge 2011, 2–33; MHasOr 69; Richard Pankhurst, "The Ethiopian Army of Former Times", *EthObs* 7, 1963, 118–43; PerGov 167; TadTChurch 89–94, 98, 101, 102 n. 2, 126; Tsegaye Tegenu, *The Evolution of Ethiopian Absolutism: the Genesis and the Making of the Fiscal Military State, 1696–1913*, Uppsala 1996, 69f.

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III. Military units and organization in the 19th and 20th cents.

During the 40 years from the coronation of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II as Emperor in 1855 to the rise of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II little progress was made in modernizing the military forces of Ethiopia. They remained highly fragmented, with standing forces under the command of the Emperor alongside those of semi-autonomous provincial governors. In times of war, peasant levies were called up, and the provincial governors placed their armies as auxiliary forces under imperial command.

At the peak of his power, Tewodros commandeered an army of 150,000. Mənilək II went into the battle of ↗ᶜAdwa with a force of 75,000–100,000 (Pankhurst 1963:127f.). In the early 20th cent., the total number of military was about 200,000 of which only 15,000 were the standing army of the emperor, the remainder being dispersed in the country under the command of provincial lords and military governors. The 7,000-strong Royal bodyguard, the **የልፍኝ ፡ ዘበኛ**, *Yälfəñ zäbäñña*, was the core of Mənilək's permanent army. In the early 1930s, the Central army (**መሐል ፡ ሰፋሪ**, *Mäḥal säfari*), under the command of the Minister of War, counted about 16,000, the ↗Imperial bodyguard (IBG) about 5,000 (both stationed in Addis Abäba), and ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's personal army in Harär, around 10,000. To face the Italian invasion, Ḫaylä Śəllase mobilized around 360,000 soldiers out of a population estimated to be 8 million.

Traditionally, Ethiopian emperors understood military modernization mainly as the acquisition of more and better ↗fire-arms and cannons. Tewodros was the first to attempt to modernise military organization and training, but his reforms did not survive his fall. Thus he was a pioneer in trying to establish a regular army with a single national ethos and in establishing regular payment system in money for his soldiers (Pankhurst 1963:119). ↗Yoḥannəs IV hired the Scot ↗Kirkham to train 12,000 soldiers (Pankhurst 1963:120). Mənilək II also engaged foreigners to train his military. By 1903, at least seven Russian officers (↗Russia, relations with) were training soldiers of the Ethiopian army. *Ras* ↗Mäkʷännən Wäldä Mikaʾel also initiated modest military innovations among his forces.

After the appointment of *ras* Täfäri, the son of *ras* Mäkʷännən, as regent in 1916, military reforms greatly accelerated (cf. Tsegaye Tegenu 1996:45). The first modern military unit was the **ማለፊያ ፡ ብረት ፡ ያዥ** (*Maläfiya bərät yaž*, 'Better Armed Unit') later renamed **መትረየስ ፡ ዘበኛ** (*Mäträyäs zäbäñña*, 'Machine-gun Guards'), trained by Russian émigré officers. It formed the core of the new Royal bodyguard directly answerable to the Regent, and which became the IBG in 1928. As it grew in numbers, it was divided into branches: infantry, artillery, cavalry and band units. In 1929, an air section was added (↗Air force). On the eve of the Italian invasion in 1935, the 5,000 IBG soldiers were organized in one regiment subdivided into four battalions and three artillery units.

In 1928, Regent *ras* Täfäri began to send Ethiopians abroad for military training: a dozen went to the French St. Cyr Military Academy. In 1929, he contracted 12 Belgian officers, six of whom were assigned to the IBG. In 1931, Swiss and again Belgian officers were recruited to train his personal army stationed at Harär. In 1934, with the help of Swedish advisors (↗Sweden, relations with), the ↗Holäta Military Academy was established. Military training was based upon the French system.

The Italian invasion and occupation of Ethiopia (↗Italian war 1935-36; ↗Africa Orientale Italiana) largely destroyed the traditional military system. On re-entering Addis Abäba in 1941, Ḫaylä Śəllase I was determined never again to allow regional governors to wield military power or external forces to attack Ethiopia. In pursuing this goal he relied extensively on foreign military assistance to create a centralized modern professional army under his tight control.

Reflecting traditional – and often justified – mistrust of the political class in Ethiopia of foreigners and their political and other intentions, Ḫaylä Śəllase I tried to diversify as much as possible the sources of assistance in order to avoid relying on a single source, which could negatively impact Ethiopia's sovereignty. Until 1953, the British were the "lead agency" in military assistance, with Sweden as a distant second. After liberation, under the British-Ethiopian Agreement of 1942, the British assisted Ethiopia in raising, organizing and training the new Imperial Ethiopian Army (IEA). It counted ten infantry battalions, a regiment of pack artillery, armoured car and engineer and signal services were added later. The IEA was stationed in Addis Abäba and at key points in Ṭəgray, Bägemdər, Goǧǧam, Harär, Sidamo and Ǧimma. The British also assisted in revitalising the Imperial Military Academy at Holäta.

After 1953, the ↗United States of America rapidly became the most important source of military aid. In the 1950s ↗Norway, and ↗India also began to provide military aid, and in the 1960s ↗Israel became the second most important provider of military assistance.

To counterbalance the IEA, Ḫaylä Śəllase I reconstituted the IBG with 500 men arranged in three companies. By 1945, it had grown into seven battalions, five stationed in Addis Abäba and one each in Goǧǧam and Harär. In 1946, an IBG cadet school with Swedish instructors was opened at Qäbäna, in Addis Abäba. The cadets were recruited from the best students of grade four and above. The IBG rapidly became the elite military institution of Ethiopia, and received better training and equipment than regular ground forces.

In 1942, a third army called **ነጭ ፡ ለባሽ** (*Näč̣č̣ läbaš*, lit. 'wearing white', i.e. 'plainclothes, irregular soldiers'), was set up, whose members were drawn from the Patriots (↗Resistance), to prevent them from turning to banditry. It was a militia type of force to be used as a supplementary rural police force. In 1944, the Ethiopian ↗Air Force Pilot School was set up, with Swedish support, in Addis Abäba. In 1945, it was transferred to ↗Däbrä Zäyt. Sweden also provided the planes for the fledgling air force, and a Swedish officer commanded it until 1962, when an Ethiopian officer took over.

Ḫaylä Śəllase also initiated modern Ethiopian arms production. In 1951, the first Ethiopian ammunition factory was established, with support from Czechoslovakia, other military ordnance factories followed in the late 1950s.

In 1951, Ethiopia seconded troops to the UN forces dispatched to Korea. Drawn from the IBG, a battalion of the ↗Qaññäw Force was attached to the US 7th Division. Every year a new battalion was sent to Korea. All in all, about 5,000 IBG soldiers served in Korea.

In 1953 the USA and Ethiopia concluded a Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement (MDAA). In return for a 25-year lease on the Qaññäw Communication Centre near Asmära, the USA were to assist Ethiopia in modernizing and expanding her armed forces. As part of the implementation of this scheme, in 1955 the IEA was reorganized into the Ethiopian Ground Forces (EGF). Until 1960, its three divisions stationed in Addis Abäba, Təgray/Eritrea and Harär, were kept at an operational strength of 6,000 men each. In 1960, the USA agreed to increase the EGF-divisions to 8,000 men each, to establish a new fourth division headquartered at Addis Abäba, and to provide support for the Ethiopian Air Force, Marines and Police.

In 1958 the *Näč̣č̣ Läbaš* were transformed into the Imperial Territorial Army (ITA), i.e. a reserve army stationed in the provinces under the command of provincial governors. It was to assist the regular police force in maintaining public order and to reinforce the regular armed forces in times of war.

From the early 1960s, Israel provided training and equipment for commando units, paratroops, and military intelligence. Under Arabic diplomatic pressure, Ethiopia broke diplomatic relations with Israel after the 1973 October War, but Israel quietly continued to provide military aid.

Until 1958, officers of the EGF were trained abroad or at the Holäta Academy, which conferred commissions as second lieutenants. The Holäta cadets, lacking secondary-level education, were non-commissioned officers (NCO's). In May 1958, the ↗Harär Military Academy was established. Until 1966, India supplied the funds, the Commander of the Academy and the bulk of the instructors. Graduates received diplomas and commissions as second lieutenants, and were eligible to receive the equivalent of a bachelor's degree on completion of one year of additional study at university level. The Harär Military Academy rapidly developed into an elite institution whose graduates were perceived, and saw themselves, as belonging to a military aristocracy expected to monopolize high ranking positions in the army.

Under the MDAA, nearly 23,000 Ethiopian servicemen took advanced training courses within the framework of military education programs, 4,000 of them at facilities in the USA. The total value of military and economic aid provided by the USA to Ethiopia under the MDAA amounted to US-$ 606 million.

The widespread feeling within the officer corps of the IBG of being not only the military, but also a national elite, rapidly led to the emergence of political ambition, which culminated in the ↗Coup d'état 1960 (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081–82). It failed because the regular army, more traditional, deeply resentful of the privileged position of the IBG, and antagonized by the elitist attitudes of the IBG officers and the air force, remained loyal to the Emperor. After the failed coup, the IBG was not disbanded, but it lost its privileged position. Most senior officers were executed, imprisoned or expelled, while loyal officers mainly from the EGF filled the vacancies. Under the new commanders, until the fall of the monarchy, the 10,000-strong IBG remained an elite corps, protecting the Emperor and exerting control over the regular army. In recognition of their demonstrated loyalty, the EGF were granted a much larger share of military expenditure, and rapidly outgrew the IBG in size and quality of their equipment.

The 1960s also saw a rapid expansion of the Air Force. A pilot school was set up within the Air Force Academy, which also included schools for technical staff (aircraft maintenance, electronics technicians, communications operators, weapons specialists). In 1960, the first paratrooper units were established.

Under an agreement signed in 1954, Norwegian naval officers organized and trained a modest maritime force. In 1955, the Naval College near Massawa was created; in 1958, the Imperial Ethiopian ↗Navy (IEN) was officially established. Until 1974, a small contingent of retired British naval personnel was employed in executive positions as advisers and training supervisors.

In the early 1970s, the Imperial government realized that its Armed Forces, then about 40,000 strong, would not be sufficient to deal simultaneously with the war in Eritrea and a possible war with Somalia. Therefore, in 1973, general national service was introduced. It was to start in 1974 but before the first round of conscripts could be called up, the Ethiopian ↗Revolution began in February 1974, and these plans were shelved.

With the help of the USA and other Western countries, Ḫaylä Śəllase I had, within two decades, succeeded in providing Ethiopia with a well organized and functionally differentiated modern military, one of the strongest in sub-Saharan Africa. Within the Ethiopian system of rule, the new Ethiopian military represented a modernized version of the old Palace army, and its establishment still exhibited many traditional military features. Reflecting the old imperial policy of divide and rule, the four services of the Ethiopian military (IBG, EGF, IEAF, and IEN) did not have a unified supreme command, but remained separated from each other. Supreme Commander of all four was the emperor. Within the four services, elaborate internal control and security systems were installed to prevent the emergence of co-ordinated opposition from the military. There existed a deep divide between the privileged officer corps and the underpaid ill-treated rank and file soldiers. The officer corps was riven by deep cleavages based on seniority, social background, and training. Especially bitter was the rivalry between the graduates from Holäta and those from Harär, the Naval College and the Air Force Academy.

During the *Därg* regime (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) the military took a preeminent role in social and political life. Most of the leading politicians of the regime came from the lower and middle ranks of the army, beginning with Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam himself, who was a Major (cf. also Ottaway – Ottaway 1978: 131f.). One major innovation of the regime was the formation of militias by the *qäbäle* and peasant associations. With the National Military Service Proclamation of 1983 the military government emphasized extension of military institutions to the society at large thus blending military and development campaigns. With this proclamation all Ethiopian citizens aged 18 to 50 were rendered liable to military service for terms of up to 24 months. About the same time the National Defence and Security Council was also established, a high-level organ designed to oversee matters of defence and security and also to deal with natural disasters (Harbeson 1988: 184f.; Keller 1988: 234).

During the *Därg* military expenditure increased considerably together with the size and strength of the army. Defence expenditures grew more than tenfold between 1974 and 1982 to US-$ 381 million; in 1976–77 the estimated defence budget had further grown to US-$ 446.86 million, reaching 8.2 % of the Gross Domestic Product. Similarly, for the period from 1976–77 to 1987–88 the army's strength had increased sixfold, from 47,000 to 313,000. Throughout the whole period the role of foreigners as advisers and support troops was also important, in particular from the Soviet Union, Cuba and Eastern Europe. From 1978 to 1985 about 12.000 Cuban combat troops supported the Ethiopian army. In 1987–88 foreign advisors and support staff still numbered about 5,000 (Patman 1990: 182f., 260f.;Korn 1986: 91; Keller 1988: 211f., 267f.).

Src.: Alexander Bulatovich, *Ethiopia through Russian Eyes*: *Country in Transition, 1896–1898*, tr. by Richard Seltzer, Lawrenceville NJ – Asmara 2000, 101ff.

Lit.: Richard A. Caulk, “Armies as Predators: Soldiers and Peasants in Ethiopia c. 1850–1935”, *IJAHS* 11, 1978, 457–93; Gebru Tareke, *The Ethiopian Revolution*: *War in the Horn of Africa*, New Haven, CT 2009; John W. Harbeson, *The Ethiopian Transformation*: *the Quest for the Post-imperial State*, Boulder, CO 1988, 78f.; Edmond Joseph Keller, *Revolutionary Ethiopia: from Empire to People's Republic*, Bloomington, IN et al. 1988, 211f., 234ff., 267f.; David A. Korn, *Ethiopia, the United States and the Soviet Union*, London 1986, 91; Harold Golden Marcus, *The Life and Times of Menelik II*: *Ethiopia 1844–1913*, Oxford 1975, 65, 67, 86, 101, 159, 224; Id., *Haile Sellassie I*: *the Formative Years, 1892–1936*, Berkeley, CA 1987, 90f., 95, 107f., 135ff.; David Ottaway – Marina Ottaway, *Ethiopia*: *Empire in Revolution*, New York 1978, 131f.; Richard Pankhurst, “The Ethiopian Army of Former Times”, *EthOb* 7, 1963, 118–42; Robert G. Patman, *The Soviet Union in the Horn of Africa*: *the*

Diplomacy of Intervention and Disengagement, Cambridge 1990, 182f., 260f.; PerGov 160ff.; TSEGAYE TEGENU, *The Evolution of Ethiopian Absolutism*: *the Genesis and the Making of the Fiscal Military State, 1696–1913*, Uppsala 1996, 45; Georgiy V. TSYPKIN, "Problems of Traditional Military Organization of Feudal Ethiopia in the Works of Russian Travellers of the End of the XIX–Beginning of the XX Centuries", in: *PICES* 9, vol. 4, 229–38.

Günter Schröder

Mogadishu

M. (Somali sp.: Muqdisho; 2°4'0"N, 45°22'0"E) is an ancient city and is the present-day capital of ↗Somalia, with a population of about one million (for location s. map for Luuq). The folk etymology of the name connects M. with the Arabic *Maqᶜad Šāh* (Arab., 'seat of the Shah') and hints at the possibility of a Persian role in the founding of the city. The derivation of M. from the Swahili *mui wa mwisho* ('end town, or last city') is also not completely satisfying. The Somali name Ḥamar (Xamar) refers more properly to the quarters of 'old Mogadishu' (*Xamar weyn* and *Xamar jabjab*) but can be used as a metonym for the whole city.

The precise date of the foundation of M. cannot be established: as a matter of fact, the ↗*Periplus Maris Erythraei* contains no reference to M., and the town is first mentioned (under the name *Maqdašu*) in Yāqūt's *Muᶜǧam al-buldān* completed in 1228 (Yāqūt 1989: 173).

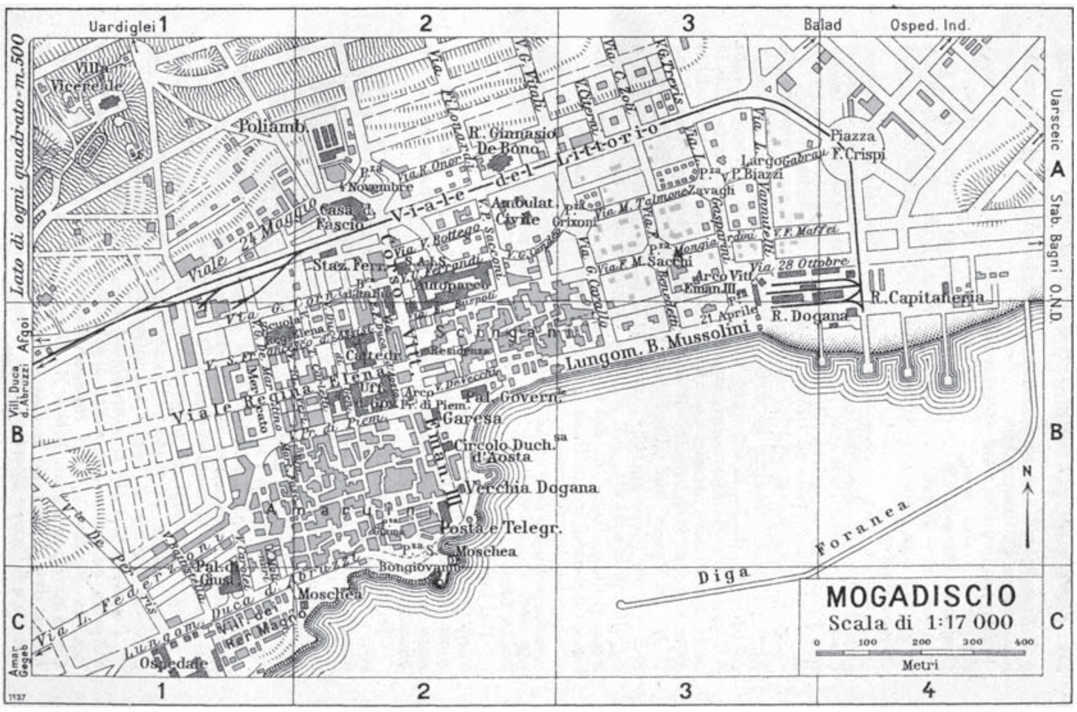
Some disputed traditions date the founding of M. back to the 5th Caliph of the Umayyad dynasty, ᶜAbdalmalik b. Marwān (d. 705; s. ᶜAydarus 1955: 36–41; Freeman – Grenville 1966: 241f.), or to the period between 935 and 949 when a group of seven brothers, fleeing religious persecution, left the Persian Gulf area and eventually settled on the East African coast (Barros 1552, Dec. I, Liv. VIII, Cap. VI: 97v–98r summarizing a version of the *Chronicle of Kilwa*).

However, the general historical background of the origins of M. is relatively sure (Gori 2006: 30–35, 71–74; Chittick 1982; Cuoq 1981: 64–5). A remarkable amount of local historical notes, genealogies and funerary inscriptions (the oldest of which dates to 1217) discovered and published by Cerulli (1926–28; 1927) give us more sound and reliable data. These Somali Arabic sources clearly point to the fact that immigrants from the Persian Gulf (Naysābūr, Šīrāz) and the Arabian peninsula (Ḥaḍramawt, Medina) began to settle in M. in 766/7 when Ismāᶜīl b. ᶜUmar of the Arab Banū ᶜAffān clan arrived in town (Cerulli 1927: 392). The *Kitāb al-zunūǧ* (CerSom I, 232) seems to confirm this date indirectly as it mentions the arrival in M. of a messenger of the Abbasid *ḫalīfa* sent in 766/67 to check the loyalty of the local population to the Baghdad dynasty.

The different families of Arab (and possibly Persian) ancestry (39 clans belonging to five main groups: ᶜAqabī, ᶜAfīfī, Ǧidᶜatī, Ismāᶜīlī and Qaḥṭānī/Muqrī) in M. created a kind of federal administration in which the council of the leaders (↗*šayḫ*) of the groups (*ṭāʾifa*, according to the terminology used by Yāqūt 1989: 173) ruled the town as a "republic" (Fiaccadori 1989). The "republican" regime in M. came to an end in the first half of the 13th cent. when, under unclear circumstances, a hereditary sultanate was established by Abū Bakr b. Faḫraddīn with the support of the Muqrīs who, in return, were given the office of *qāḍī* (Cerulli 1926: 18).

The first detailed description of M. is found in the eyewitness account of ↗Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited the city in 1331 (Defremery-Sanguinetti 1969: 180–91; Gibb 1962: 373–79). The Moroccan traveller found M. under the rule of the *sulṭān* Abū Bakr b. ᶜUmar a "Barābir" (i.e. Somali, cp. ↗Berbera) who was simply called "*šayḫ*" by his subjects.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's detailed and vivid report describes a flourishing M., an "exceedingly large city" inhabited by rich merchants and characterized by brisk economic and social activity. The report mentions, in particular, that the city exported "incomparable cloths" to ↗Egypt and other countries (s. Laitin – Samatar 1987: 15), probably referring to the brilliant red-and-white-coloured fabric of the Benadiri artisans and weavers. The political and religious life was also highly developed: every Saturday, M.'s *qāḍī* (a judge of Egyptian origin), the descendants of the Prophet, the pilgrims to Mecca, the law experts, the emirs, the ministers and the high officials of the army gathered in the palace of the *šayḫ* to greet him and share lunch with him. After the banquet, the *qāḍī*, the emirs and the ministers administered justice among petitioners and solicitants. A town *ǧāmiᶜ* mosque was also available for the communal Friday prayer, to which the *šayḫ* also attended personally. The fame of M. was so widespread that the name of the town came to be mentioned as Mäqduš in the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*Milad* of *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaᶜəqob (Wendt 1962: 19 [text], 18 [tr.]). The ↗*Fatḥ madīnat Harar* has several references to M. and its *sulṭāns* (WagFath).


Uardiglei
1
2
3
4
Balad
Osped. Ind.
A
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C
Uarsceic
Stab. Bagni O.N.D.
Lato di ogni quadrato m. 500
Afgoi
Vill. Duca d. Abruzzi
Amar Gegeb
Villa Vicereale
Poliamb.
R. Ginnasio De Bono
Viale del Littorio
Casa d. Fascio
Viale 24 Maggio
Ambulat. Civile
Piazza F. Crispi
Staz. Ferr.
Via 28 Ottobre
R. Capitaneria
R. Dogana
Arco Vitt. Eman. III
21 Aprile
Lungom. B. Mussolini
Viale Regina Elena
Pal. Govern.
Garesa
Circolo Duch. d'Aosta
Vecchia Dogana
Posta e Telegr.
Moschea
Bongiovanni
Pal. di Giust.
Ospedale
Diga Foranea
N
MOGADISCIO
Scala di 1:17 000
0
100
200
300
400
Metri

Italian map of Mogadishu 1938; from *Guida* 571

From the 14th to the 16th cent. M. was apparently under the control of successive Arab and Somali sultanates (but only the name of Muᶜaffar b. Al-Mālik an-Nāṣir can be mentioned for the 16th cent.; Cerulli 1926). However, from the mid-16th cent. onwards the town started decaying as a result of the expansion of the ↗Hawiye nomads in the hinterland and of the Portuguese (↗Portugal, relations with) on the coast. The Hawiye destroyed the Ağūrān sultanate, which had given M. easy access to the trade routes towards Ethiopia, and thus cut the port town off from its inland markets. On the sea, Vasco da Gama bombarded M. in 1499, but failed to capture it. However, Portuguese (and later British) maritime supremacy in the Indian Ocean and over ↗Red Sea trade routes cut M. off from its commerce with the East and the Islamic world, thereby prompting its precipitous decline.

During the 17th cent. M.'s sultanate disappeared, as the Abgaal, Darandolla, Geledi and other Hawiye clans from the interior first slowly penetrated into the town and eventually overwhelmed it. M. subsequently became divided into the two rival quarters of Ḥamar weyn and Šangānī (where the Darandolla *imām* settled) and settled into a state of permanent civil war. The Zanzibari/Omani *sulṭān* Barġaš b. Saᶜīd in 1871 occupied M. and managed it through a local governor (*wālī*) who had his residence in the *Garesa* palace (almost between Ḥamar weyn and Šangānī).

In 1889 the Omani leased M. to the Italians and it was declared an Italian protectorate in 1892; in 1905 it was annexed to Benaadir becoming the capital of the new colony of ↗Italian Somaliland.

When the former ↗British Somaliland Protectorate and Italian Somaliland merged to become the independent Somali Republic in 1960, M., the largest city in Somalia, was chosen as capital city and was called the "Union City". Today the Union City lies in ruins, ravished by war lords and marauding gangs of rival militias.

The main landmarks of M. are its old mosques (Monneret de Villiard 1942; Inzerillo 1980; La Lomia 1982): the *ǧāmiᶜ* of Ḥamar weyn whose minaret was built in 1238; the mosque of Arbaᶜ Rukun dating to 1268; the mosque of Faḫraddīn whose *miḥrāb* dates 1269 and the mosque of ᶜAbdalᶜazīz in Šangānī probably also going back to the 13th cent.

The *Garesa* palace is one of most renowned urban constituent of M.: it was restored and transformed into a museum by the Italians in 1933–34 (Guida 568; Caroselli 1934).

Src.: JOAM DE BARROS, *Decadas da Ásia*: *dos fectos que os Portugueses fizeram no descobrimento et conquista dos mares et terras do Oriente*, *Decada I*, Lisboa 1552, dec. I, liv. VIII, cap. VI: 97v–98r; CerSom I, 229–357, here 232; ENRICO CERULLI, "Iscrizioni e documenti arabi per la storia della Somalia", *RSO* 9, 1926, 1–24 (repr. in: CerSom I, 1–24); ID., "Nuovi documenti arabi per la storia della Somalia", *RRALm*, ser. 6^{a}, 3, 1927, 392–410 (repr. in: CerSom I, 25–40); CHARLES DEFRÉMERY – BENIAMINO RAFFAELLO SANGUINETTI, *Voyages d'Ibn Battûta, texte arabe accompagné d'une traduction*, Paris 1969, index; HAMILTON ALEXANDER ROSSKEEN GIBB, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa A.D. 1325–1354*, Cambridge 1962, vol. 2, index; GREVILLE STEWART PARKER FREEMAN-GRENVILLE, "Coins from Mogadishu, ca. 1300 to ca. 1700", *Numismatic Chronicle* 123, 1963, 179–200; ID. – BRADFORD G. MARTIN, "A Preliminary Handlist of the Arabic Inscriptions of the Eastern African Coast", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 105, 1973, 98–122; *Guida* 564–73; WagFath; KURT WENDT, *Das Maṣḥafa Milād* (*Liber Nativitatis*) *und das Maṣḥafa Sellāsē* (*Liber Trinitatis*) *des Kaisers Zarᵓa Yaᶜqob*, Louvain 1962 (CSCO 221, 222 [SAe 41, 42]); YĀQŪT, *Muᶜǧam al-buldān* ('Dictionaries of the Countries'), vol. 5, Beirut 1986.

Lit.: EDWARD A. ALPERS, "Muqdisho in the Nineteenth Century: a Regional Perspective", *JAH* 24, 1983, 441–59 (repr. in: ID., *East Africa and the Indian Ocean*, Princeton, NJ 2009, 57–78); *šarīf* ᶜAYDARŪS, *Buġyat al-amāl fī taᵓrīḫ aṣ-Ṣūmāl* ('The Satisfaction of Hope on the History of Somalia'), Mogadishu 1955; FRANCESCO SAVERIO CAROSELLI, *Catalogo del museo della Garesa*, Mogadiscio 1934; LEE CASSANELLI, *The Shaping of Somali Society*: *Reconstructing the History of a Pastoral People, 1600–1900*, Philadelphia, PA 1982; MARGARET CASTAGNO, *Historical Dictionary of Somalia*, Metuchen, NJ 1975; NEVILLE H. CHITTICK, "Medieval Mogadishu", *Paideuma* 28, 1982, 45–62; JOSEPH M. CUOQ, *L'Islam en Éthiopie des origins au XVI^{e} siècle*, Paris 1981; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Arbaᶜ Rukun: note sull'ordinamento repubblicano di Mogadiscio nel medioevo", in: *Studi in memoria di Giuseppe Bovini* vol. 1, 257–74, Ravenna 1989 (Bibliteca di Felix Ravenna 6); ALESSANDRO GORI, *Contatti culturali nell'Oceano Indiano e nel Mar Rosso e processi di islamizzazione in Etiopia e Somalia*, Venezia 2006; GREVILLE STEWART PARKER FREEMAN-GRENVILLE, *The East African Coast*: *Select Documents from the First Century to the Earlier Nineteenth*, Oxford 1966; MICHELE INZERILLO, *Le moschee di Mogadiscio*: *contributo alla conoscenza dell'architettura islamica*, Palermo 1980; DAVID LAITIN – SAID SAMATAR, *Somalia*: *Nation in Search of a State*, Boulder, CO 1987; MARIA ROSARIA LA LOMIA, *Antiche moschee di Mogadiscio*, Palermo – São Paulo 1982; IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS, The *Modern History of Somaliland: from Nation to State*, London 1965; UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD, "I minareti di Mogadiscio", *RSE* 3 1943, 127–30.

Said Samatar – Alessandro Gori

Momina

Ayyo M. (birth name Šibbaš [Ebbaš] Wärq, b. [?], Yäğğu, d. 29 October 1929, Faraqasa) was the founder of the ↗pilgrimage centre (↗*zāwiya*) of ↗Faraqasa in the former ↗Arsi province and a spiritual ↗healer accepted beyond religious boundaries.

The *Qubba*, the grave and memorial of *ayyo* Momina in Faraqasa; photo 2005, courtesy of the author

M.'s father was *däğğazmač* Yəmär (ᶜUmar) Wäldu, her mother's name has not been ascertained (Märša Akalas, Dənqətu Gädlu or Wärqit Gädlu). While Muslims state that she was born a Muslim, Christian oral informants claim that she was a Christian in her early life, with the baptismal name of Ǝḫətä Gäbrəᵓel. Most probably, M. originally came from Sanqa in ↗Yäğğu where she was married to *grazmač* Wäldä Giyorgis, a nephew of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV. During the last quarter of the 19th cent., when her daughter Bäyyänäčč was five month old, M., for security reasons, left the baby with its father and went to Harärge, and then Arsi. In Bokke near Bišoftuu *šayḫ* Bar ᶜAli Ğami (or *aw* ᶜAli, d. 1890) became M.'s spiritual father. According to oral tradition then, following the order of her spirit, she subsequently stayed as a healer and mystic in Arsi (Gado Galama, Badu, Ittisa), in ↗Bale (Zaliba, Bärbäre) and again in Arsi (Gololča, Sole Qawwe). Finally, she established herself in Guna (Gemechu Jemal Geda 2009: 31–38).

During the first years in Guna *ayyo* M.'s followers co-existed peacefully with the other religious groups and the local authorities. As her popularity increased, however, she was opposed by the ↗*näfṭäñña* and the Amhara administration who had taken control over Arsi in 1886. Moreover, local Christian priests and purist Muslim scholars defied M. Eventually, her opponents accused her of claiming the titles of *yägunaw nəguś* ('King of Guna') and *yäᵓarusiwa əmmäbet* ('Lady of Arsi'), as she was called by her followers. As pressures mounted, *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷännən's (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) government in 1923 sent a committee to investigate these accusations. Based upon its report, the government expropriated M.'s possessions and detained her. M. was soon released and ordered to leave the area. During exile she continued her work in Araya and ↗Təčo (Gemechu Jemal Geda 2009: 38–41).

In 1926 the Ethiopian government, influenced by M.'s supporters at different administrative levels, ordered the restoration of land confiscated from her, except the land given to the Church. Subsequently, she settled in Faraqasa where she had held land since her first stay in Guna. The government finally approved her new settlement and she could establish her main centre (ibid. 41f.).

M. died of sickness, only two years after having established Faraqasa, and was buried there. Her tomb (*qubba*, s. ill.) attracts large numbers of pilgrims. M.'s daughter's son *qäññazmač* Tayyä Mäšäša, although a Christian, became her first spiritual heir (ibid. 42ff.).

Lit.: ULRICH BRAUKÄMPER, "The Islamization of the Arssi Oromo", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 1, 767–77; GEMECHU JEMAL GEDA, *The Faraqasa Indigenous Pilgrimage Center*: *History and Ritual Practices*, Saarbrücken 2009, 28–44 et passim; HABIB QASIM, *Seenaa Muuda Faraqasa*, *Jalqaba-2001* ('A History of the Faraqasa Pilgrimage Centre, from its Foundation to 2001'), Asälla 2001; MOHAMMED HASSEN, *A History of the Guna-Gannate Pilgrimage Center, from its Foundation to 1997*, B.A. thesis, History Department, Addis Ababa University 1998; SHIMELIS HABTE, *The Faraqasa Pilgrimage Center*, B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1989.

Gemechu Jemal Geda

Monarchy

I. The Christian Ethiopian monarchy
II. Other monarchies and chiefdoms

I. The Christian Ethiopian monarchy

Strictly speaking, a M. refers to a system of government centred around a single person who either actually rules or serves as the nominal sovereign. At various times monarchs have either been self-appointed or elected by limited groups of people. More commonly it is an inherited institution controlled by dynasties that claim inherent rights to rule. Such was the case in Christian Ethiopia and in other parts of the Horn of Africa.

The origins of Ethiopian kingship (↗Kingship, divine) have been much debated with little resolution. Ethiopian monarchical traditions seem to have been drawn from various sources: ancient Semitic practices; South Arabian precedents, quite possibly from Nile Valley influences; ancient traditions indigenous to the Horn of Africa; and Persian and probably Byzantine (↗Byzantine Empire) models (Caquot 1957; HabKön). In its turn, however, the Christian M. claimed Ethiopia to be the new Israel (↗Zion) and its dynasty the heirs of King ↗Solomon (↗Solomonic dynasty). The foundation ideology of the Christian M. was exposed in the ↗*Kəbrä nägäśt*.

The language describing Ethiopian Christian M. reflects diverse origins. The basic lexicon derives from the verb **ነግሠ** *nägśä* (Gəᶜəz) or **ነገሠ** *näggäśä* (↗Amharic), 'he ruled', from which the word ↗*nəguś* 'ruler' or 'king' derives. From at least the reign of ↗ᶜEzana at ↗Aksum, in the first half of the 4th cent., Ethiopian monarchs have styled themselves *nəguśä nägäśt*, 'ruler of rulers' or 'king of kings' (for earlier uses of such terminology s. ↗Sembrouthes). This term was used before the court converted to ↗Christianity (Vycichl 1957). Other titles include ↗*žanhoy*, which, etymologically, may originate from a Cushitic word for ↗elephant; ↗*aṣe*, the origin of which is even more obscure; and *ḥaṣani* (cf. Cerulli 1947). The use of the phrase *śəyyumä əgziʾabəḥer*, 'elect of God', a title that sets them apart from ordinary mortals, but opens the possibility of the king being judged by standards derived from religious precepts, was adopted in the 19th cent. and by *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV and was normative for his successors.

The Christian M. went through three primary stages: classical, medieval and modern. Our understanding of the institution rests on the second period (13th–18th cent.), in particular for the period when Ethiopian kings claimed descent from the biblical King Solomon. However, information on the period of the ↗Zagʷe M. is scant.

From at least the 13th cent. onwards, we have evidence of tension between normative monarchical standards established by canonical texts (↗*Fətḥa nägäśt*; BlunChr) and evolving, indigenous practice. While the latter was occasionally written down (↗*Śərᶜatä mängəśt*; Varenbergh 1915–16), and drew upon numerous literary sources, it was essentially created within a framework of common ↗law (↗Customary law). There was a sense of royal absolutism.

The economic basis for the power of the M. lay in the right of the ruler to distribute fiefs in return for military or other services (TadTChurch 98; ↗Feudalism; ↗*gʷəlt*; ↗*rəst*; ↗land tenure). However, in practice the power of the kings was greatly limited by powerful court figures, some of them dynastic offshoots; by local noble families; by severe institutional limitations, the absence of a functioning bureaucracy beyond the institutions of the royal court itself (↗Government); and by geo-political realities, since Ethiopia's rugged topography created difficulties in accessing or controlling diverse parts of the kingdom (↗Roads).

The head of the M. was the *nəguś* or *nəguśä nägäśt*. Succession was invariably through male descendants from the Solomonic dynasty, but primogeniture did not play a role. Sometimes reigning monarchs successfully designated their successors; just as often, however, succession was determined by the balance of political forces in the royal court (TadTChurch; Toubkis 2004; Pennec – Toubkis 2004).

The ruler and his entourage, which might comprise thousands of people, formed the royal court, whose physical expression was the ↗*kätäma* (s. also ↗*gəbbi*). The court mainly consisted of the family of the ruler, which usually counted several wives and concubines and dozens of sons and daughters; members of the extended royal family holding state positions; court clergy; the ↗*əč̣č̣äge* and his entourage; and lay officers (↗Titles, ranks and functions).

The M. expressed itself through symbols of power. The kettledrum ↗*nägarit* stood next to the throne and accompanied royal proclamations (↗*Awaǧ*). The Solomonic M. had also developed an elaborate ↗coronation ceremony held at Aksum, although this was actually only practised by four Emperors, ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob, ↗Śärṣ́ä Dəngəl, ↗Susənyos and ↗Iyasu I (HabKön 94). Among royal regalia there were also ↗crowns and ↗lions.

The defining elements of Ethiopian M. came into being only through a long evolution and by way of internal and external influences. The Amharic language would have become the main language of the state towards the reign of ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I. The same ruler invited Coptic officers who contributed to the modernisation of administration and upgraded the ↗army organization (↗Military units and organization). In the 15th cent., ↗Yəsḥaq, Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob and ↗Ǝskəndər sponsored contacts with Europe (↗Alfonso V, ↗Italy) and thus developed an active diplomatic agenda, probably with the help of Italian agents. In the 16th cent., diplomacy gained momentum with the contacts with ↗Portugal. It was also in this period that the M. began to use ↗historiography as a means to legitimize the memory of the past kings.

Traditionally, the M. was strongly attached to the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church. It has been also claimed that the Christian state, since the times of ↗Yəkunno Amlak, used monastic (↗Monasticism) and church foundations as a strategy to assert territorial expansion (Derat 1998: 123ff.). In the early 17th cent., however, political crisis and ↗Jesuit missionary influence pushed three rulers – ↗Yaᶜəqob, ↗Zädəngəl and Susənyos – to attempt an ambitious religious cum political reform and embrace ↗Catholicism.

While there was some continuity between the medieval Solomonic rule and that of the ↗Gondärine kingdom, the great upheavals of the 16th cent. (1527–32) must have deeply influenced the institution. Ethiopia's monarchical institutions collapsed in the last quarter of the 18th cent., giving way to a period of monarchical weakness known as the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*. M. was not revived again until the middle of the 19th cent. by ↗Tewodros II, ↗Yoḥannəs IV, and ↗Mənilək II, who drew on their knowledge of Solomonic traditions, as filtered through the Gondär period, but also adapted many of these ideas (Crummey 1988).

In the 20th cent. the evolution of the M. was largely coterminous with the career of ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. He profoundly modified the institutions he inherited, and attempted to develop an absolutism that resembled the monarchies of early modern Europe rather than those of his predecessors (s. Bahru Zewde 1984; ClapHS; Markakis 1974).

Src.: Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge (tr.), *The Queen of Sheba and her Only Son Menyelek* ..., London 1922; BlunChr; Paulos Tzadua (ed., tr.), *The Fetha Nagast*: *the Law of the Kings*, Addis Ababa 1968; Joseph Varenbergh, "Studien zur abessinischen Reichsordnung (Šərᶜata Mangəšt)", *ZA* 30, 1915–16, 1-45.

Lit.: Bahru Zewde, "Economic Origins of the Absolutist State in Ethiopia", *JES* 17, 1984, 1–29; Andre Caquot, "La royauté sacrale en Éthiopie", *AE* 2, 1957, 205–18; Enrico Cerulli, "L'Etiopia medievale in alcuni brani di scrittori arabi", *RSE* 3, 1943, 272–94 [repr. in: CerIslam 257–80]; ClapHS; Donald Crummey, "Imperial Legitimacy and the Creation of a Neo-Solomonic Ideology in Nineteenth Century Ethiopia", *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* 109, 1988, 13–43; Marie-Laure Derat, *La formation du domaine royal éthiopien sous la dynastie salomonienne* (*1270–1527*), Ph.D. thesis, Université de Paris I-Sorbonne, Paris 1998,

121, 123ff. (DerDom); HabKön 25ff., 94; JOHN MARKAKIS, *Ethiopia: Anatomy of a Traditional Polity*, Oxford 1974; PerGov 72ff.; HERVÉ PENNEC – DIMITRI TOUBKIS, "Reflections on the Notions of 'Empire' and 'Kingdom' in Seventeenth Century Ethiopia", *Journal of Early Modern History* 8, 2004, 229–58; TadTChurch 94ff.; DIMITRI TOUBKIS, *'Je deviendrai roi sur tout le pays d'Éthiopie.' Royauté et écriture de l'histoire dans l'Éthiopie Chrétienne* (*XVIe–XVIIIe siècles*), Ph.D. thesis, Université de Paris I, Paris 2004; WERNER VYCICHL, "Le Titre de Roi des Rois", *AE* 2, 1957, 193–203.

Donald Crummey

II. Other monarchies and chiefdoms

Although often associated with the Christian lands and with the ↗Solomonic dynasty, the institution of M. in Ethiopia existed beyond these realms. Forms of M. existed in several other regions of the Horn of Africa from ancient up to contemporary times (for a definition of M. within the African context cf. LewJimm 3 et passim). In addition, socio-political organisations that included some degree of centralisation and hierarchical structures also existed, such as chiefdoms and sacred M. (↗kingship, divine). The use of a precise terminology for the different political systems of the Orbis Aethiopicus is, however, made difficult by the frequent lack of reliable data, by the structural instability of the polities themselves and, not least, by the bias of past and contemporary European narratives on African societies. Indeed historical polities such as the ↗Gurage, ↗Fäṭägar, ↗Hadiyya, ↗Ǝnnarya and ↗Käfa are often described in European sources as "kingdoms" and their chiefs as "kings" (e.g., Alvares 1883: 141, 145, 166; BecRASO II, 283–86; III, 452, 457 et passim; V, 16; VI, 253–69; CecZeila vol. 2, 80 et passim; for a critical review of the use of the term Empire as employed by Bieber, cf. HabKön 294–97), but the degree of accuracy in the use of these terms remains unclear. It was often the case that authors projected categories from their own systems of thought onto societies they were conceptually ill-equipped to describe (for a valuable discussion of ethnocentrism in Western scholarship on Africa, cf. MacGaffey 2005, esp. 190–95, 203–06; and James 1990).

Before the rise of the Aksumite kingdom (↗Aksum), towards the 8th cent. B.C., the kingdom of ↗DᶜMT was in place in the areas around ↗Yəḥa, which may have also served as its capital. The kingdom had close links with South Arabia and probably ↗Nubia (cf. also ↗Kush). A polity that emerged later but of which little is known is the ḤBŠT (↗Ḥabašāt); Conti Rossini described it as a kingdom and located it in the areas to the south of the ↗Märäb and ↗Bäläsa in today's Eritrea (CRStor 113; Conti Rossini 1906).

With the emergence of ↗Islam, a number of centralized state systems were formed in the Muslim-ruled polities in the eastern part of the central Ethiopian highlands. An early state was the ↗Maḫzūmī sultanate of ↗Šäwa, in place from the 11th to the 13th cent. Later, the ↗Ifat and ↗ᶜAdal states appeared, ruled by the ↗Walašma dynasty from the 13th to the 16th cent. The emirate of ↗Harär was active from the 17th to the 19th cents. Other Muslim states that might have been ruled with some degree of centralization were ↗Dankáli (ᶜAfar) and ↗Dahlak as well as the Sudanese sultanate of Sinnār (↗Funǧ). However, the office of these rulers is better understood by referring to the indigenous titles they gave themselves, such as ↗*sulṭāns* and ↗*šayḫs*.

In ↗Damot, a M. ruled by queens as well as by kings, was allegedly active from the 10th cent. (Cerulli 1943: 284f.), but little is know of the actual functioning of this state and sources are scant (on the importance of female rulers in Africa cf. Irstam 1944: 167–75). Further to the south, between the ↗Abbay and the ↗Omo rivers, a number of Muslim and non-Christian states and principalities were also in place since at least the 14th cent.: Gurage, Fäṭägar, Hadiyya, Ǝnnarya, Wälaytta, and Käfa. Most of these polities were in contact with the Solomonic M. This occurred through war, which was frequently waged to exert supremacy, take booty and control ↗trade routes; but contacts also came by way of trade and intermarriage between the ruling families of the different M. (e.g., Alvares 1883: 52; ↗Ǝleni). It is through these contacts that political institutions might have been transmitted from one polity to the other. Although such diffusion of political and symbolic institutions was in no way unidirectional, local foundation narratives claim that several ruling families came from the northern Ethiopian regions dominated by ↗Amharic and ↗Təgrəñña-speakers (such as ↗Təgray and ↗Dämbəya; also ↗Amaaro) and other regions such as Ǝnnarya. According to these narratives northern migrants founded a number of local dynasties around the Omo valley: the Kawka rulers of ↗Dawro, originally from ↗Gondär; the "Təgre" rulers of ↗Wälaytta; the "Ǧänǧäro" (↗Yäm) ruling dynasties, also of alleged Gondär origin; the "Sippen" rulers in Gamo (Haberland 1993: 141; HabKön 242ff.); and the ↗Gonga, whose chiefdoms would have been founded by rulers from Hinnaryo (Ǝnnarya). Eike ↗Haberland presented these narratives and other analogies as evidence of the diffusion of socio-political institutions from Christian-Solomonic ("Hoch-Äthiopien") and "West-Cushitic" to non-Christian polities (Haberland 1976: 8ff.; HabKön 219–35). Yet, whilst such hypotheses are debatable (for a criticism of Haberland's position, cf. James 1990: 110), it appears that Ethiopian dynasties and societies became an important source of political legitimacy throughout the Ethiopian highlands.

During the 19th cent. a number of M. emerged in the ↗Sidamo and ↗Gibe regions, chiefly the Gonga kingdoms and the kingdom of ↗Ǧimma Abbaa Ǧifaar (LewJimm). Although their population was ethnically mixed, the use of the ↗Oromo language prevailed. M. institutions might have emerged there due both to the strengthening of the authority of traditional office-holders (↗*abbaa dulaa*, ↗*abbaa bokkuu*, ↗*mooti*) and to the rise of powerful clans and lineages (Abir 1965: 206; Oren 1970: 272ff.). Rulers such as ↗Abbaa Bagiboo I, ↗Abbaa Ǧifaar I, ↗Abbaa Ǧifaar II, ↗Abbaa Gomol I and ↗Abbaa Gomol II established strong states based on the intensification of trade (wherein ↗slavery was a major asset) and diplomacy, strict ↗taxation and control of the ↗army and the adoption of ↗Islam (cf. Abir 1965). The expansion of the kingdom of ↗Šäwa under ↗Mənilək II and the creation of the modern centralized Ethiopian state under ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I marked the end of these M. In the ↗Beni Šangul area during the 19th cent. the aristocratic group ↗Waṭāwīṭ rose as the dominant power.

Until recent times, there also existed principalities and chieftainships around the Omo valley, such as the ↗Dizi and ↗Maǧi. Their relatively small size, modest economy and dynamic political structure precluded their evolving into full-scale M., although they shared some institutions with the latter, such as ritual ↗burials and enthronement ceremonies (Haberland 1993: 128, 246–50, 293–96). More widespread than monarchical political institutions were forms of sacred kingship, such as those found among the ↗Šeko, Amaaro and "Ǧänǧäro" (Yäm) studied by Helmut ↗Straube, and the Baka studied by Adolf Ellegard ↗Jensen (VSAe III, 36, 45 et passim, 330 et passim; VSAe I, 31 et passim).

Src.: FRANCISCO ÁLVARES, *Verdadeira informação das terras do Preste João*, Lisboa 1883, 141, 145, 166; BecRASO II, 283–86; III, 452, 457 et passim; V, 16; VI, 253–69; CecZeila vol. 2, 80 et passim.

Lit.: MORDECHAI ABIR, "The Emergence and Consolidation of the Monarchies of Enarea and Jimma in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century", *JAH* 6, 1965, 205–19; ENRICO CERULLI, "Il sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XIII secondo un nuovo documento storico", *RSE* 1, 1941, 3–36 [repr. in CerIslam 207–43]; ID., "L'Etiopia medievale in alcuni brani di scrittori arabi", *ibid.* 3, 1943, 272–94 [repr. in CerIslam 257–80]; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Sugli Ḥabašāt", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 15, 1906, 39–59; CRStor 113; GILLIAN FEELEY-HARNIK, "Issues in Divine Kingship", *Annual Review of Anthropology* 14, 1985, 273–313; EIKE HABERLAND, "König und Paria in Afrika", in: ID. (ed.), *Festschrift für Ad. E. Jensen*, Part 1, München 1964, 155–66; ID., [review of LewJimm], *American Anthropologist* new.ser. 69, 1967, 124–26; ID., *Altes Christentum in Süd-Äthiopien, eine vergessene Missionsepoche*, Wiesbaden 1976 (Frankfurter historische Vorträge 2), 8ff.; ID., *Hierarchie und Kaste*: *Zur Geschichte und politischen Struktur der Dizi in Südwest-Äthiopien*, Stuttgart 1993 (SKK 100), 128, 141, 246–50, 293–96; HabKön 219–35, 242ff., 294–97; TOR IRSTAM, *The King of Ganda*: *Studies in the Institutions of Sacral Kingship in Africa*, Stockholm 1944, 167–75; WENDY JAMES, "Kings, Commoners, and the Ethnographic Imagination in Sudan and Ethiopia", in: RICHARD FARDON (ed.), *Localizing Strategies*: *Regional Traditions of Ethnographic Writing*, Edinburgh – Washington, DC 1990, 96–136; HERBERT S. LEWIS, "The Origins of African Kingdoms", *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 6, 23, 1966, 402–07; ID., "On Haberland's Review of Lewis", *American Anthropologist* new. ser. 70, 1968, 570–71; LewJimm; WYATT MACGAFFEY, "Changing Representations in Central African History", *JAH* 46, 2005, 189–207; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "Le regine d'Africa", in: FRANCESCO PRONTERA – BIAGIO VIRGILIO – DOMITILLA CAMPANILE (eds.), *Artissimum memoriae vinculum*: *Scritti di geografia storica e di antichità in ricordo di Gioia Conta*, Firenze 2004, 273–78; ROLAND OLIVER, "Kingship in Ethiopia" [Review of HabKön], *JAH* 7, 1966, 153–55; AMNON ORENT, "Refocusing on the History of Kafa prior to 1897: a Discussion of Political Processes", *African Historical Studies* 3, 2, 1970, 263–93; VSAe I, 31 et passim; III, 36, 45 et passim, 330 et passim.

Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner

Monasticism

The term M., derived from the Greek *mónos* 'one, alone', refers to a distinctive religious category of persons, who, through a specific discipline and religious orientation, devote themselves to religious goals. In Ethiopia, M. (Gə^{c}əz, Amh.: **ምንኵስና**, *mənk^{w}əsənna*) is one of the central institutions of Ethiopian ↗Christianity. As such, Ethiopian M. has managed to maintain its spirit and heritage in the changing world, and, till today, remains by far the strongest among the monastic traditions of the seven Oriental churches (with more than 1000 monasteries officially registered in 2001, s. Persoon 2003: 330).

History

The Ethiopian church tradition sees the forerunners and prototypes of M. in personages of O.T. and N.T.: ↗Enoch, ↗Melchizedek, Elijah on Mount Carmel and ↗Ezra, ↗John the Baptist, and, finally, Christ, "the first hermit" (Persoon 2003: 56f.). But the first examples of ascetic life are traditionally believed to have been brought to Ethiopia towards the end of the 5th cent., with the arrival of the ↗Nine Saints. They are thought to have established M. in the country through their activities in North Ethiopia (↗Təgray). *Abba* ↗Liqanos of Däbrä Qʷänaṣəl and *abba* ↗P̣änṭälewon of Däbrä ᶜAsbo settled on the outskirts of ↗Aksum. *Abba* ↗Afṣe went to ↗Yəḥa in the north-east. However, it is now difficult to prove the existence of ancient monastic communities at those sites (according to the Vitae, some of the Nine Saints, like P̣änṭälewon, clearly followed hermitic pattern of ascetic life; cp. Brita 2010). The most venerated of the group was *abunä* ↗Zämikaᵓel Arägawi, who is considered to have founded ↗Däbrä Damo, one of Ethiopia's most illustrious and ancient coenobitic ↗monasteries. Zämikaᵓel Arägawi's role in the introduction of the monastic tradition to Ethiopia is specifically stressed. His spiritual genealogy, included in his Vita, directly links him to the monastic tradition of ↗Egypt, making him a direct disciple of ↗Pachomius (a detail also featuring in the Vitae of other Nine Saints). The so-called monastic *Rules of Pachomius* (as well as, e.g., the Vita of St. ↗Anthony) were indeed translated into Gəᶜəz from Greek (cp. ↗Monastic literature), proving the relevance of M. in the early period of Ethiopian history.

Apart from the Nine Saints, apparently numerous groups of (anonymous) monks, remembered in the Ethiopian tradition as ↗*Ṣadəqan,* conducted their missionary activities in the period after the introduction of Christianity. Some of them became the first martyrs of the Ethiopian Church (↗Martyrdom). The (later) hagiography which emerged in connection with their veneration shows that they practised various forms of asceticism known in the Christian Middle East, but their direct impact on the nascent Ethiopian tradition of M. remains unclear. In fact, information on M. in ancient Ethiopia is still very scanty, difficult to support from archaeological evidence, and cannot provide a coherent picture of the phenomenon during the Aksumite period.

M. became a dominant force in the country's national Church only in the late 13th–14th cent., crucial to the spread of Christianity and underpinning the political domination of the ↗Solomonic dynasty. Having quickly encompassed vast areas, Ethiopian M. acquired a remarkably decentralized character. As a consequence, from the 13th to 15th cent., a number of M. movements arose, centred upon a few major monasteries and led by charismatic monastic leaders.

The earliest development of a new monastic movement, associated with the name of *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot and centred upon ↗Däbrä Libanos, the chief monastery in South Ethiopia, and related communities started in the historical ↗Šäwa province. It came to particular prominence during the reign of *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I. The monks of the "house of Täklä Haymanot" refused royal gifts, denounced royal polygamy, and denied royal jurisdiction over the monasteries. Within a century, however, they had made their peace with the rulers and henceforth Däbrä Libanos was a major recipient of royal patronage.

The second M. movement, associated with the 14th-cent. monk *abunä* ↗Ewosṭatewos, flourished in the regions of ↗Šire, ↗Säraye, ↗Ḥamasen, ↗Bur, and elsewhere. Basing his claim on the ↗*Senodos* Ewosṭatewos defended the observance of Saturday as a holy day similar to Sunday. The idea of rejecting the observance of the ↗Sabbath on Saturday as a "Jewish" practice might have originated with the Metropolitan and his entourage. Ewosṭatewos left the country, presumably to search for support. His followers in Ethiopia were persecuted, but ↗Däbrä Bizän and its daughter monasteries in Ḥamasen and elsewhere became centres of the ↗Ewosṭatean movement. In 1450 *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob summoned a Church council at ↗Däbrä Məṭmaq which resolved the discord by conceding to the demands of the dissidents (CRRicBerhan II, 145–53 [text]; TadTChurch 230f.). The Emperor himself favoured the observance of the Sabbath rest on Saturday. The Ewosṭateans were granted lands and were asked to evangelize the neighbouring regions. For their part, they agreed to accept ordination from the metropolitan, and the once very centralized movement, became a network of loosely connected monastic communities considering Ewosṭatewos or his close disciples as their spiritual fathers.

The third M. movement is linked with the mid-15th-cent. holy man *abunä* ↗Ǝsṭifanos. According to his Vita, Ǝsṭifanos, having received the monastic habit in the monastery of Däbrä Qʷäyäṣa, soon clashed with his monastic teachers over what he viewed as their rather lax behaviour and the lack of proper asceticism and monastic organization. After several quarrels he was denied communion and established his own community. He later clashed with Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, for he did not accept the latter's authority in religious matters. Ǝsṭifanos eventually died in prison, but the movement of his followers, the ↗Stephanites, was continued after his death by a number of his successors, with the monastery of ↗Gundä Gunde in ʿAgamä serving as its most important centre. The Stephanites reconciled themselves with the Church in the 16th cent.; Gundä Gunde retained its importance as one of the greatest centres of monastic culture, exerting influence over large areas of East Təgray.

Divisions within Ethiopian M. were partially a natural process: monastic institutions were founded in different natural, social and ethnic settings; the monastic "houses", or congregations, emerged independent from each other, and were only loosely bound by ecclesiastic authority. Monastic movements were rooted not only in diverse views concerning certain theological issues and questions of monastic organization (recurrent surge of the purist and radical attitudes to the ascetic life), but also in internal divisions within the vast country, and, occasionally, they reflected local opposition to the centralizing policy of the emperors. At the same time, the Ethiopian monastic movements shared many ethical values, attitudes and cultural features inherited from M. in general.

The divisions within Ethiopian M. became deeper in the 17th–19th cent., in the course of the Christological controversies (↗Christology), aggravated by the decentralisation of the state during the period of ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*. In the late 19th–20th cent., Ethiopian M. regained its high status and was elevated to one of the symbols of the Ethiopian nation (with monasteries retaining a lot of privileges despite the policies of centralisation and secularisation pursued by *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I).

Monasticism, State and Society

Until the modern period, monks were often the only educated social group in Ethiopia; monasteries and churches being the only centres of ↗education. In religious and political matters, when skills other than military skills were required, the monarch was frequently assisted by clerics. For example, the emperor's secretary and chronicler, ↗*ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz*, was usually recruited from among the monastic clergy. From the 15th cent. onward, heads of at least some of the monasteries and churches were always at the side of the emperor, and others were summoned when their services were needed. Over a long period, the monasteries were the most permanent institutions in Ethiopian society, while the monks were its most organized and flexible part (cp. Persoon 2003: 64). Monastic leaders always played an active role in the political life of the court, forming alliances with local rulers and with members of the royal family, and seeking to influence the succession process. The influential ↗*ʿaqqabe säʿat* was originally appointed among the monks of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Šəmäzana and later those of ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos. In the 15th cent. the abbot of Däbrä Libanos received the title of ↗*əč̣č̣äge* and was seen as the head of Ethiopian M. Throughout much of the subsequent history of the Church the *əč̣č̣äge* of Däbrä Libanos continued to be the most important indigenous cleric, although he often lived outside of the monastery, or did not even come from it. During the period of the ↗Gondärine kingdom he resided in ↗Gondär; the community of Däbrä Libanos itself moved closer to the imperial capital. Since 1951, and the ordination of an Ethiopian as head of the Church, the office of *əč̣č̣äge* has largely lost its raison d'etre.

Organization

Ethiopian M. has been coenobitic in its mainstream (the so-called *andənnät*-rule); idiorythmic types of organization also existed, giving the members of the community more independence and privacy (the so-called *qʷərit*). Besides, there is a strong tradition of eremitic asceticism which still survives: hermits living within the frames of the organizational structures of the respective monasteries, or independent hermits (both accommodated within the indigenous concept of *baḥtawi*, s. ↗hermits; cp. Persoon 2003: 236ff.).

Coenobitism in Ethiopia can be traced back to Pachomius, the founder of Egyptian M. Although the Ewosṭateans and Stephanites had a clear monastic organization, which combined a well-defined hierarchical structure with extreme regimentation regarding the behaviour of the monks, Ethiopian M. was generally characterized by a considerable degree of autonomy. Despite the importance of the Ethiopian monastic "houses", they rarely possessed the clarity and cohesiveness of Catholic “orders”. Based upon the general principles of the ascetic life, the particular communities usually determined their rules by themselves (Gəᶜəz: *śərᶜat*, *śərᶜatä gädam*; Amh.: *dänb*; usually transmitted orally, in a few cases written down; s. EAE vol. 3, “Monastic literature: normative rules and rituals”); sometimes, the rules are traced back to the authority and charisma of the community’s founder himself. Individual monasteries differ considerably regarding the details and strictness of their rules. The high Church authorities, including the metropolitan (↗*Pappas*), had only very limited ability to intervene in the daily activities of the monasteries. Again, the intervention of emperors in monastic affairs did not usually affect internal regulations (but was mostly limited to deposing and appointing heads of monasteries).

A certain “fluidity” and flexibility has always been referred to as a remarkable feature of M. in Ethiopia. Apart from the coenobium and hermits, Ethiopian M. includes a number of alternative lifestyles (not always considered positively by the Church hierarchy): wandering mendicant monks; monks and nuns living at local churches individually or in small groups; elderly monks and nuns living with their families after they took the monastic vow (Persoon 2003: 230–36).

The classic abode of the monastic community is the “wilderness” or “desert” (cp. ↗*gädam*), in most cases, in areas which are difficult to access, far from large settlements. However, M. in the urban context is a phenomenon which quickly gained importance (ibid. 216–23).

Monastic Discipline and Asceticism

By virtue of their monastic vocation and ascetic life style, monks acquired a unique status which enabled them to fill a vital mediative role in Ethiopian society. The future monks were required to undergo a very strict noviciate; if accepted, they underwent an initiatory rite (taking the monastic vows) which stripped them of their secular identity (cp. ↗*Śərᶜatä mənkʷəsənna*), of the bonds of kinship and the norms of secular society. They were reborn as new social beings. This is most prominently symbolized by the assumption of a new garb: a long cloak (*qämis*), a leather ↗*qənat*-girdle, a round cap (*qobᶜ*), a new name (↗Names), and, occasionally the ↗*askema*, during the later stages of the ascetic life. The custom of having boys and girls entering into monastic life at an early age was wide-spread (but not permitted in modern Ethiopia). It is also common for older men and women, generally widowers and widows, to take monastic vows and enter a monastery. Women’s M. have both declined and flourished, with the number of nuns increasing at the present time (cp. Persoon 2003: 265–70; ↗Nunneries).

According to the ↗*Fətḥa nägäśt*, the major work of Canon ↗law, monks are obliged to be celibate, to abandon their families, to assume the monastic garb, to live with their brethren, to abstain (as much a possible) from meat and other “luxuries”, and to practice asceticism (Paulos Tzadua 1968: 66f.).

The common spiritual and practical guidelines of M. were known in Ethiopia due to translation of monastic literature (*Maṣäḥəftä mänäkosat*). Most conspicuous among these ascetic labours are celibacy and virginity, poverty, ↗fasting and strong dietary restrictions (esp. abstinence from prepared foods). Reciting the ↗Psalter or prayers is also a central component of monastic discipline. The Ethiopian monastic tradition follows the ↗*Arägawi mänfäsawi* in distinguishing ten “degrees of the monks” (*maᶜərägä mänäkosat*) – ten spiritual levels in monastic attainment. Wearing uncomfortable or even painful garments, lack of sleep, restricted movement (standing in one place for long periods) were among the formative ascetic practices in Ethiopia; these and other “exotic” ascetic practices of self-control and self-mortification are said to still exist in Ethiopia (though exercised only by a minority). Some ascetics claim to have acquired supernatural powers (Persoon 2003: 93–97). Esp. in the hagiography, the most extreme ascetics are frequently said to leave the human realm and are compared to ↗angels.

The requirement of conformity of practice sometimes created tensions between the community and individual practitioners striving to perform feats of extreme asceticism.

Monasticism in Betä Ǝsraᵓel

The period that saw the emergence of the three great Christian monastic movements also witnessed a parallel development related to the increasing encroachment of the Christian kingdom. Although a precise date for the emergence of M. among ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel cannot be given, the evidence strongly suggests that, as elsewhere in Ethiopia, the rise of M. was closely related to the decline of their political standing. This became particularly important after the 17th cent. when the M. communities provided the main focus of leadership following the demise of the secular rulers.

Some scholars have suggested that the emergence of M. may have been a crucial step in the ethnogenesis of the Betä Ǝsraʾel. Although Christian sources report that a 14th-cent. Christian monk named ↗Qozmos joined the ↗*Ayhud*, the Betä Ǝsraʾel attribute the origin of their M. to *abba* ↗Sabra, a Christian monk from the 15th cent. who came to them as a missionary but instead converted to their religion. His most important disciple was *abba* ↗Ṣägga Amlak, who according to some traditions was a son of *aṣe* Zärʾa Yaʿəqob. *Abba* Sabra is credited not only with introducing M., but also with the composition of their liturgical ↗music and some religious texts. The laws of purity are also credited to his influence. His disciples are said to have composed prayers. Like Christian M., Betä Ǝsraʾel M. was primarily coenobitic, although individual hermits also existed.

In the 19th cent. the M. of Betä Ǝsraʾel faced great difficulties. Thus *abba* Wəddaye, the chief monk of the ↗Qʷara region, presided over a revival, at a time when the Betä Ǝsraʾel religion was faced with extinction. In the 1860s another monk, *abba* Mäḥari stood at the head of a massive migration of Betä Ǝsraʾel who sought to leave Ethiopia, reconstructing the Biblical exodus. The missionary Johannes Martin ↗Flad claimed that Hurharwa, the largest Betä Ǝsraʾel monastery, had about 200 monks, but Joseph ↗Halévy reported only 12 to 15. The number of Betä Ǝsraʾel monks appears to have declined towards the end of the 19th cent. as a result of criticism from both Protestant and Jewish missionaries and because of the great famine (↗*Kəfu qän*). This decline continued throughout the 20th cent. and only a few individuals remained. No organized M. exists today.

M. is also a major feature of life for the ↗Betä Abrəham craftsmen of northern Šäwa and southern Wällo, who may be the descendants of Betä Ǝsraʾel. Most Betä Abrəham live in some 20 monastic communities.

↗Holy men; ↗Saints

Src.: CRRicBerhan II, 145–53 (text); PAULOS TZADUA (ed., tr.), *The Fetha Nagast*. **ፍትሐ ፡ ነገሥት**. *The Law of the Kings*, Addis Ababa 1968.

Lit.: *Abba* AYELE TEKLE HAYMANOT, "Il monachesimo femminile nella tradizione della chiesa etiopica", *Claretianum* 19, 1979, 215–26; ANTONELLA BRITA, *I racconti tradizionali sulla «seconda cristianizzazione» dell'Etiopia*: *Il ciclo agiografico dei nove santi*, Napoli 2010 (StAfEt 10); WILLIAM W. BUSHELL – BAIDEMARIAM DESTA – KIM BUSHELL, "From Hagiography to Ethnography via Psychophysiology: Towards an Understanding of Advanced Ethiopian Christian Ascetics", in: *PICES* 11, vol. 2, 41–60; ENRICO CERULLI, "Il monachismo in Ethiopia", in: *Il monachesimo orientale*: *Atti del Convegno di Studi Orientali che sul predetto tema si tenne a Roma, sotto la direzione del Pontificio Istituto Orientale* …, Roma 1958 (OrChrA 152), 259–78; DerDomTh; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT, *Äthiopien*: *Christliches Reich zwischen Gestern und Morgen*, Wiesbaden 1970, 121ff.; GETATCHEW HAILE, "Ethiopian Monasticism", in: *CE* vol. 3, 990–95; ID., "Ethiopian Monasticism", in: WILLIAM M. JOHNSTON (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, Chicago, IL – London 2000, 454–59; ID., "The Cause of the Ǝsṭifanosites: a Fundamentalist Sect in the Church of Ethiopia", *Paideuma* 29, 1983, 93–119; FRIEDRICH HEYER, *Die Kirche Äthiopiens*: *Eine Bestandsaufname*, Berlin — New York 1971 (Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann 22), 145ff., 193ff.; OTTO A. JÄGER, "Mönche und Malereien in Äthiopischen Klöstern", *Der Monat* 12, 135, 1959, 29–37; KAḪSAY GÄBRÄ ƎGZIʾABƎḪER, **ምንኵስና ፡ በኢትዮጵያ ፡ ዛሬና ፡ ትናንትና** (*Mənkʷəsənna bäʾityopya*: *zarenna tənantənna*, 'Monasticism in Ethiopia: Today and Yesterday'), Addis Abäba 2000 A.M. [2007/08 A.D.]; STEVEN KAPLAN, *Les Falāshās*, Tournhout 1991 (Fils), 182f.; GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Le monachisme en Éthiopie. Esquisse d'une histoire", in: FLORENCE JULLIEN – MARIE-JOSEPH PIERRE (eds.), *Monachismes d'Orient. Images, échanges, influences*: *Hommage à Antoine Guillaumont*, Turnhout 2011 (Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études. Sciences Religieuses 148), 133–47; OTTO F. MEINARDUS, "The Ethiopian Monks in Egypt", *Publications de l'Institut d'Études Orientales de la Bibliothèque Patriarcale d'Aléxandrie* 11, 1962, 61–70; MARIO DI ABIY-ADDÌ [Ayyälä Täklä Haymanot], "Inizi, vicende e situazione attuale del monachesimo della Chiesa etiopica", *Studi Francescani* 67, 1970, 1331–39; RICHARD KEIR PANKHURST, "A Visit to the Craftsmen's *Gädam*, or Monastery, of Mänteq, near Ankobär, Shäwa", *Africa* (Roma) 53, 1998, 587–96; ID., "Two Visits to Mugär Gädam, Shäwa", *Aethiopica* 4, 2001, 169–78; KIRSTEN PEDERSEN, "Les moniales éthiopiennes à Jérusalem: *Mahbär* et *Qurit*", in: *PICES* 10, 383–90; JOACHIM PERSOON, "The Ethiopian Monk: a Changing Concept of Masculinity", *JES* 35, 1, 2002, 43–66; ID., *Central Ethiopian Monasticism 1974–1991*: *the Survival of an Ancient Institution in an Ancient World*, Ph.D. thesis, SOAS, London 2003 (Lit.); KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY, *Music, Ritual and Falasha History*, East Lansing, MI 1989, 79–88; DANIEL STRAMARA, "The Function of Monasticism in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church", *American Benedictine Review* 41, 3, 1990, 273–90; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Some Notes on the Fifteenth Century Stephanite 'Heresy' in the Ethiopian Church", *RSE* 22, 1966 [1968], 103–15; ID., "The Abbots of Däbrä-Hayq 1248–1535", *JES* 8, 1, 1970, 87–117; TadTChurch; OLIVIER TOURNY, "Abba Bayene, le dernier moine juif éthiopien", *Cahiers de Musiques Traditionelles* 15, 2002, 96–98; ROBERT VAN DE WEYER, "The Monastic Community in Ethiopia", *EthObs* 1, 1973, 8–14; MARTA CAMILLA WRIGHT, "At the Limits of Sexuality: the Feminity of Ethiopian Nuns", *JES* 35, 1, 2002, 27–42.

Steven Kaplan

Moors

M. is a term historically applied in European languages to black people (mainly Africans; Eng. variant: “blackamoors”), Arabs, Berbers and Muslims. This entry focuses on the connection of this ancient term with terms of similar meaning such as Aethiops (cp. ↗Ityopis), and, in addition, on the identification of African background in Europe with the Ethiopian region (↗Aithiopía).

The use of M. is early attested in ↗Strabo (s. EAE vol. 5; Basset 1901: iii) according to whom the term Μαῦϱοι was employed by the Romans (Μαυϱούσιοι by the Greeks) to designate a specific ethnic group inhabiting western Libya (Strabo 1903, XVII, 3, 2), i.e. most of the area occupied by present-day Morocco. This use of the term lingered on in analogous terms used to describe the Turkish and North African invaders of Spain in the Middle Ages, and their descendants.

M. was first used as a synonym for the Greek and Latin term “Aethiops” and, as in Martin Luther’s German Bible translation, for the Hebrew ↗Kush (translated as “Mohrenland”, ‘land of the M.’, in other translations rendered as Aithiopía; Ezek 29: 10). While that term was originally used mainly to designate Nubians, there was no precise delimitation of reference, as dark skinned Arabs and even Indians were likewise included (↗“India” as name of Ethiopia). During the early European incursions into Africa the terms “Ethiopian” and “M.” were subsequently applied to all African people of dark complexion and as a synonym for “blacks” or “negroes” (from Lat. *niger* ‘black’).

Contact between white Europeans and Christian Ethiopians and Africans increased following the Crusades (↗Italy). A focal point was Sicily, where blacks had been living since the time of the Saracen government (827–1061). European awareness of Africans intensified considerably when the Roman Emperor and German King, Frederick II, ruled over Sicily. Among the Saracen bodyguards and women of his Sicilian court were many blacks. Johannes Maurus had a remarkable career. Born probably as a Muslim slave (↗Slavery) of African descent, he was raised at the court and became the King’s Chamberlain, commander of the Saracen colony of Lucera (Apulia) and vizier of Sicily. Another African Sicilian, Benedict “the Moor” (1526–89), was canonised as a saint in 1807. He was the son of the “Ethiopians” Christopher and Diana Manasseri in San Fratello, Sicily, former slaves who had converted to Christianity. He later became the patron saint of Palermo. A much earlier black saint was St. Mauritius, originally a 3rd-cent. Christian Roman officer from Thebes in Egypt of Nubian origin, martyred in Agaunum (St. Maurice, Switzerland), who became patron saint of the Holy Roman Empire in 962.

Various accounts of the lives of the saints indicate that high rank positions were accessible to black Africans. The majority of them came to Europe over the Mediterranean Sea as slaves, captured mostly in the Sudan and south of it. Sold in Egypt or the Cyrenaica (north-eastern Libya), they were brought to the centres of the European slave trade, Genoa, Naples, and Barcelona.

African communities developed in Venice and Naples in the 16th cent. Spreading from Italian Renaissance cities to the north, “court M.” became fashionable among European nobles as an adornment and an indication of wealth and prestige. The following “Court M.” are particularly noteworthy: Ibrahim Hannibal (Abraham Ganibal), an officer of Tsar Peter the Great and governor of Reval in the 17th cent. (↗Pushkin, Alexander), called “Ethiopian” by his son-in-law and therefore generally assumed to be from Ethiopia; the 18th-cent. court educator, Angelo Soliman, possibly of Ethiopian (↗Oromo?) origin too, in Vienna (recent research identifies him rather as a Kanuri from north-eastern Nigeria). A number of other “court M.” might have been Oromo. The tradition of “court M.” disappeared only in the early 19th cent. The Oromo Pauline ↗Fathme and Karl Aman ↗Habasch, purchased by German noblemen in Egypt, were among the last who came to Europe within the framework of this court tradition.

In the Middle Ages, the M. also became a prominent figure in literature and arts. There are numerous black characters in medieval epics and poetry called M., the most renowned examples being the black queen of the south, Belacâne, and her son, Feirefîz of *Parzivâl*, by Wolfram of Eschenbach (1200). Some theories suggest that the figure of Belacâne was influenced by Arabic texts referring to the myth of the Queen of Sheba (↗Makədda; cp. ↗Prester John). In the 15th and 16th cents., the term was used for the famous Ethiopian college in Rome (↗Santo Stefano dei Mori).

Further, biblical characters of African origin were widely used, the most famous of which was the Ethiopian Queen of Sheba. From the end of the 13th cent., Gaspar (Caspar), one of the Three ↗Magi, was depicted by Europeans as black. In the Renaissance and Baroque, Africans often figure as ornamental details on portraits of Europeans, coats of arms and other forms of pictorial representation. From the late 16th cent. onwards, "M." were common on European stages, e.g., on Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* and *Othello*. The regional focus, however, shifts to western Africa and the Americas, especially in the second half of the 18th cent., with the slave trade coming to the fore.

In general, the image of Africans began with a mostly positive, respectful, attitude which prevailed into the late Middle Ages; this was replaced by "exotic" curiosity in the early modern age, and gave way to predominantly pejorative notions ensuing the transatlantic slave trade.

Src.: RENÉ BASSET, *Moorish Literature* ..., New York 1901, iii; STRABO, *The Geography of Strabo*, tr. and ed. by HANS CLAUDE HAMILTON – WILLIAM FALCONER, 3 vols., London 1903–06.

Lit.: ROSS BRANN, "The Moors?", *Medieval Encounters* 15, 2009, 307–18; LADISLAS BUGNER et al., *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, vol. 2: *From the Early Christian Era to the 'Age of Discovery'*, New York 1979, 59–128; HANS WERNER DEBRUNNER, *Presence and Prestige*: *Africans in Europe*, Basel 1979; GIORGIO LEVI DELLA VIDA, "Mori", in: *Enciclopedia Italiana*, vol. 23, Roma 1934, 851–52; ÉVARISTE LÉVI-PROVENÇAL – EMERI VAN DONZEL, "Moors", in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 7, 235–36; IVAN VAN SERTIMA (ed.), *Golden Age of the Moor*, New Brunswick 1992.

Ralph Hermann – Lorenz Auf der Maur

Muḥammad ᶜAlī

M.ᶜA. *pasha* (محمد علي, birth name Meḥmet ᶜAlī; d. 1848) was a Turkish-speaking Ottoman officer who after being posted to ↗Egypt managed to capture local power, and force his *sulṭān*, Maḥmud II, to recognize him as a *pasha,* a provincial governor, in 1805. He remained in power until his death and by then gained the reputation of "the founder of modern Egypt", ensuring the succession of rule to his family, which ruled until 1952. During M.ᶜA.'s rule – as in other periods when Egypt was ruled by a local government, such as the ↗Fāṭimids and the ↗Mamluks – its relationship with Ethiopia intensified.

Striving to build a modern, European-like military power, M.ᶜA. initiated a multi-dimensional modernization process revolving around the Nile economy. He built a new system of dams and irrigation canals, ridding the country of the threat of annual drought. His ambition combined the expansion of Egypt in all directions with a series of modernization projects such as the introduction of cotton and a modern monetary system, importing expertise in various fields from the West, and establishing various engineering and medical schools. He first sought to expand his empire with the authorization of the *sulṭān*, and in 1813–18 his modernized army destroyed the first Saudi-Wahhabi state in Arabia. In 1818 he was rewarded with the province (*vilayet*) of Jeddah, which included ↗Massawa and the Ottoman *nāᵓib* in ↗Ḥərgigo. Between 1820–21 M.ᶜA. initiated the major enterprise of conquering the ↗Sudan. His army was the first Egyptian–Muslim force to penetrate south of Nubia, destroy the sultanates of ↗Funǧ, ↗Sinnār and Kordofan, and unite the Nile Valley under Cairo. In 1830 his men in the Sudan established Khartoum as the capital, and went on colonizing the country, occasionally violating Ethiopia's territory in the process. No direct conflict developed because Ethiopia, during the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*, made no unified effort to counter attack, and both sides preferred only to harbour the other's rebels. In 1838 an Egyptian mapping expedition penetrated through ↗Mätämma, following which M.ᶜA. had to assure the French he had no designs on Ethiopia. Of later significance for Ethiopian–Eritrean history was the Egyptians' encouragement of the Mirġānī family to spread Sufi Islam to the northern Sudan and in the direction of the future Eritrea, among the ↗Beni ᶜAmər clans. This campaign culminated in 1840 with the establishment of Kassala as the *Mirġānīya* headquarters.

M.ᶜA.'s policy of not interfering actively with Ethiopian affairs was also manifested in his correspondence with *ras* ↗Ali Alula. The Oromo strongman presented himself as "the *sulṭān* of Ethiopia" and asked the Egyptians not to send a new *abunä*. In 1841, however, M.ᶜA. authorized the sending of *abunä* Sälama, thus indirectly contributing to the beginning of Ethiopia's recuperation. In the same year his men abandoned Massawa.

M.ᶜA.'s restrained policy in Ethiopia can be explained by his general strategy. His whole Sudanese–Nile enterprise was, in his eyes, secondary to the main goal of expanding to the core lands of the Ottoman world. In 1831 he defied the *sulṭān* and invaded Palestine and greater Syria. In December 1832 he defeated the Ottoman central army but was prevented from marching on Istanbul by European intervention. His centralizing administration remained in the occupied greater Syria, introducing various changes, one of which was relevant to Ethiopia. In 1838 the Coptic monks obtained control over the ↗Dayr as-Sulṭān monastery in Jerusalem, depriving the Ethiopians of their gate keys until 1970. After M.ᶜA. again attacked the *sulṭān*'s army in June 1839, the European powers, for their own considerations, decided to force him back. In September 1840 the British landed in Beirut and M.ᶜA.'s army retreated to Egypt.

Following the demise of his ambitions concerning the Middle East and ↗Ottoman Empire, the *pasha* turned his focus to the Nile. In 1846 he leased Massawa in order to begin building a modern trade-route via the ↗Red Sea to Khartoum. He was by now, however, too exhausted and senile to pursue a renewed effort. In 1848, just before he died, he returned Massawa to Istanbul.

M.ᶜA.'s importance from an Ethiopian viewpoint lay mainly in the fact that he revived Egypt as an independent and modern state that centred on the Nile. This model of centralization also served as a blueprint for the future emperor ↗Tewodros II.

Lit.: MORDECHAI ABIR, "The Origins of the Ethiopian-Egyptian Border Problem in the Nineteenth Century", *JAH* 8, 1967, 443–61; AbPrince; HENRY DODWELL, *The Founder of Modern Egypt – A Study of Muhammad Ali*, Cambridge 1931 (repr. 1968); HAGGAI ERLICH, *Ethiopia and the Middle East*, Boulder, CO 1994; ID., *The Cross and the River, Ethiopia, Egypt and the Nile*, Boulder, CO 2002; ALAME ESHETE, "Une Ambassade du Ras Ali en Egypte", *JES* 9, 1, 1971, 1–8; AFAF LUTFI AL-SAYYID MARSOT, *Egypt in the Reign of Muhammad Ali*, Cambridge 1984 (Cambridge Middle East Library); RubInd; RubActa I.

Haggai Erlich

Muḥammad al-Ḥasan al-Mīrghanī

M. (محمد الحسن الميرغني, Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad ᶜUṯmān b. Muḥammad Abī Bakr al-Mīrġanī, also known as *as-sayyid* al-Ḥasan Ab Ğallābīya; b. 28 March 1820, Bāra, Kordofan, d. 23 November 1869, as-Sanīya, near Kassala) was a son of Muḥammad ᶜUṯmān al-Mīrġanī, founder of the *Ḫatmīya* ↗Islamic brotherhood, and Ruqayya bint Ğallāb from Kordofan. M. spent his childhood in the ↗Sudan before joining his father in the Ḥiǧāz (↗Arabia) at the age of 14. He received a solid education in a range of Islamic religious sciences from his father and other Ḥiǧāz teachers. His initiation to Sufism included the performance of different exercises such as a 19-day long recitation of *wird* ('litany'), a lengthy *ḫalwa* ('retreat'), and a *ziyāra* ('visitation') to the grave of Prophet ↗Muḥammad in Medina. In 1843 M. crossed the Red Sea to ↗Sawākin with his father who ordered him to remain in the Sudan and act there as his representative.

M. travelled widely in the Sudan and in Eritrea, especially in those areas where his father had been successful in initiating followers in the past. He settled in the eastern Sudan at the foot of ↗Kassala Mountain in a village, as-Sanīya, which came to be known as "Ḫatmīya". The village served as the order's base of operations and one of its most important centres for followers in the Sudan and in Eritrea.

From the 1840s to the end of his life M. was able to expand the influence of the *Ḫatmīya* order in many areas of the Sudan and in Eritrea. This success should be understood in the context of societal, religious and political transformation in the 19th cent. The centralization and consolidation of political authority under the Egyptian administration transformed structures of social, political and religious authority in "tribes" and other social groupings. New holy families associated with the "Islamic Revival" appeared on the Sudanese scene. These families were centralized yet geographically unbound. The Mīrġanī family was perhaps the most successful in developing its influence by combining religious prestige with a new style of organization and religious leadership. Its measured cooperation with the Egyptian administration also significantly contributed to its appeal and effectiveness. In some sense the *Ḫatmīya* served as an intermediary between the Egyptian administration and the people and contributed to maintaining a degree of social stability. For example, in 1864–65 M. used his influence to end a mutiny of Sudanese troops in Kassala.

M.'s success in consolidating the *Ḫatmīya* in the Sudanese area can also be attributed to his person. His mother was Sudanese, he spent most of his life in the Sudan and was venerated more as a Sudanese Sufi holy man (↗*walī*) devoted to his followers through the application of his *baraka* ('blessing power') than a Meccan scholar as his father was. Therein lies another factor for the success of the *Ḫatmīya*: its leaders were respected both as scholars by the *ᶜulamāᵓ* establishment and were venerated by commoners as holy men. In other words, the synthesis between what is referred to as "orthodox" and "popular" approaches to religious devotion and practice "Sudanized" the *Ḫatmīya* and integrated it into pre-existing traditional and local religious configurations without radically disrupting them.

Under M.'s leadership the *Ḫatmīya* was able to spread its influence in the northern and eastern Sudan and Eritrea, and to some extent in the central Sudan and Kordofan. In the eastern Sudan the *Ḫatmīya* attracted followers from among the ↗Beǧa groupings: the Bišarin, ↗Hadándowa, Amarar and the ↗Beni ᶜAmər. M. attracted followers also in Eritrea, mainly among the Beni ᶜAmər, the Halanqa and the ↗Ḥabab, who were going through momentous processes of internal transformation. His activities went hand in hand with Egyptian efforts to establish their control in the area and also contributed significantly to the process of Islamization and the consolidation of recently converted Muslim communities in Eritrea.

M. died of fever while on a visit to Ǧabal Taqorba in the Beni ᶜAmər area. He was buried in as-Sanīya, where a shrine was erected over his grave. M. is still deeply venerated as one of Sudan's foremost holy men.

Among M.'s few and short written works, various devotional prayers were compiled and published in Muḥammad ᶜUṯmān al-Mīrġanī, *Maǧmūᶜ al-awrād al-kabīr* (published several times in Cairo, s. O'Fahey 1994: 192f.), as well as a vision of the Prophet in a dream published in *ar-Rasāʾi al-Mīrġanīya*, Cairo 1939.

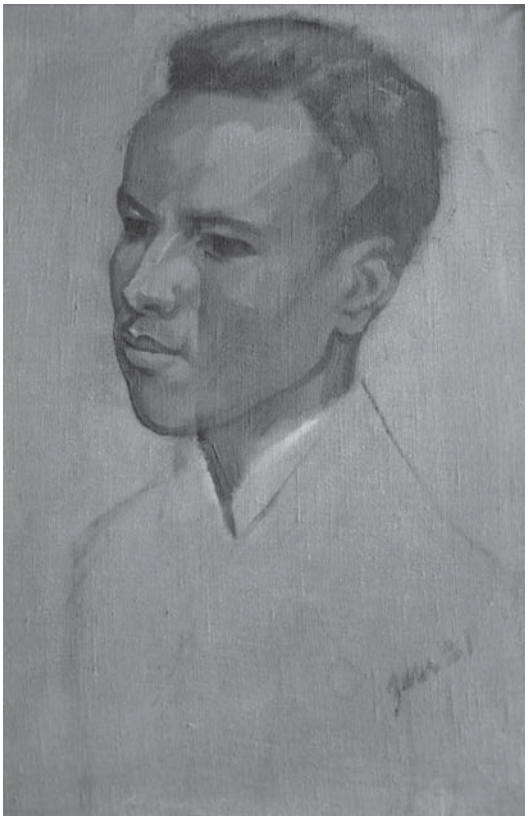
Src.: AḤMAD B. IDRĪS B. AḤMAD AL-RUBĀṬĀBĪ, *Al-Ibāna an-nūriyya fī šaʾn ṣāḥib aṭ-ṭarīqa al-ḫatmīya* ('The Shining Explanation on the Issue of the Follower of *Ḫatmīya*'), ed. by MUḤAMMAD IBRAHIM ABU SALIM, Beirut 1991 [original 1890], 128–41; MUḤAMMAD B. ᶜABD AL-MAǦĪD AS-SARRĀǦ, *Al-manāhiǧ al-ᶜalīya fī tarāǧim as-Sāda al-Mīrġanīya* ('The Noble Roots concerning the Biographies of the Lords of the Mīrganīya'), Khartoum 1955, 40–41; ZAĠLŪL MUḤAMMAD AL-WAṬANĪ, *Abṭāl al-ḫatmīya* ('The Heroes of the Ḫatmīya'), Cairo 1952, 11–30.

Lit.: NICOLE GRANDIN, "Al-Sayyid Muhammad al-Hasan al-Mirghani", *Islam et Sociétés au Sud du Sahara* 3, 1989, 107–18; ALBRECHT HOFHEINZ, "Sons of a Hidden Imam: the Genealogy of the Mīrghanī Family", *Sudanic Africa* 3, 1992, 9–27; HillBD 157; ALI SALEH KARRAR, *The Sufi Brotherhoods in the Sudan*, Evanston, IL 1992, 73–88; REX SEAN O'FAHEY (ed.), *Arabic Literature of Africa*, vol. 1: *The Writings of Eastern Sudanic Africa to c. 1900*, Leiden 1994 (Handbook of Oriental Studies: The Near and Middle East 13), 203f.; TrIslam 235, 244f.; JOHN O. VOLL, *A History of the Khatmiyyah in the Sudan*, Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University 1969.

Jonathan Miran

Muḥammad Nūr

M.N. (Somali: Maxamed Nuur; b. ca. 1895, Berbera [?], d. ?) was the first North-east-African employed at Hamburg University in the early 20th cent. He was an important linguistic informant and Somali poet (cp. von Tiling 1927–28).



Portrait in oil of Muḥammad Nūr from the 1920s; courtesy of the Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian Studies, University of Hamburg

M.N. was a soldier from ↗British Somaliland who served in the British Army during ↗World War I and who was captured by German troops and brought to Germany. In 1917, the newly founded Kolonialinstitut ('Institute for Colonial Affairs') in Hamburg, the predecessor of Hamburg University, made contact with him and convinced the military authorities to allow him to work as a language assistant at the Institute. Maria von ↗Tiling (later von Tiling-Klingenheben), scientific assistant of the Institute's director, Meinhof, recorded numerous oral texts in the ↗Berbera dialect of Somali from him and published some of them (cp. von Tiling 1925; 1927–28). Her works on the ↗Somali language are largely based on collaboration with him. M.N. proved to be very knowledgeable and amply illustrated the vitality of traditional ↗Somali oral literature. After the foundation of the University in 1919, he was employed as a language assistant (joined in 1920 by Wäldä Maryam Dästa as the first Amharic language assistant); in 1922 M.N.'s contract ended, and he went back to British Somaliland.

M.N.'s work as a linguistic informant marks the beginning of serious scholarly studies of Somali oral literature, and, in addition, he inaugurated a long series of linguistic assistants (later lectors) from North-East-Africa employed at Hamburg University, thus influencing the institutionalization of a focus on Cushitic and Ethio-Semitic languages and cultures in Hamburg (↗Ethiopian Studies).

Src.: MARIA VON TILING, "Die Vokale des bestimmten Artikels im Somali", *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* 9, 1918–19, 132–66; EAD., "Adjektiv-Endungen im Somali", *ibid.* 10, 1919–20, 208–40; EAD., "Die Sprache der Jabárti mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Verwandtschaft von Jabárti und Somali", *ibid.* 12, 1921–22, 17–52, 97–162; EAD., *Somali-Texte und Untersuchungen zur Somali-Lautlehre*, Ph.D. thesis, Berlin – Hamburg 1925 (repr. Nendeln 1969); EAD., "Ein Somali-Text von Muhammad Nur", *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* 18, 1927–28, 230–33.

Lit.: LUDWIG GERHARDT et al., "Geschichte der Afrikanistik in Hamburg", in: HILKE MEYER-BAHLBURG – EKKEHARD WOLFF (eds.), *Afrikanische Sprachen in Forschung und Lehre: 75 Jahre Afrikanistik in Hamburg (1909–1984)*, Berlin 1986 (Hamburger Beiträge zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte 1), 87–106.

Ludwig Gerhardt – Wolbert G.C. Smidt

Museums

Museums in Ethiopia

M. are permanent institutions caring for the acquisition, preservation, documentation, scholarly interpretation and public and educational presentation of artefacts and natural objects. Moreover, M. are centres of cultural memory, scholarly exchange and public discourse. They also function as major destinations of ↗tourism.

Museums in Addis Abäba

In Addis Abäba the most important M. are the National Museum and Archaeological Institute (s. also ↗Gəzaw Ḫaylä Maryam), the Ethnographic Museum of the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies (↗Addis Ababa University), and the Addis Ababa Museum. The National Museum was the first M. in Addis Abäba. It was founded in 1958 as the Archaeological Museum, at that time a branch of the archaeological section of the National Library. Today, it exhibits items from its archaeological, palaeontological, ethnographic and modern arts collections as well as royal paraphernalia and costumes. The second M. to be founded was the Ethnographic Museum in 1963. It is located in *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's ↗Gännätä Lə^{c}ul palace. Its collections were mainly gathered by the Anthropological Society, that in 1951 launched field research and the collection of objects of everyday life. Today, the M. has an ethnographic department and an art exhibition, displaying Christian art (richest collection worldwide of Ethiopian icons), folk ↗paintings and examples of modern Ethiopian ↗art (s. EAE vol. 5) as well as an ethno-musicological collection. Some historical buildings in Addis Abäba serve as M. as well, e.g., *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II's first palace in ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo (↗*Gəbbi*) and the Mənilək II Mausoleum. There is also a small M. in the ↗Jubilee Palace. Since 1986 the Addis Ababa Museum, located in one of the oldest buildings of the city, the former house of *ras* ↗Bərru Wäldä Gäbrə^{c}el, has presented the history of the Ethiopian capital.

Other M. in Addis Abäba are the Ethio–Djibouti Railways Museum inside the railway station (La Gare) and the National Postal Museum (founded in 1970, s. ↗Stamps).

Addis Ababa University hosts Ethiopia's only M. exclusively dedicated to natural sciences. The Zoological Natural History Museum was established in 1955 at the then University College. Its huge collection of mounted specimens, collected by Saverio Patrizi during the Italian occupation and, later, by members and partners of the Department of Biology, is exhibited on the science faculty compound. The National Herbarium (established in 1959) can be found at the same place.

The first Ethiopian Archaeological Museum of Addis Abäba; photo courtesy of Francis Anfray

Regional and local museums

A growing number of M. in Ethiopia are dedicated to regional and local history, ethnography and archaeology, but also to the regional dimension of national history.

In ↗Addis ᶜAläm the M. at the Maryam church (the old M. burned down in 1997 and was reopened in 2004) presents a collection of vestments, ↗crowns, religious paraphernalia and ↗manuscripts.

In the city of ↗Harär the Government Museum exhibits antiquities from Harär, and the Community Museum presents the culture of the ↗Harari. A small handicraft M. can be visited in the so-called palace of *ras* Mäkʷännən in Harär. A late 19th-cent. house is dedicated to the French writer and trader Arthur ↗Rimbaud. It provides some information on the poet and hosts a collection of photographs (↗Photography) of old Harär as well as a small Harari ethnographic collection.

The regional M. in ↗Mäqälä is located in the palace of *aṣe* ↗Yoḥannəs IV. The M. exhibits archaeological troves from ↗Yəḥa and Aksum, historical and ethnographic objects as well as a collection of icons and furniture, vestments and other objects formerly in the possession of Yoḥannəs IV and his family.

The regional M. in ↗Däse, opened in 1980 in the former residence of *däǧǧazmač* Yosef, shows historical, ethnographical and natural objects from the former Wällo province (Briggs 2009: 327).

The ↗Oromo culture is the subject of the M. in ↗Naqamtee founded in 1989. Another ethnographic collection from the region is housed in the former palace of ↗Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Moroda. The town of ↗Asosa also has an ethnographic M.

The ↗Ǧimma M. displays the arts and crafts of the former ↗Käfa province, and a great part of the heritage of the kings of Ǧimma taken from the former palace of ↗Abbaa Ǧifaar II in ↗Ǧirän which serves as a M. as well.

A pioneering cultural M. was founded in 1966 in Soddo, Wälaytta, by the then governor *däǧǧazmač* Wäldä Sämayat Gäbräwäld (r. 1963–73), displaying artefacts of the ↗Wälaytta people.

Today, following the policy of "ethnic federalism", and in order to strengthen ↗ethnicity, the regional and local administrations are encouraged to collect ethnographic items. Many M. are planned for the future and some possible M. have not yet passed the early stage of collecting and storing. Although many efforts have been made towards professionalizing the modes of preservation and presentation, the present state of M. is in many cases far below expectations. Small local M. often lack funds, suffer from political interference, and are often not regularly supervised by scholars or other experts.

The Regional Museum of Təgray in Aksum with excavation site of a stele in the front; photo 2005, courtesy of Wolbert Smidt

Some examples of already established local or regional M. and M. projects are, e.g., the Səlṭe Museum in Werabe, the ↗Gamo Gofa Museum in Arba Mənč̣ (and a Crocodile M. near Arba Mənč̣), the Coffee Museum in Bonga, Käfa (opened in 2007), and the ↗Konso Museum in Karat (opened in 2009). In 2001 a regional M. was established in Semera town to present the cultural and historical heritage of the ᶜAfar people.

A model M. established in close collaboration with scholars and local people is the South Omo Museum and Research Centre in ↗Ǧinka, officially inaugurated in 2002. It was organized on the initiative of the German anthropologist Ivo Strecker and the Society of Friends of the South Omo Research Center. It presents small ethnographic collections from, and the living heritage of, the ethnic groups inhabiting the area (↗Aari,

↗Hamar, ↗Banna, ↗Ñaŋatom, ↗Đáasanač, ↗Kara, ↗Kwegu-Muguǧi, ↗Mursi, Bodi (↗Meᵓen), ↗Maale, ↗Ṣamay, ↗Arbore, ↗Suri, ↗Bäšada); it functions as their meeting place and is a base for researchers.

Church museums

Before the establishment of M. in Ethiopia, churches and monasteries were the major depositories for objects of Ethiopian Orthodox material culture (s. also ↗crosses, ↗manuscripts, ↗relics etc.) as well as for other treasures (e.g., royal crowns). Some of these objects were regularly displayed or used on ceremonial occasions while others were simply stored in the ↗*ᶜəqa bet*. Whether these treasures also served the function of an economical back-up reserve cannot be said today. Since the beginnings of tourism some local churches open their treasuries from time to time (e.g., Wərra Kidanä Məḥrät of ↗Zäge, ↗Ǝnda Abba Gärima monastery near Yəḥa) for a small entrance fee. Other churches, such as, e.g., Sälam Adrəgiw Maryam in Baḥər Dar (s. ↗Gälanäš Ḥaddis), may show commemorative objects upon request. In such cases the term "M." may be used locally.

The oldest Ethiopian church M. is that of ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo Maryam. It was after thieves had entered the treasury of the church, that the M., supported by the patriarch *abunä* Täklä Haymanot, funded by the Ministry of Culture and organized by Anne Saurat, was established in 1986. The M. houses collections of ecclesiastical and secular ceremonial paraphernalia, such as crosses, bells, icons, umbrellas, vestments, musical ↗instruments, and manuscripts. Furthermore, photographs, medals, coins (↗Numismatics) as well as various furniture, weapons, ↗jewellery and other objects belonging to Mənilək II, Ṭaytu and the royal house are displayed (Mengistu Gobezie 2010).

Another important church M. in Addis Abäba is that of ↗Gännäta Ṣəge Giyorgis (established in 1986). It hosts collections of religious items and objects connected to Ḫaylä Śəllase I and his court. Recently, a small M. was established on the compound of the Patriarchate of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church. The ↗Qəddəst Śəllase cathedral has also opened its collection to the public.

The M. of ↗Aksum Ṣəyon is an important church M. outside of Addis Abäba. Others to be mentioned are the small M. of ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos, ↗Däbrä Wärq of Goǧǧam and Gəmǧa Bet Maryam church of ↗Gondär.

Cultural heritage sites

Recognized World Heritage Sites in Ethiopia are the Gondär palaces and castles (since 1979), the ↗Lalibäla ↗rock-hewn churches (since 1979), the ↗Aksum sites (since 1980), ↗Ṭəya (since 1980), the historic town of Harär (since 2006), and paleo-anthropological sites in the Lower ↗Awaš Valley and the Lower ↗Omo Valley (both since 1980; s. also ↗hominids). Several other sites may gain this status, such as, e.g., the paleo-anthropological site of ↗Konso-Gardula, the Lake ↗Ṭana churches and monasteries, Adadi Maryam and other rock-hewn churches. (For natural heritage sites s. ↗National Parks, for further archaeological sites s. ↗Archaeology.)

The Aksum Stelae Park is an open-air M. The Aksum National Museum on the compound of ↗Gäbrä Śəllase Barya Gäbər, opened in 2007, is associated with it. It already existed since 1974 as the Aksum Archaeological Museum on the compound of Aksum Ṣəyon. The M. presents Sabean, pre-Aksumite and Aksumite artefacts from various excavations.

Other important Aksumite sites with the character of an open-air M. can be found around ↗Wəq̱ro (ᶜAddi Käwəḫ Site M. with excavations, founded in 2010; another is planned).

In southern Ethiopia, besides Ṭəya, the open-air M. of ↗Mälka Qunṭure has to be mentioned.

Private museums and memorial museums

Ethiopia has a small number of private M. Two very differing examples are the Abdullahi Ali [ᶜAbdallāhi ᶜAli Šarīf] Private Museum in Harär exhibiting old Harari manuscripts and coins, and the Black Lion Museum in ↗Šašämänne displaying objects related to the ↗Rastafari movement.

In the last decade a number of "M." or semi-governmental memorials associated with permanent exhibitions were established in the various capitals of the Ethiopian regions, e.g., in Baḥər Dar and Mäq̱älä. Their aim is to maintain the historical memory of the struggle against the *Därg* regime (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council). The status of the exhibitions as "M." is debatable because of their clearly identifiable propagandistic approach, but the collections presented are nevertheless of some historical interest. Less focussed on heroism but on victims of totalitarian rule is the Red Terror Martyr Memorial Museum, opened in Addis Abäba in 2010, which is run by an organization of victims of the *Därg*.

Museums in Eritrea

Before Eritrean independence, the main M. in the country was the ↗Asmära Archaeological Museum, located in the Liceo Scientifico F. Martini (Rasmusson 1961: 124). Its collections became part of the National Museum of Eritrea which was inaugurated in 1992 in the old government palace. The National Museum's exhibition has the following sections: Archaeology, Ethnography and Natural History (including palaeontology). The archaeological collection is the largest section. The collections include artefacts from the excavations of ↗Adulis, inscribed tombstones from the ↗Daḥlak Islands, Sabean artefacts and scrolls in Gəᶜəz. Apart from organizing exhibitions, the M. is also active in the fields of research and excavation. The National Museum has a branch in Massawa.

↗Archives; ↗Art exhibitions

Src.: personal communication by Francis Anfray, 18 July 2011; ELISABETH-DOROTHEA HECHT, *The Pottery Collection*: *the Museum of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies*, Addis Ababa 1969; INSTITUTE OF ETHIOPIAN STUDIES, *Museum Catalogue Guide*, Addis Ababa 1989; ID., *Musical Instruments of Ethiopia*: *Catalogue of the Collection of the Ethiopian Museum of the IES*, Addis Ababa 1999; ID., *IES Bulletin*, 1994ff.; ID., *Exhibition of Ethiopian Manuscripts from the Collection of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies. Museum of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies*: *University of Addis Ababa, February 16–March 16, 1988*, Addis Ababa 1988; ANNE SAURAT, *Museum of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University*: *Catalogue Guide*, Addis Ababa 1989; UNESCO, *World Heritage Convention. Ethiopia*, internet source: http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/et; BARBIE VAN METER – BRUCE VAN METER, *List of Ethnological Objects at the Wollamo Sodu Regional Museum*, n.d. (ms.).

Lit.: FRANCIS ANFRAY, “Le musée archéologique d'Asmara”, *RSE* 21, 1965 [1966], 5–15; PHILIP BRIGGS, *Bradt Travel Guide Ethiopia*, Chalfont St. Peter 2009; STANISLAW CHOJNACKI, “Some Notes on the Occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies”, in: RICHARD PANKHURST – TADDESE BEYENE (eds.), *Silver Jubilee, Anniversary of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies*, Addis Ababa 1990; G. GABRIEL, “Il Museo archeologico di Asmara”, *Istituto di studi etiopici. Il Bolletino* (Asmara) 1, 1953; ALFREDO GONZÁLEZ-RUIBAL – VÍCTOR M. FERNÁNDEZ MARTÍNEZ, “Exhibiting Cultures of Contact: a Museum for Benishangul-Gumuz, Ethiopia”, *Stanford Journal of Archaeology* 5, 2007, 61–90; JEAN LECLANT, “Le Musée des Antiquités d'Addis Abéba”, *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie copte* 16, 1962, 289–304; MENGISTU GOBEZIE, “Entoto St. Mary Museum: the Oldest Ethiopian Church Museum”, *Journal of Ethiopian Church Studies* 1, 2010, 73–83; JOEL RASMUSSON, *Welcome to Ethiopia*: *a Tourist Guide*, Addis Ababa 1961, 124; [LANFRANCO RICCI}, *Museo archeologico di Asmara*: *Itinerario descrittivo*, Roma 1983 (Istituto Italo-Africano, Collana di studi africani 8); IVO STRECKER, “Some Steps in the Planning of a Research Centre at Jinka, South Omo”, *Sociology and Ethnology Bulletin* 1–2, 1992, 41–46; TEMESGEN BURKA, *The Role of Museums and Galleries in Ethiopia*, M.A. thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University 2004; TEMESGEN YOHANNES, *The Patriarchate Museum*: *Problems of Representation and Establishment Rationalities*, M.A. thesis, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University 2008; YISHAK ALEMAYEHU, *The Role of Preventive Conservation in Ethiopian Museums*: *a Study of Selected Church Museums*, Ph.D. thesis, Addis Ababa University 2009; YUKO BERBERICH, *Marketing and Promotion Experiences in Ethiopian Museums*: *the Case of Three Selected Museums in Addis Ababa*, A.A. thesis in Museology, Addis Ababa University 2009.

Dirk Bustorf – Alke Dohrmann

N

Nägärä Maryam

The N.M. (ነገረ ፡ ማርያም, 'Story of Mary') is apparently an original Ethiopic apocryphal composition, based on many sources of various origins, that develops the account of ↗Mary's flight from Herod (Mt 2:13–17). The text is very popular and is transmitted in a large number of manuscripts, under different titles. The introduction specifies that the text is called "*Little Gospel* in the language of the Egyptians" and N.M. in "that of the Ethiopians". Some manuscripts give it the title of *Gädlä Maryam* (ms. kept in the Nägärä Maryam church, Qʷəsqʷam; Jäger 1960:371); many leave the text untitled (ms. kept in Däbrä Marqos). The N.M. has not been translated or published yet, apart from an Amharic version; an untitled compilation from ms. BritLib Add. 16,193, containing much material of the N.M. (erroneously called *Täʾammərä Maryam wäʾIyäsus* by Conti Rossini 1899:627) was edited for an unpublished Ph.D. (Emery 1959).

The N.M. begins with the genealogy of St. Mary (in which most of the names of her ancestors, except those of her parents, are invented for the purpose), followed by her childhood, the annunciation, and Jesus's early life. The main part is a story of her and her family's wanderings in Egypt – with a stay, among others, in Ethiopia. The names of regions, cities and their rulers are more or less fantastic. On her way, Mary performs a number of miracles, blessing and healing those who are good to her and punishing those who are bad to her, most often by turning those punished into animals. The punishment is sometimes reverted at the intervention of Joseph who appeals to Mary's mercy.

Besides Mt 2:13–17, N.M. inserts other episodes from Gospel narratives (e.g., the ↗Magi, Mt 2:1–12; Jesus in the synagogue in Nazareth, Lk 4:16–22). It also borrows from other apocryphal compositions, such as *The Story of King Dämatyanos of Lebanon and of Gigar* (transmitted in, e.g., some manuscripts of the ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam*, BritLib Orient. 604 [tr. Budge 1922] and BN d'Abbadie 158 [ed. Ricci 1949]): on hearing about Herod's iniquities the king was prepared to march with his army against him, but was stopped by an angel. Gigar (the name otherwise known from anthroponymy of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*, perhaps an effect of the popularity of the N.M.), appointed governor of Syria, though in Herod's service, was a believer who was tortured and eventually put to death, together with his family, by Herod. Gigar is commemorated in the ↗*Sənkəssar* on 16 *Näḥase*.

Other discernible sources are the *Protevangelium of James* (↗*Lədäta lämaryam*), the ↗*Infancy Gospel of Thomas* (s. EAE vol. 5; the number of the borrowed episodes may vary), the *Life of* ↗*John the Baptist* (CANT no. 184) (?), the *Vision of* ↗*Theophilos* (CANT no. 56). In some versions (e.g., manuscript from Däbrä Marqos), the N.M. ends with the scene of the Dormition of Mary – the source being apparently ↗*Fəlsäta lämaryam*.

The N.M. is difficult to date. The 15th cent. has been suggested by Ricci (RicLett 834), on the basis of its themes and parallels to the ↗*Täʾammərä Iyäsus,* and it is retained in the entry ↗Mary: Marian literature, on the assumption that most of the Marian literature came into being, or was translated, in the period of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob. However, none of the known manuscripts is older than the 17th cent. which may indicate a later date of creation. Some of the episodes are probably aetiological, as, e.g., the one in which it is recounted that a place in which Mary stayed for 9 months was called by her Nazareth (↗Nazret).

A foreign origin has often been traditionally accepted for the N.M. Ricci (RicLett 834), perhaps guided by the reference in the introduction to "the language of the Egyptians", assumed an Egyptian origin for the N.M. This could probably be said of some of its sources, such as the *Vision of Theophilos*. While the *Vision* does show several parallels with the N.M. (such as the narration about the flight to Egypt; Emery 1959:44), the two texts have little in common (ibid. 31). On the other hand, the presence of local Ethiopian toponyms, such as the River ↗Täkkäze (Emery 1957:160), or the city of Nazret, and even aetiological attempts at explaining names of places such as Məhərka Maryam (↗Məhərka Dəngəl) – 'The Booty of Mary' (ibid. 97) suggest the Ethiopian origin of the N.M.

Frequently, the N.M. is divided into twelve parts for reading in as many months. The text is often read after the mass. The number and the order of episodes vary from one manuscript to another. Some of them, or even entire monthly sections, were incorporated into new compositions, such as those entitled ↗*Dərsanä Maryam* (e.g., EMML nos. 2461, 4279, 4355; 19th–20th cent.).

Another N.M., versified, but strongly abbreviated, is transmitted on nine folios in ms. BritLib Orient. 790, 18th cent., fols. 184v–192r.

There is also a relatively new, as it seems, Amharic version (Cambridge, University Library, Or. 1877, 19th cent.; BritLib Orient. 13223, 20th cent.), that strongly differs from the Gəʿəz original (Ullendorff – Wright 1961: 46). The published version (1968) is probably based on this text.

Src.: mss. BritLib Orient. 602–605, 607, 790, 13223, Add. 16193 (WrBriMus 140ff., 285; StrBritLib 14); Cambridge, University Library, Or. 1877 (EDWARD ULLENDORFF – STEPHEN G. WRIGHT, *Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library*, Cambridge 1961, 46); BN, d'Abbadie 102; EMML nos. 2461, 4279, 4355; ERNEST ALFRED THOMPSON WALLIS BUDGE, *Legends of Our Lady Mary, the Perpetual Virgin, and Her Mother Ḥannâ*, London 1922, 202–35; BudSaint 1224–25 = GuiSyn III, 341 [545]; ROBERT HARTWELL EMERY (ed., tr.), *Edition, Translation and Annotation of B. M. Ethiopic MS. Add. 16193*, Univ. of St. Andrews n.d. [1959]; **ነገረ ፡ ማርያም ። በአማርኛ** (*Nägärä Maryam. Bäʾamarəñña*, '*Nägärä Maryam*. In Amharic'), Addis Abäba 1968; LANFRANCO RICCI (ed.), "La Leggenda della Vergine al Libano e del santo Gigār", *RSE* 8, 1949, 83–118.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Manoscritti ed opere abissine in Europa", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 8, 1899, 606–37; OTTO JÄGER, "Ethiopian Manuscript Paintings", *EthObs* 4, 1960, 354–91; JACQUES MERCIER, *L'Arche éthiopienne: art chrétien d'Éthiopie: 27 septembre 2000–7 janvier 2001, Pavillon des Arts*, Paris – Girona 2000, 178f.; RicLett 834.

Witold Witakowski

Nägärä Maryam in art

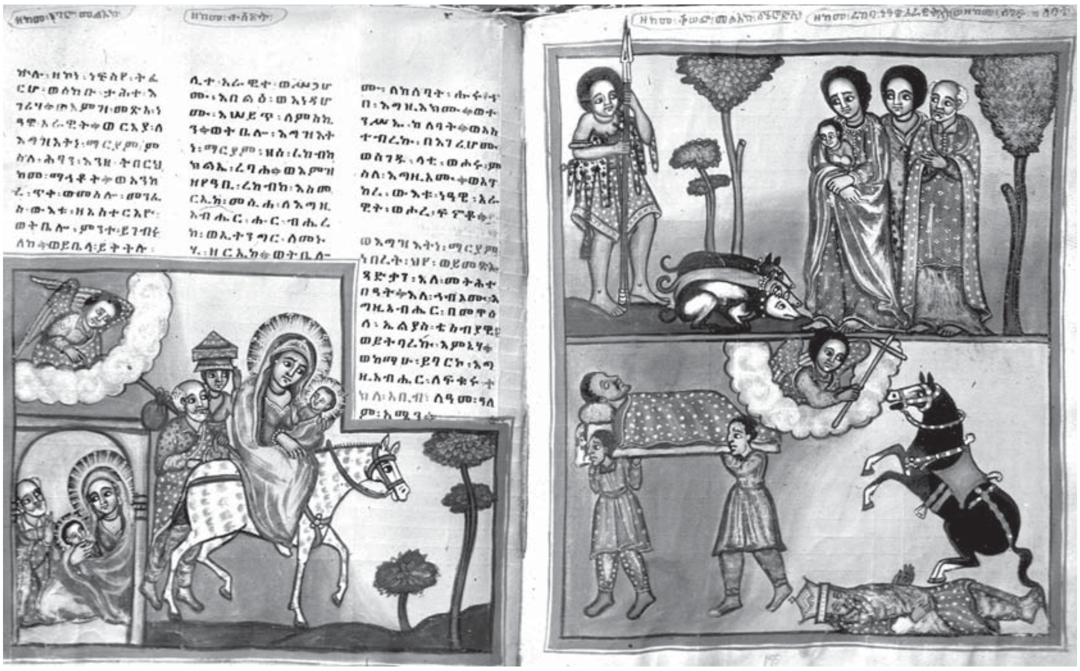
The pictorial programme for the N.M. was invented to illustrate the ↗manuscripts. Later it was introduced in the murals and rarely in ↗painting on wood. Since the oldest known illuminated manuscripts are dated to the first quarter of the 18th cent., we may surmise that the first layouts were created about 1700.

Some N.M. manuscripts show miniatures, usually full-page and at the beginning and/or the end, which have no direct connection to the text (↗Mary and Child; ↗Trinity; ↗Crucifixion; ↗*Kʷərʿatä rəʾəsu*; St. ↗George). Quite often they were later additions. The other copies contain pictorial cycles which follow the text narratives. The subject and number of the miniatures depend on the composition of the text. They may occupy a full-page, half page or just a space in part of one column. Since the large miniatures usually depict not only one but a group of events, the narrative is closely followed by the illustrations. The manuscripts of that kind may also include iconic, opening and closing miniatures. These sumptuous books were usually executed for the members of royal or noble families and their production involved more than one painter. The iconographical sources include western devotional images and the collections of wood-cuts circulating in Ethiopia since the 16th cent., which were modified according to Ethiopian painting tradition and local tastes. Stylistically, all the known miniatures (including manuscripts from the 19th–20th cent.) belong to the second Gondär school of painting. The lavishness of the N.M. manuscript illuminations contributed considerably to the popularity of the text itself.

The following manuscripts are particularly important from the point of view of art history:

BritLib Orient. 603, ordered by *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa, decorated with over 260 miniatures; it may have served as the *Vorlage* for the other royal N.M. manuscripts; BritLib Orient. 602, executed between 1721–23 for Bäkaffa's mother Maryamawit, 243 miniatures; BritLib Orient. 607, executed between 1730–50 for *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II and *ətege* Məntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa), 260 miniatures; Windsor Castle, Eth. 4, executed for a certain Yonakəndis and his wife Yodit, 159 folios, "with few exceptions there are pictures on every page" (Ullendorff 1953: 76); Gondär, ↗Däbrä Ṣ́äḥay Qʷəsqʷam, written for Məntəwwab, 245 miniatures (many unfinished); Lalibäla, Betä Maryam (B1–IV.8), donors Täklä Abib, Wäldä Kiros and Wälättä Arägay, 74 miniatures; Waynamä Kidanä Məḥrät, executed 1797/98 (present place of preservation and number of miniatures unknown); Ǝnṭoṭṭo, Kidanä Məḥrät (EMML no. 748), executed in 1913 for *ras* ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Abboyye and his wife Wälättä Giyorgis, over 250 miniatures; Däbrä Marqos executed for *wäyzäro* Laqäčč, wife of *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot, 187 miniatures.

From the 18th cent., the ↗*mäqdäs* decoration of circular churches (↗Church buildings) added several scenes based on the N.M. to the set on the southern wall. Such a programme may start with the story of Mary's parents, her birth and infancy and end with the events connected to her death and Assumption (↗*Ǝrgäta*). Within these frames the painters depicted episodes that took place during the flight of the Holy Family from Herod's persecutions to the legendary countries



Two folios from a *Nägärä Maryam* manuscript, Lalibäla, Betä Maryam, fols. 17v–18r, 18th cent.; photo 1993, courtesy of Michael Gervers

and the miracles performed by her and by the Infant Jesus. The number of the scenes differs from church to church and, since many stories are also featured in other texts (*Gädlä Hanna*, ↗*Täʾammərä Iyäsus*, ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam*) it is not always clear if the painters used the N.M. as the textual basis. The master scheme designed by the painter Kasa for the Mission ↗Griaule in 1932 includes one episode which exclusively belongs to the N.M. cycle, but in the extensively decorated churches there may be over a dozen, as in Iyäsus Tašši, Təgray, decorated in 1964.

Similar observations are valid for the paintings on wood: e.g., of the 16 scenes depicted on the triptych Addis Abäba, IES 4114, only one based on the N.M. for certain.

Lit.: AfrZion 249; Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, "The Wall-paintings in the Rock-cut Church Mäsqälä Krəstos, Wuqro near Sokota", *Africana Bulletin* 50, 2002, 20–39, here 26–31; Claire Bosc-Tiessé, *Les Îles de la mémoire: Fabrique des images et écriture de l'histoire dans des églises du lac* Tana, *Éthiopie, XVIIe–XVIIe siècle*, Paris 2008 (Histoire ancienne et médiévale 97), 306–12, 333f.; Ead. – Anaïs Wion, "Inventaire des peintures datées du XVIIe au début du XIXe siècle: question sur l'art gondarien (Éthiopie)", *Cahiers du Centre de Recherches Africaines* 9 (*Autres sources, nouveaux regards*), 1998, 215–42, here 225, 228, 230f.; Eaed., *Peintures sacrées d'Éthiopie*, St. Maur-des-Fossés 2005, 106–09, 114ff.; Stanislaw Chojnacki, *Ethiopian Icons: Catalogue of the Collection of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies Addis Ababa University*, Milano 2000, 152f., 234, 374ff., 449f.; ms. EMML no. 748 [EMML III, 56]; Otto Jäger – Liselotte Deininger-Englhardt, "Some Notes on Illumination of Manuscripts in Ethiopia", *RSE* 17, 1961, 45–60, here 50; Otto Jäger – Ivy Pearce, *Antiquities of North Ethiopia: a Guide*, Stuttgart 1974, 50–56; Walter Krafft, "Report on Wayname Kidana Meherat, a Little-known Church in Gojam", *EthObs* 15, 1972, 70–80, here 77; Jules Leroy, *Ethiopian Painting in the Late Middle Ages and under the Gonder Dynasty*, London 1967, 59f., pls. 51–54; Jacques Mercier, *L'Arche éthiopienne: art chrétien d'Éthiopie: 27 septembre 2000–7 janvier 2001, Pavillon des Arts*, Paris – Girona 2000, 178f.; Id., "Les manuscrits enluminés provenant du trésor de l'église du Mädhané Aläm de Mäqdäla et conservés dans les collections publiques britanniques", in: *PICES* 13, vol. 3, 62–70, here 66f.; Edward Ullendorff, "The Ethiopic Manuscripts in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle", *RSE* 12, 1953, 71–79, here 76.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Napier, Robert Cornelis

N. (b. 6 December 1810, Colombo, Ceylon, d. 14 January 1890, London) was a British officer who commanded the Anglo-Indian expedition against *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II (↗Napier expedition).

The son of Major Charles Frederick Napier, N. was educated at Addiscombe Military Academy in Croydon, South London. He was commissioned into the [British] Bengal Engineers in

Sir Robert Napier (front centre) with staff members of the Napier expedition; photo ca. 1868, from the collection of the Wallraff-Richartz-Museum, Agfa-Fotorama, Cologne

1828, and was promoted to Captain in 1841. He participated in the First (1845–46) and Second (1848–49) Anglo–Sikh wars, being promoted to Lieutenant-colonel in 1849. N. served in the campaign against the Indian Mutiny of 1857 and in the Anglo–Chinese war of 1860. He was renowned as an authority in military engineering. In 1865 N. was appointed Commander-in-chief of the [British] Bombay army, which provided most of the personnel for the 1867/68 expedition against Tewodros, and was accordingly chosen to head it, with the rank of Lieutenant-General.

By executing the Napier expedition, N. was credited with leading a well-equipped, and militarily successful, operation, which involved setting up a base camp, and traversing difficult mountainous countryside. He was rewarded with a hereditary peerage and the title of 1st Baron Napier "of Magdala", and British streets and public-houses were named after him. Critics, however, suggested that he had deceived Tewodros by accepting a gift of cattle intended as a peace offering. N. subsequently advised the British Government on policy towards Ethiopia. In 1870, N. became Commander-in-chief in India, becoming General in 1874. From 1876 to 1883 he was appointed British governor of Gibraltar. In 1883 N. was promoted Field Marshal. The last three years of his life he had the position of the Constable of the Tower of London.

Src.: HENRY DUNDAS NAPIER, *Field-Marshal Napier of Magdala*, London 1927; TREVENEN JAMES – HENRY MONTAGUE HOZIER, *Record of the Expedition to Abyssinia*, London 1870; CLEMENTS ROBERT MARKHAM, *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition*, London 1869; FREDRICK MYATT, *The March to Magdala: the Abyssinian War of 1868*, London 1870.

Lit.: ANON., *Theodore's Cattle*, Poona 1869; VOLKER MATTHIES, *The Siege of Magdala: the British Empire against the Emperor of Ethiopia*, Princeton, NJ 2012, 35ff. et passim; TIMOTHY ROBERT MOREMAN, "Napier, Robert Cornelis, First Baron napier of Magdala", in: ROBERT HAMILTON VETCH (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 1885–1900*, Oxford 2004 [online ²2008] vol. 40, 75–81; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Ethiopian Place Names in Britain", *The Local Historian* 14, 8, 1981, 468–69; RubInd.

Richard Pankhurst

Netherlands, relations with the

As a small European country with no traditional trade, or colonial or religious links to Eastern Africa, relations of the N. with Ethiopia were very limited until after World War II. No serious travel reports on Ethiopia from the medieval or later periods are known, except the posthumous work of J.M. ↗Schuver (James et al. 1998), who explored the Sudan-Ethiopia border areas in the 1880s.

In the 16th cent. a few important works concerning Ethiopian Studies were published in the N. Among them, ↗Góis's *Fides, religio moresque Aethiopum* (published in Louvain in 1540) and the *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* (Antwerp 1593), which included 153 engravings by Bernardino Passeri and the Dutch Marten de Vos, and Jerome and Anton Wierix. This later work was taken by the ↗Jesuits to the court of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos.

In the 17th cent. the Dutch-German Anna Maria van ↗Schuurman became a pioneer in the study of the ↗Gəᶜəz language. The same century also saw the first contacts with what was called "the land of the Habšis" or of ↗Prester John. Tentative trade links were explored in 1630 between the Dutch "West India Company" (WIC) and Ethiopia, which were not successful. The Dutch competitor of the WIC, the United Dutch East India Company (VOC) thwarted the WIC's efforts. Ethio-dutch contacts were furthered by *ḫoğa* ↗Murād, the Armenian envoy of *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs and ↗Iyasu I, visiting Batavia (in the Dutch East Indies) in 1675, after having been to Mughal ↗India (cf. DonMurad 39, 61), and again in 1691 and 1697. Gifts were exchanged, such as Abyssinian wild asses, horses and slaves brought to Batavia, and cloth, spices, matchlocks, and two large church bells specially cast on the orders of the VOC's governor-general in 1689 and taken to Ethiopia (they eventually ended up in the Śəllase church in ↗Däbrä Bərhan; cf. DonMurad 1979: 84ff.). The Dutch were interested in ↗gold, ↗ivory and especially Ethiopian ↗coffee. However, profitable trade never really got off the ground because of strong competition from others.

From the early 18th up to the 20th cent. no significant relations between the N. and Ethiopia are recorded. In this period, however, a (limited) number of Ethiopian religious ↗manuscripts were acquired by various Dutch travellers and collectors, mostly deposited in Leiden University Library.

In the 1920s, Dutch Catholic ↗Lazarist missionaries started to work in Ethiopia. In the 1970s, they numbered about 35 people and worked in the capital and in the Käfa and western Oromo regions. Some of them (Lambert ↗Bartels, Jaap Zwarthoed and Ton Leus) later published valuable ethnographic works and dictionaries.

After the Italian attack on Ethiopia in 1936 (↗Italian war 1935–36), which caused indignation in the N. (in the ↗League of Nations, N. voted for sanctions and an arms embargo on Italy), several Dutch doctors participated in the ↗Red Cross mission to assist the Ethiopian war-wounded.

After the war, the Dutch company Handelsvereniging Amsterdam (HVA), active in the sugar industry in Indonesia up to independence in 1949, relocated to Ethiopia and, under imperial patronage, set up sugar factories in Wänği in 1951 and in ↗Mätähara in 1965. Though allegedly causing environmental damage, it was a successful enterprise, producing both for the domestic Ethiopian market and for export (fruits and vegetables to Europe), and at one point provided employment for ca. 7,000 Ethiopians. HVA was nationalized without compensation in 1975 by the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council). In the 1960s, the Dutch companies Philips and Shell also opened branches in Ethiopia.

A Dutch embassy was established in Ethiopia only in 1960; prior to that there had been a lower-level diplomatic mission since 1950. In 1954, Queen Juliana visited Ethiopia with her husband Prince Bernhard (Afrika Instituut 1954), and in 1969 *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I paid a return visit to the N. The Emperor also had three Dutch personal advisors, among them the lawyer and former chairman of the Council of Netherlands Indies, Mr. H.J. Spit.

In the era of the *Därg* regime, relations with the N. cooled significantly due to political violence and economic decline. Many Dutch expatriates left, and, in 1978, virtually all missionaries were expelled.

Ethiopia never had an embassy in the N., but maintained a consulate for a number of years in the early 2000s, when economic ties and tourism showed an upsurge.

In 2000–02, Dutch army units led the peacekeeping forces of the ↗United Nations Mission to Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE); they were stationed in the demilitarized border zone after the signing of a peace agreement between the two warring countries. The mission was led by a Dutch lieutenant-colonel.

The N. maintains bilateral relations with Ethiopia and spends a comparatively high amount of development aid in the country, but in its foreign policy towards Ethiopia N. largely acts within the European Union framework. The Dutch embassy made a major effort in 2005 to assist Ethiopia with the parliamentary elections, appealing for "a level playing field" for the legitimate opposition parties. In recent years, economic relations have developed, with trade steadily growing and new Dutch flower-farm entrepreneurs active in Ethiopia.

Dutch scholarship on Ethiopia was limited due to the small number of scholars engaged; there was never a Dutch Ethiopianist tradition. The most well-known names of the older generation are the Semiticist-epigraphist Abraham Johannes ↗Drewes (s. EAE vol. 5) and the Semiticist-Arabist and historian Emeri van Donzel. A small number of scholars of a younger generation – anthropologists, historians and linguists – are also active. In the past few decades, links between the two countries grew via the higher education sector, with a growing number of Dutch M.A. and Ph.D. students doing research in Ethiopia and many Ethiopians trained in the N., although mostly in social science, agriculture and development studies and not primarily in the classical fields of ↗Ethiopian Studies.

Since the 1980s, an Ethiopian migrant community of ca. 12,000 people, mostly with a refugee background, has emerged in the N., politically critical but maintaining links with their country of origin, and some of them entering into social and business ventures as well.

Src.: Afrika Instituut, *Het Staatsbezoek van Zijne Keizerlijke Majesteit Haile Selassie I Keizer van Ethiopië aan Hare Majesteit de Koningin en Zijne Koninklijke Hoogheid de Prins der Nederlanden*, Rotterdam 1954; DonMurad 84ff.; Wendy James et al. (eds.), *Juan Maria Schuver's Travels in North East Africa 1880–1883*, London 1996.

Lit.: Simon Steenhuis, *De Ethiopische Revolutie door Nederlandse Ogen. Een Archiefonderzoek naar de Nederlands-Ethiopische Betrekkingen tijdens het Kabinet– Den Uyl 1973–1977*, Utrecht 2007.

Jon Abbink

Nonnosus

N. (Gr. Νόννοσος, *Nónnosos*, first half of the 6th cent. A.D.) was a Byzantine ambassador sent, ca. 530/31 A.D., by Emperor ↗Justinian I to the *Aithíopes* ('Ethiopians', ↗Aithiopía), *Amerîtai* ('Himyarites', ↗Ḥimyar) and *Axoumîtai* ('Aksumites', ↗Aksum). On returning to Constantinople, he wrote a report in Greek, with interesting observations on the habits of the tribes of ↗Arabia (including their balanced relationships with the natural environment in the south of the Arabian peninsula, s. Leontsini 2012: 375 and nn. 81–83) and a strong emphasis on his own courage during breath-taking adventures in those remote places. This work, now lost, was summarized by Patriarch Photius in the 9th cent. (*Bibl.* cod. III, ed. Henri 1959: 4–7), and reportedly used, though without naming its author, by the Byzantine chroniclers ↗John Malalas (XVIII, 56, ed. Thurn 2000: 384f.) and Theophanes Confessor (ad A.M. 6064 = 571/72 A.D., ed. de Boor 1883: 244f.) in the mid-6th and early 9th cent., resp.

As a matter of fact, both chroniclers preserve independently, with significant variations (more detailed in Malalas), the same lengthy eye-witness account of the reception of a Roman ambassador (sent by Emperor Justin II [565–78] in Theophanes) at the court of *nəguś* ↗Kaleb Ǝllä Aṣbəḥa (*Aréthas*, i.e. Ḥarīṯ, in Theophanes). Dressed in a linen garment embroidered with goldwork, wearing much jewellery and a precious headcloth, the king appeared in a chariot decorated with golden wreaths and raised on a wheeled platform drawn by four elephants – a remarkable attestation of the use of wheels in Aksum. The king ("of the Indians" in Malalas, cp. ↗"India" as a name of Ethiopia) stood on top of that chariot, carrying a small gilded shield and two small lances, also gilded ("golden" in Theophanes). And all his notables (lit. "his senate") were there, armed, "and flutes [were there] making music for chanting" ("[and they were] singing musical refrains" in Theophanes). The name of the ambassador is given only by Theophanes: "Julian *magistrianós*", i.e. *agens in rebus* ('imperial courier').

There had indeed been an ambassador by the name of Julian who was in Aksum towards the end of the 520s. A professional diplomat (he was the brother of Summus, head of the Roman troops in Palestine under Justinian), Julian is certainly a better candidate for the authorship of the account transmitted by Malalas and Theophanes (introduced as "given by the ambassador himself"), which could hardly embed N.'s own records. According to Procopius (*Bell.* I, 20, 9–12 and II, 1, 10, ed. Haury 1905: 108ff. and 149), who is the safest guide into this matter, Julian went to Aksum and Ḥimyar as a special legate of Justinian to their rulers, Ǝllä Aṣbəḥa (*Ellestheaîos*) and the (puppet) king or viceroy appointed by the latter, ↗Sumyafaʿ Ašwaʿ (*Esim[ι]phaîos*). The main aim of this mission was to see that the fugitive Imruʾ

al-Qays (*Káïsos*), who had killed a relative of Sumyafaᶜ Ašwaᶜ, be made "captain (*phýlarchon*) over the Maddeni [(Banū) Maᶜadd]" following the death of Ḥarīṯ b. ᶜAmr, king of Kinda (an Arab tribe linked to Ḥimyar), in 527/28 A.D. In this respect, the mission was successful: Imruᵓ al-Qays had become already a phylarch by the time of N.'s embassy – which in no way, therefore, could be part of Julian's (*pace* Shahîd 1995: 157). Moreover, Julian had to establish a trade agreement by which the Roman emperor freed himself both from the interference of the Persians (↗Iran) and from the heavy duties they imposed on the merchandise – first and foremost ↗silk – owing to their fluctuating relationships with the Byzantines. In this Julian failed, unable as he was to persuade Sumyafaᶜ Ašwaᶜ and Kaleb to attack Persia and, thereby, divert the silk route to Aksum and Alexandria (↗Egypt; Irvine in DicEthBio 95).

Photius's scant summary is the only extant source of N.'s biography: he belonged to a family of successful diplomats, possibly of Semitic stock (thus with the necessary linguistic skills for Arabia), who had likewise specialized in the ↗Red Sea area. His grandfather (Euphrasius in other sources) was dispatched by Emperor Anastasius I to the aforesaid Ḥarīṯ of Kinda (*Aréthas*, hence his confusion with Kaleb by Theophanes), in 503 A.D., "to conclude a treaty of peace". N.'s father, Abra(ha)m (a presbyter in other sources) was sent by ↗Justin I to the "chief of the Saracens", i.e. the Laḫmid king al-Munīr (*Alamoúndaros*) of Ḥīra, ca. 524 A.D., to negotiate the release of Timostratus and John, "two Roman generals who were prisoners of war"; and then by Justinian I to the "chief of the two illustrious Saracen tribes, the Chindeni [Kinda] and Maadeni [Maᶜadd]", i.e. to the phylarch Imruᵓ al-Qays ("a descendant [*apógonos*] of Ḥarīṯ"), ca. 528/29 A.D., also to conclude "a treaty of peace", on condition that Imruᵓ al-Qays's son, Muᶜāwiya, "should be taken as a hostage to Byzantium".

N. was in turn entrusted with a twofold mission: again to Imruᵓ al-Qays, "to induce him, if possible, to visit the emperor", i.e. Justinian, who had his own designs upon him; and to the king of the Aksumites, Ǝllä Aṣbəḥa, as well as to the Ḥimyarites. No concrete evidence is available as to the scope of the latter embassies. Most probably, N. went to Aksum and Ḥimyar, then under Ethiopian suzerainty, to seek again a commercial and military alliance against the Persians, but did not succeed in his endeavours. After a second visit of Abra(ha)m, however, Imruᵓ al-Qays "set out for Byzantium, having previously divided his chieftaincy between his brothers Ambrus [ᶜAmr] and Iezidus [Yazīd]", and then became phylarch of Palestine.

These missions, marking an increase of diplomatic activity, took place during and after the events in ↗Naǧrān and the Ḥimyarite wars, that is within the framework of the struggle between Byzantium and Aksum on the one hand and Sasanian Iran on the other for the possession of South Arabia, which meant the control of the trade routes to and from ↗India.

According to Photius's summary, having reached Aksum, N. mentions that this town is "fifteen days' journey" from ↗Adulis. On his way to the Ethiopian capital, he and his companions sighted a large herd of ↗elephants, "nearly 5,000", feeding "on a large plain" (Hazamo for CRStor 226), not far from the district (*chōríon*) of Aui/Avi (*Aúē*), midway between Adulis and Aksum (cp. Schneider 1984: 169), i.e. in the ↗Käskäse area. In that zone of the highlands he also locates the Ethiopian watershed, because of "the climatic contrarieties of summer and winter between Aui and Aksum" (s. Fiaccadori 2004: 128f.). While approaching the last of the Far(a)sān islands (a former Roman military outpost in the Red Sea, some 50 km from the far southwestern shores of today's Saudi Arabia, s. Fiaccadori 2008: 448f. and n. 40), N. saw a group of Pygmies, "creatures of human shape and form, very short, black-skinned, their bodies entirely covered with hair", who "live on shell-fish and fish cast up on the shore" (s. Colin 1992). This keen description adds to the ethnographic and picturesque bias of his narrative, brought into relief by Photius, and further marks the difference from Julian's account as actually preserved by Malalas and Theophanes.

↗Byzantine Empire

Src.: René Henri (ed., tr.), *Photius, Bibliothèque*, vol. 1 («*Codices*» *1–84*), Paris 1959 (Collection byzantine), 4–7 [= FHG IV 179f.]; John Henri Freese (tr.), *The Library of Photius*, vol. 1, London 1920, 17–20; Iohannes Thurn (ed.), *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia*, Berolini 2000 (Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae 35), 384f. [= FHG IV 178f.]; Elisabeth Jeffreys – Michael Jeffreys – Rex Scott (tr.), *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, Melbourne 1986, 268f.; Carolus de Boor (ed.), *Theophanis Chronographia*, vol. 1, Lipsiae 1883, 244f.; Cyril Mango – Rex Scott (tr.), *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284–813*, Oxford 1997, 361f.; Jacobus Haury (ed.), *Procopii Caesariensis Opera omnia*, Lipsiae 1905 [rev. by Gerhard Wirth, 1962], vol. 1, 108ff., 149; HENRY BRONSON DEWING (tr.), *Procopius*, vol. 1, Cambridge, MA 1971 (The Loeb Classical Library 48), 192–95, 262f.

Lit.: JOËLLE BEAUCAMP – FRANÇOISE BRIQUEL-CHATONNET – CHRISTIAN JULIEN ROBIN, "La persécution des chrétiens de Nagrān et la chronologie ḥimyarite", *ARAM* 11–12, 1999–2000, 15–83, here 31; GLEN W. BOWERSOCK, "Nonnosus and Byzantine Diplomacy in Arabia", *Rivista storica italiana* 124, 2012, 282–90, abbrev. and rev. vers. in ID., *The Throne of Adulis*: *Red Sea Wars on the Eve of Islam*, Oxford 2013 (Emblems of Antiquity [3]), 135–43 (160ff.), cp. 108ff. (157f.); ID., *Empires in Collision in Late Antiquity*, Waltham, MA 2012 (The Menahem Stern Jerusalem Lectures), 21f. and nn. 22, 25 (82); FRANCIS BREYER, *Das Königreich Aksum*: *Geschichte und Archäologie Abessiniens in der Spätantike*, Darmstadt – Mainz 2012 (Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie. Sonderbände der Antiken Welt), 33 and n. 115, 154; FRÉDÉRIC COLIN, "Nonnosos et les petits hommes insulaires", in: MICHÈLE BROZE – PHILIPPE TALON (eds.), *L'atelier de l'orfèvre*: *Mélanges offerts à Philippe Derchain*, Leuven 1992 (= *Lettres orientales* 1), 37–46; CRStor 184, 226; ISRUN ENGELHARDT, *Mission und Politik in Byzanz*: *Ein Beitrag zur Strukturanalyse byzantinischer Mission zur Zeit Justins und Justinians*, München 1974 (Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 19), 41, 145; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Sembrouthes 'gran re' (*DAE* IV 3 = *RIÉth* 275). Per la storia del primo ellenismo aksumita", *La Parola del Passato* 59, 2004 [2005], 103–57, here 128f.; ID., "Un'iscrizione latina dalle isole Farasān (Arabia Saudita)", *ibid.* 63, 2008, 439–49, here 448–49 and n. 40 (Lit.); ARTHUR K. IRVINE, "Julianus", in: *DicEthBio* 95; RICHARD LAQUEUR, "Nonnosos", in: *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 17, part 1 [= 33], Stuttgart ^{2}1936, 920–21; MARIA LEONTSINI, "Byzantine References to the Flora and Fauna of the Arabian Peninsula and the Classical Greek Tradition (4th–12th c. A.D.)", in: ABDULAZIZ AL-HELABI – MOSHALLEH AL-MORAEKHI – DIMITRIOS LETSIOS – ABDULLAH ABDULJABBAR (eds.), *Arabia, Greece and Byzantium*: *Cultural Contacts in Ancient and Medieval Times. Proceedings of the International Symposium, Riyadh 6–10 December 2010*, Riyadh 2012, vol. 2, 359–83, here 375 and nn. 81–83 (Lit.); MHAksum 31, 57, 153, 167, 219; PhAfrCiv 70, 75, 210, 290; ROGER SCHNEIDER, [review of Yuri M. KOBISHCHANOV, *Axum*, Philadelphia, PA 1979], *JES* 17, 1984, 148–74; IRFAN SHAHÎD, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century*, vol. 1, part I, Washington, DC 1995, 144–60; SerHist 137–40; SIDNEY SMITH, "Events in Arabia in the 6th Century A.D.", *BSOAS* 16, 1954, 425–68 here 448ff.; WARREN TREADGOLD, "The Byzantine World Histories of John Malalas and Eustathius of Epiphania", *The International History Revue* 29, 2007, 709–45, here 717 n. 1; ALEXANDER A. VASILIEV, "Justin I (518–527) and Abyssinia", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 33, 1933, 67–77, here 67ff.; ID., *Justin the First*: *an Introduction to the Epoch of Justinian the Great*, Washington, DC 1950 (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 1), 279f. and n. 36.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Norway, relations with

Political relations

Modern N. has a relatively short history as an independent state, gaining independence from the Union with ↗Sweden only in 1905. Thus, bilateral relations between N. and Ethiopia are equally recent. Prior to 1814, N.'s relations to Ethiopia may be subsumed under ↗Denmark, and between 1814 and 1905 under Sweden.

Interest in N. for Ethiopia, apart perhaps from occasional individual attention, is a correspondingly recent phenomenon. *Aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I mentions in his autobiography (HSLife II, 22) that, after the Italian occupation of 1936, the King of N., Haakon VII, had initially written to him indicating that N. would not recognize Italy's claims over Ethiopia (↗Africa Orientale Italiana). While other countries were more reluctant to resist Italy's demands, N. accepted the British policies (↗United Kingdom, relations with). In ↗World War II N. fought on the allied side, but played no particular role in the Ethiopian campaign, being mainly involved in maritime operations and in fighting the Germany occupational force at home.

In the late 1940s, the newly formed ↗United Nations (UN) deliberated the future of the former Italian colonies in Africa, including ↗Eritrea. In 1950, after the failure of the ↗Four Power Commission, N. was appointed, together with Burma, South Africa, Guatemala and Pakistan, to serve in a fact-finding ↗United Nations Commission for Eritrea and its future status. Initially, the Norwegian representative, Justice Erling Quale, recommended that most Eritrea be reunited with Ethiopia. However, N. went along with the majority position and recommended an ↗Ethiopian–Eritrean Federation. In 1959 the retired Secretary General of the UN, the Norwegian Trygve Lie, was appointed as an arbitrator between Ethiopia and Italy on the issue of the future status of ↗Somalia. In this regard, however, the UN effort did not succeed.

In the 1950s Ḫaylä Śəllase I requested assistance from N. in establishing a ↗navy and training its officers. A first generation of Ethiopian navy cadets received their training in the fjords of western N. Furthermore, throughout the 1950s and into the 1960s, several Norwegian navy officers and their families resided in ↗Asmära and ↗Massawa, assisting and instructing the new Ethiopian navy.

In 1966, King Olav V of N. visited Ethiopia as the first Norwegian Head of State. Bilateral diplomatic relations had developed slowly throughout the 1960s, with the exchange of consular services. A Norwegian Embassy was established in ↗Addis Abäba as late as 1994 with a Charge d'affaires, and, since 1995, with an Ambassador. Prior to the establishment of the Embassy, the resident representative of the Norwegian Church Aid (NCA) also served as Consul to Ethiopia. Ethiopia's diplomatic accreditation to N. is served by an ambassador residing in Sweden.

Private Norwegian investments in Ethiopia are not large. Since the 1950s, the shipping company Mosvold ran a department store in Addis Abäba, and the paint manufacturer Alf Bjerke constructed a factory for paint production in the outskirts of the capital. More recently Norsk Hydro (reorganized and named Yara in 2004), one of the largest chemical fertilizer concerns in the world, has become involved in the Ethiopian market. In 2005, the Yara foundation caused a heated debate by bestowing its newly founded "Green Revolution Price Award" on Prime Minister ↗Mälläs Zenawi (s. EAE vol. 5), for inter alia his work on food security in Ethiopia.

Missionary activities

Norwegian missionaries have been working in Ethiopia since around 1949, when the Norwegian ↗mission to China was closed down and the missionaries were re-deployed to the Horn of Africa. There they joined Swedish and ↗German Lutheran missionaries who had been serving in ↗Wälläga and other more remote provinces since the end of 19th cent. Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase I welcomed both Protestant and Catholic missionaries as long as they did not attempt to proselytize among Orthodox Christians. Norwegian missionary activities were mainly centred around the establishment of hospitals, schools and, later, agricultural and community development projects, in cooperation with the newly established ↗Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus (EECMY). The Norwegian missionaries, mostly as priests but also in a social capacity advised and assisted the development of the EECMY. The Norwegian mission remained in Ethiopia during the military regime; later it became clear that some missionaries had passed on information to the international community concerning gross human rights violations during the *Därg* era (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council). The Norwegian mission is represented in Ethiopia today inter alia through the Norwegian Lutheran Mission and the Norwegian Missionary Society.

Aid, social and advocacy assistance

Redd Barna (Save the Children) was the first large Norwegian NGO to open a major project in Ethiopia around 1970. In projects aimed at strengthening the livelihood and the survival capacity of rural households, they attempted to improve the situation of children. NCA came to Ethiopia in an effort to alleviate the ↗famine of 1973–74. Later, relations with the military regime became strained, mainly due to NCA's efforts to assist famine-struck Eritrea/northern Ethiopia in the mid-1980s, through cross-border operations from the Sudan. NCA was the leading agency in a consortium of western church-based NGOs – through the Emergency Relief Desk programme – which channelled huge amounts of relief aid and logistical support to the Eritrean and later Təgrayan populations affected by famine, using the operations of the ↗Eritrean Peoples' Liberation Front's (EPLF) humanitarian agency Eritrean Relief Association (ERA) and the ↗Tigray People's Liberation Front's (TPLF) Relief Society of Təgray (REST). The assistance to ERA and REST, coordinated by the NCA continued and increased during the 1980s, until the military regime collapsed in 1991. EPLF representatives later stated that the assistance of the NCA was crucial in shortening the war of resistance against the military regime by several years. Although the aid channelled to ERA and REST was earmarked to help the civilian population, a considerable share of it was used by the EPLF and TPLF to back their war efforts. For instance, large shares of the protein biscuit given as emergency relief aid to the famine-struck populations – popularly called "Norway biscuit" in Eritrea – was diverted and used as combat food for the EPLF/TPLF fighters. There are indications that the Norwegian authorities were aware of, and supported, this use of the relief/development aid given to the EPLF/TPLF. Although the military regime was extremely annoyed by the NCA's cross-border activity in northern Ethiopia, the NCA maintained its presence and its office in Addis Abäba, and tried several times to negotiate between the parties in the conflict.

The close relations established between the NCA and the EPLF and TPLF leadership during the resistance struggle was later utilized by NCA and N. authorities in their work towards the political leadership of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) and the EPLF. For instance, after 1991, the NCA among others attempted to assist the democratization process in Ethiopia through democracy and voter training programmes and by offering its services to facilitate dialogue between the government and opposing groups. Furthermore, after the outbreak of the 1998–2000 war between Ethiopia and Eritrea, the NCA brought together the heads of the four major religious communities in the countries, to try to reconcile the effects of the war. Other Norwegian NGOs, academic institutions and official authorities assisted in similar efforts. N. has supported the Ethiopian National Electoral Board in building its technical and institutional capacity, while Norwegian researchers have observed and followed all elections conducted in Ethiopia since 1992.

Ethiopia was elevated to the category of a principal development partner with Norway in 1998, and an increase in bilateral development aid was foreseen. However, due to the outbreak of the Eritrean–Ethiopian war in 1998 and the worsened human rights situation in the country, this status was immediately downgraded to "ordinary partner country". Thereafter official N. aid to Ethiopia has concentrated on: peace, reconciliation and stability on the one hand, and good governance, human rights and democracy on the other.

At the past and present time, N. hosts communities of Ethiopian and Eritrean refugees and political asylum seekers. Since the Revolution of 1974, a growing number of political refugees sought asylum in Scandinavia, and N. has continued to accept its share.

Src.: HSLife II, 22.

Lit.: Øyvind M. Eide, *Revolution and Religion in Ethiopia. 1974–85*, Oxford et al. 2000, 213f.; Gaitachew Bekele, *The Emperor's Clothes: a Personal Viewpoint on Politics and Administration in the Imperial Ethiopian Government 1941–1974*, East Lansing, MI 1993 (African Series 3), 73ff.; Negussay Ayele, "Norway, Ethiopia and the 'Yarar Foundation'", *Ethiomedia.com*, 2005 [*http://ethiomedia.com/fastpress/yara_scandal.pdf*; last access 19 April 2012]; Nene Mburu, "Patriots or Bandits? Britain's Strategy for Policing Eritrea 1941–1952", *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 9, 2, 2000, 85–104, here 92; Estelle Sylvia Pankhurst, *Ethiopia and Eritrea: the Last Phase of the Reunion Struggle, 1941–1952*, Essex 1953, 87, 216f., 225f., 231–40, 244; Brita Marie Servan, *Sacred Networks: Religion and Social Life among Oromo in Norway*, M.A. thesis, University of Bergen 2008; Maurits van der Veen, "National Identity and the Origin of Development Assistance", paper presented at the *Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association*, Boston, MA 2005.

Kjetil Tronvoll – Siegfried Pausewang

Nubia

N., in Egyptological and Nubiological terms, is the middle ↗Nile region from Aswān (↗Egypt) to an undetermined point to the south of ↗Khartoum (central ↗Sudan). It includes in the east and west the adjoining desert and steppes, and encompasses different landscapes, climates, vegetation, people, languages and cultures. Internally, riverine N. is divided into Lower N., between the 1st and 2nd Nile cataracts, and Upper N., south of the 2nd cataract up to south of Khartoum.

It is commonly assumed that the most ancient mention of the *Noûbai*, '↗Noba, Nubians', occurs in Eratosthenes, *apud* ↗Strabo, *Geogr.* XVII, 1, 2 p. 786C. (= fr. IIIB 51 Berger), but contemporary, if not older, is a spurious fragment of Apollodorus preserved by Constantine Porphyrogenitus: "Nubians [*Noúbēs* (*Noûbai*)], people of Libya near the Nile" (*FGrH* 244 F 330); and the reference to *Nubaei*, 'Nubians', in ↗Pliny, *Nat. hist.* VI, 35, 192, depends on Bio of Soli (prior to Eratosthenes). ↗Ptolemy, *Geogr.* IV, 7, 30, yields more accurate information on *Noûbai* as neighbours of *Molíbai* and *Megábardoi*, as well as, IV, 6, 16, on an homonymous people in the southern parts of Numidia. In the late antique and Byzantine periods, the usual designations for "Nubians" were *Nobátai*, *Nobadae* and other such names. In the Greek sources, at least until the ↗*Monumentum Adulitanum* (RIÉ 277), the Nubian and namely Meroitic (↗Meroë) area was generically labelled as ↗*Aithiopía* (s. Fiaccadori 2004: 117, 125ff.). In later Arabic sources, beside *Nūba* (of Greek origin), the equally vague *bilād as-Sūdān*, 'land of the Blacks', is frequently attested – after which the political entity was named that developed out of the 1821 Turco-Egyptian conquest. Today's autonomous country of Sudan took its name directly from that.

The archaeological time span ranges from the Palaeolithic to the end of the medieval period (ca. 1500 A.D.). Since most of the Nubian cultures were illiterate and Meroitic is still practically unintelligible (Rilly 2004), the internal chronology of the different Nubian cultures is correlated to Egyptian chronology, owing to the interconnections of both entities: i.e. Egyptian texts concerning N. (usually referred to as *Ta-Sti*, 'Land of the Bow', a clear hint at the most common weapon there) and Egyptian finds in N. as well as Nubian finds in Egypt, there being some ^{14}C-dates, but partly rather inconclusive.

Notable is the accelerated development of a stratified society early in the 5th millenium B.C.

at Kadruka (Upper N.) long before similar developments are noted in Egypt (Reinold 2000: 58ff.). While a stratified chiefdom, named ↗Kush in texts from the Middle Kingdom onwards, was already developing at Kerma (ca. 2500–1500 B.C.) in the Upper N. ↗Dongola district during the Egyptian Old Kingdom, the communities of Lower N. remained largely egalitarian (A-Group, ca. 3800–3000 B.C., C-Group ca. 2300–1500 B.C.). Their relationships with Egypt are shown by texts and findings. Originating in the Eastern desert and Red Sea hills, the Pan grave culture, diffused up to ↗Kassala (Sadr 1987; 1990), is documented in Lower N. and Upper Egypt from the beginning of the second millennium. It has been associated with the "Medjaiu" who appear first in Egyptian texts of the 6th dynasty (but s. Liszka 2012) and should be identified, on linguistic grounds, with modern ↗Beğa (El-Sayed 2004; 2011; Zibelius-Chen 2011), the latter being one and the same as late-antique ↗Blemmyes (Browne 2003). They served the Egyptians as scouts and mercenaries up to the New Kingdom, where they participated in the campaigns against N., but also fighted on the side of the Nubians (Kushites) when these invaded Upper Egypt towards the end of the Second Intermediate Period (ca. 1794–1550 B.C.) – with allies also consisting of Lower Nubians und Puntites (↗Punt, s. Davies 2003).

The development of N. was strongly influenced throughout all periods by Egyptian interests, which aimed at the free disposal of Nubian wealth, especially gold, aromatics, other natural resources, human labourers and soldiers. N. was also the passage through which such exotic African goods as ebony, ivory, incense and ostrich feathers and eggshells reached Egypt, adding to N.'s share in world ↗trade. After the annexation of Lower N. (in part already during the Old Kingdom), the Egyptian pharaohs campaigned during the Middle Kingdom against Kush, but were unable to subdue this kingdom, which had become a powerful rival of Egypt. Kush extended then from the 2nd cataract to south of the 4th cataract, with its political and commercial centre at Kerma. A palace, administrative and religious buildings, especially the Western *deffufa* (lit. 'mudbrick'), an imposing temple structure of 50 x 25 m and still almost 20 m high, and a necropolis of enormous, richly endowed tumulus tombs for the rulers and large cult chapels, notably the Eastern *deffufa*, have been excavated (Bonnet – Valbelle 2000; Iid. 2004). As during the Second Intermediate Period (ca. 1794–1550 B.C.) the unified Egyptian state disintegrated and its garrisons withdrew from the forts in Lower N., the Asiatic Hyksos established themselves in the Eastern delta and extended their dominion over Middle Egypt. Kush quickly filled the vacuum left by the Egyptians, reaching up to the border with Egypt at Elephantine. According to Egyptian texts, the Hyksos made an alliance with the ruler of Kush in order to conquer and divide Egypt. Yet, they were expelled and the Kushite threat was eliminated by a lasting war of nearly 90 years. Kush was destroyed and the whole territory of N. annexed up to Ḥağar al-Marwa (Kurgus) in the Abū Ḥāmid district, between the 4th and 5th cataracts. A colonial regime was enforced, an Egyptian administration installed and a considerable number of temples for Egyptian deities was erected (Fowles Morris 2005).

After 500 years of rule, at the end of the New Kingdom (ca. 1080 B.C.), the Egyptians left eventually N. Native elite tombs from the late New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period were recently discovered at Hillat al-ᶜArab, slightly south of Ğabal Barkal, next to the 4th cataract (Vincentelli 2006). In this region, at al-Kurrū, a local centre of power developed again ca. 850 B. C. (Kendall 1999) that later moved to ↗Napata, at Ğabal Barkal, and shortly afterwards was able to extend its control to Lower N. and Upper Egypt (Thebes). By his 21st year of reign, King Piankhi (ca. 753–722 B.C.) had established his rule over the whole of Egypt, initiating here the Napatan (Kushitic) 25th or ↗Ethiopian dynasty.

The attempts of the Kushites to return were averted by the kings of the 26th dynasty and stopped after Psammeticus II, who apparently reached Napata on his campaign in 593 B.C. Later on, struggles over Lower N. and influence on Upper Egypt were to produce frequent military actions with Ptolemaic and Roman troops in Lower N.

For its some 400 years of history little is known of the Napatan kingdom after its withdrawal from Egypt, apart from kings' and queens' names occuring on the archaeological remains of temples and pyramid tombs that continued to be erected. Only a few, more informative texts written in Egyptian have been transmitted (Török 1997; Welsby 1996). From the middle of the 5th cent. B.C., the centre shifted from Napata southwards to Meroë, between the 5th and 6th cataracts, where the kingdom developed more distinctive local features and kept flourishing alongside and contemporary to Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt.

At the beginning of the 2nd cent. B.C., Egyptian writing changed to native Meroitic. This being as yet poorly understood, some knowledge about historical events is derived from external, chiefly classical, sources. Apparently associated with a more aggressive northern policy, which led to the Meroitic conquest and pillage of Philae and Syene (Aswān) a conflict with the Romans was provoked, resulting in Petronius's campaign of 23 B.C. (Monneret de Villard 1938: 7–15). After the peace of Samos 21/20 B.C., the Romans withdrew their garrison from Primis Parva (later Qaṣr Ibrīm), while the Meroites had to acknowledge the border at today's Maḥarraqa in Lower N.

Strabo's passage on the campaign against ↗Candace, "a masculine sort of woman, and blind in one eye" (*Geogr.* XVII, 1, 54 p. 820 C. = FHN 190), puts into a more realistic perspective the triumphal narrative of Augustus' *Res gestae* (§26 = *FHN* 166). A few Latin ↗inscriptions provide actual evidence for diplomatic relations between Rome and Meroë (e.g., FHN 220 [*CIL* III 14148]). Remarkably, in 60/61 A.D., Emperor Nero sent informers to sound the political feelings of the Nubians. In the late 1st/early 2nd cent. A.D., the poet Juvenal makes it evident that N. was no more a fabulous land at the end of the known world, but a well-defined place in Roman culture and imagination: he introduces *matronae* "journey(ing) to the confines of Egypt, and fetch(ing) water from hot Meroë with which sprinkle the temple of Isis" in Rome (*Sat.* VI, 526ff.). Only in 297 A.D. did Diocletian move the frontier back to Syene, but exactly how the Romans ruled Lower N. and the degree to which the Meroites may have been involved cannot be established.

The fall of Meroë, in which the Noba (*Noûbai*), originating in the south-west, seem to have also played a rôle, is usually dated between 350 and 370 A.D., but it should have occurred quite earlier, between 260 and 269, the last reference to an independent Nubian state and king (Teqorideamani) going back to 254 A.D. (s. Fiaccadori 2004: 116f. and Zach 2011). Meroë would have then been abandoned, the pyramid no. 25 representing the last burial in the royal necropolis of Beg(e)rawiya (Bağarāwiya) north at Meroë. Meroitic rule was succeeded in the north by the Ballaña culture (X-Group), with royal necropoles at Ballaña and Qusṭul (4th–6th cent. A.D.; s. Török 1987), and the post-Meroitic Period in the south with regional traditions displaying "imperial" burials with contents of considerable wealth, also showing military prowess by their weaponry (Lenoble 1989; 1999). This was a transitional period during which the Noba seem to have settled in the south and the No(u)bádes and Blemmyes in the north as new inhabitants of the Nile valley. It was also a period of unrest in Lower N., since the middle 5th-cent. Nobadian ruler Silkō left a Greek inscription in the temple of Kalabsha, where he styles himself as *basilískos*, '(federate) king' (vs. the ↗Byzantine Empire), and records three campaigns, by which he seems to have defeated the Blemmyes (FHN 317).

While Greek was, besides Coptic, the main official (written) language (Łajtar 2003; van der Vliet 2003), these Nubian speakers brought with them their dialects (Bechhaus-Gerst 1996), which were vital in forming the new identity of the medieval Christian kingdoms of N. (Welsby 2002; Edwards 2004: 212–55).

↗Christianity formally came to N. in the 6th cent. A.D., but may have been present long before (Monneret de Villard 1938: 61–70). The most ancient historical document is the N.T. narrative (*Act.* 8, 26 = FHN 194) on an "Ethiopian [*Aithíops*] man", said to be the "powerful eunuch [*eunoûchos dynástēs*]" of Queen Candace who was converted by Philip the Deacon in Palestine (the Jewish diaspora had likewise affected, conversely, the Nubian territories). Ancient sources have it that the eunuch began to preach Christianity immediately after returning to his homeland (Ireneus, *Contra haer.* IV, 23, 2; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* II, 1, 13 = FHN 294). The Coptic Life of Apa Aaron (Budge 1915: 445–93) informs that Macedonius was appointed as the first bishop of Philae in the 4th cent. A.D.; he was assisted by three acolytes, Mark, Isaia and Pseleusius. An interesting document on a Christian community harassed by repeated attacks of the nearby heathens (i.e. the Blemmyes) is the petition by Appion, bishop of Syene, to the Emperors Theodosius II and Valentinianus III (FHN 314 [P. Leiden Z. SB2014606]).

The first official effort for spreading Christianity in the region dates to the age of ↗Justinian I, when the presbyter Julian, a protégé of Empress Theodora and a strong supporter of ↗Monophysitism, was sent there between 542 and 545 – probably with the help of the Alexandrian patriarch Theodosius, according to John of Ephesus (*Hist. eccl.* IV, 6–9, cp. Scholz 2010). Julian stayed among the Nubians two years, christening the king and the aristocracy. Before leaving, he entrusted the young Christian community to Bishop Theodore, whom Patriarch Timothy III had appointed to the see of Philae (an island in the 1st Nile cataract, marking the southernmost limit of Egypt) in 525 A.D.; there, a Greek inscription in the temple of Isis commemorates Theodore turning that pagan building into a place of Christian worship dedicated to St. Stephen (Lefebvre 1907, no. 587.2–5 = FHN 324). After Julian, Bishop Longinus, also a Monophysite, was appointed to succeed him in charge of the Nubian mission. Neither this mission nor the strong influences from the emerging Coptic Church ever resulted in the utter exclusion of Greek Orthodoxy (i.e. Dyophysitism). It was not before 569 A.D., however, that Longinus arrived in Nubia; he was active until about 580, eventually preaching the Gospel in the southern kingdom of Alodia. Here, actually, he had been preceeded by a group of "Phantasiasts" or followers of Julian of Halicarnassus (↗Julianism) coming from ↗Aksum (Fiaccadori 1992: 13 n. 33).

As a matter of fact, very little is known as to the relationships Meroë or Kasu and its large but probably loosely controlled area of influence entertained with their powerful eastern neighbour, Aksum – as directly alluded to in ↗Heliodorus' *Aithiopiká*. Before the rise of Aksum, there is good evidence of commercial and political contacts between N. and the ↗Horn of Africa (s. Hatke 2013). Fragmentary Greek inscriptions and a few ↗Gəʿəz graffiti from Meroë (RIÉ 286 = FHN 285 [*SEG* XLII 1655*]; RIÉ 286A = FHN 286 [*SEG* XLII 1656]) and ↗Kawa may indicate that Aksumite campaigns reached there (Fiaccadori 2004: 125f.). When King ↗ʿEzana led his successful expedition to the Nile (DAE 11 = RIÉ 189), the Meroitic kingdom, with no maritime outlet but the port of ↗Adulis (indeed open to the "Trogodytes" of Meroë), had probably ceased to exist long before (ibid. 116f., 124f.; Id. 2009–10: 200f., 206 for the inland routes between N. and Aksum and the relevant sources). The Kasu, i.e. the remnants of the Meroitic state, and its successors, the Noba, were the target of ʿEzana's expedition, also in support of such local people as Mangurtô, ↗Barya (i.e. ↗Nara) and Ḫasa (↗Hazo) who had invoked his help to check Noba ambitions. Both Noba and Kasu, together with Beğa, officially feature in ʿEzana's titulature as comprising part of his realm (MHAksum 54, 227f.)

Three Nubian kingdoms did actually form in the early Middle Ages (ca. 500 A.D.): Nobatia in the north with its capital at Faras, (ancient Pachōras), Mak(o)uria (Muqurra) in the middle with its capital at Old Dongola (Dunqula), and Alodia (ʿAlwā) in the south with its capital at Soba (↗Soba Noba, s. EAE vol. 5; Welsby – Daniels 1991; cp. already Zyhlarz 1943 and Munro-Hay 1982–83). Like the Egyptian Copts and the Ethiopians, they adhered to the Monophysite doctrine and remained Christians for about a thousand years, being protected from Islamization (↗Islam) by the *baqṭ*, a bilateral treaty that guaranteed the sovereignty of N., after the Arabs had tried twice, but in vain, to conquer N. in 642 and 652 A.D (s. Spaulding 1995).

Nobatia, later called Marīs, was soon absorbed into Makuria or "Great(er) N.", and administered by an official called eparch (Nubian: *soŋoj*), information about the social structure of the kingdom usually deriving from Christian tombstones. Nobiin, the language of the northern part of the kingdom came to be the written language (Old Nubian) by the 8th cent. besides Greek and Coptic. A still Greek-speaking "king of Nubia" went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and Santiago de Compostela (Galicia, northwestern Spain) via Constantinopole, where he met Emperor Alexius III in 1203, on the eve of the Fourth Crusade (s. Fiaccadori in VarAeth).

The majority of texts concerning N. are, however, little informative, being of religious nature. Historical facts, for instance, have to be retrieved from external, i.e. Greek, Latin and mostly Arabic, sources (for the latter s. Vantini 1975), in which N. is often confused with Ethiopia (*Aithiopía*, *Aethiopia* and ↗*Ḥabaša*), both being also styled as India (s. ↗"India" as name of Ethiopia"). These sources as well as the various archaeologically documented fortified settlements and forts testify to considerable unrest. A significant number of churches was erected that frequently display impressive wall paintings, such as in Faras (Michałowski 1974); there were also several monasteries, which like the churches were partly built or rebuilt well down the late Middle Ages (Monneret de Villard 1935–57).

Although there is to date no evidence from the Nubian side, at least loose contacts seem to have been maintained with medieval Ethiopia, since in the *History of the Patriarchs* (↗Severus of Ašmūnayn) it is noted that during the patriarchate of Philotheus (979–1003) King George II of N. interceded in Alexandria on behalf of the Ethiopian king requesting a new metropolitan (↗*P̣ap̣pas*), the regularly appointed one having been deposed under illegal circumstances (MHAksum 101; cp., in general, Tedeschi 1967–68). On the other hand, Nubian suggestions can be detected in Ethiopian art and culture (↗Art in EAE vol. 5): e.g., in the iconography of the Holy ↗Trinity (cp. ↗Trinity in art) and the use and representation of headgears or crowns with horns (s. ↗Painting; ChojPaint 344f. and n. 28; Zurawski 1993 and 1998; Martens-Czarnezca 1999; Fiaccadori 2009–10: 200f., 206ff.). Ca. 1338 the monk ↗Ewosṭatewos of Däbrä Ṣärabi, after crossing the countries of the Bogos (↗Bilin) and the Red and Black ↗Marya, reached into the land of the "Noba", ruled by a Christian king named *Säbᵓa Nol* in the local language, *Wəludä Ityop̣ya* ('Son/Posterity of Ethiopia [i.e. Nubia?]') in Gəᶜəz, and moved thence on to Egypt.

Gradually, Christianity declined in N. because of the loosening of contacts with Alexandria, the seat of the patriarch. As a rule, bishops and other church officials were in fact sent from the Greek and Coptic Patriarchates, the Nubians lacking institutions for educating high clergy. Besides, Arabs immigrated and intermarried with local women and several kings also became Muslim, so that finally Islām took over.

The ruler of ᶜAlwā remained Christian until 1504, when his reign was defeated and his kingdom subsumed into the ↗Funǧ sultanate of ↗Sinnār. At that time, Makuria was destabilized by dynastic struggles and repeated incursions of nomadic Ǧuhaniyya Arabs raiding and bringing anarchy, as well as by heavy Egyptian interventions into Nubian politics. Makuria disintegrated and part of it may have survived in the kingdom of Dotawo – with a strong imprint of Greek (Byzantine) culture. At last with the emergence of the ↗Ottomans, Christian N. ceased definitely to exist ca. 1560.

Long divided between Egypt and Sinnār, N. witnessed the progressive Arabization of much of its population. It was again united within Ottoman Egypt, in the 19th century, and Anglo–Egyptian Sudan, from 1899 to 1956. In the 1970s, many Egyptian Nubians were forcibly resettled to make room for Lake Nasser, a vast reservoir between Egypt and Sudan resulting from the construction of the subsequent dams at Aswān. As part of the world cultural heritage, several ancient monuments of N. (including the temples of Philae) were then saved from the rising waters of the lake and moved to higher ground and/or relocated nearby under the auspices of UNESCO.

Src.: Strabons *Geographika*, ed. and tr. Stefan Radt vol. 4, Göttingen 2005, 408 = Hugo Berger (ed.), *Die geographischen Fragmente des Eratosthenes*, Amsterdam 1964, 304; Felix Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, vol. IIB, Leiden – New York – Köln ^{4}1997 [= *FGrHist*], 1119: 244 F 330; Pliny, *Natural History*, ed. and tr. Harris Rackham – William H.S. Jones – David E. Heichholz, vol. 2, Cambridge, MA – London 1942 [repr. 1971] (The Loeb Classical Library 352), 480; Klaudios Ptolemaios, *Handbuch der Geographie*, ed. Alfred Stückelberger – Gerd Grasshoff, vol. 1, Basel 2006, 450, 464; FHN nos. 190, 166, 220, 194, 294, 285, 286, 314, 317, 324; Irenäus von Lyon, *Gegen die Häresien*, vol. 4, ed. and tr. Norbert Brox, Freiburg – Basel – Wien 1997 (Fontes Christiani 8, 4), 192ff.; Ernst Alfred Wallis Budge (ed., tr.), *Miscellaneous Coptic texts in the dialect of Upper Egypt*, London 1915 (Coptic Texts 5), 445–93 (text) = 958–89 (tr.); RIÉ I 378–82 (text) = IIIA 32–45 (tr.), no. 277; RIÉ I 385f. and 387 = IIIA 47–51 and 51f., nos. 286 and 286A; *Juvenal & Persius*, ed. and tr. George G. Ramsay, Cambridge, MA – London 1961 (The Loeb Classical Library 91), 126f.; Ernst W. Brooks (tr.), *Iohannis Ephesini Historiae ecclesiasticae pars tertia*, Louvain 1952 (CSCO 106 [Scriptores Syri 55]), 137–139, 174-183; Gustave Lefebvre, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte*, Paris 1907 (Institut Français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire. Mémoires 101), 109, no. 587; Gerald M. Browne, *Textus Blemmyicus aetatis Christianae*, Champaign, IL 2003; DAE IV, no. 4 = RIÉ no. 270; Adam Łajtar, Catalogue of the Greek Inscriptions in the Sudan National Museum at Khartoum (I. Khartoum Greek), Leuven – Paris – Dudley, MA 2003 (Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta 122); Jacques van der Vliet, *Catalogue of the Coptic Inscriptions in the Sudan National Museum at Khartoum* (I. *Khartoum Copt.*), Leuven – Paris – Dudley, MA 2003 (Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta 121); Giovanni Vantini, *Oriental Sources Concerning Nubia,* Heidelberg – Warsaw 1975.

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O

Ophir

O. is a country mentioned in the O.T. (Heb. 1 Kgs 9:28, 10:11, 22:48; 1 Chr 29:4; 2 Chr 8:18; Is 13:12; Ps 45:10 [Eng. 45:9]; Job 22:24, 28:16) and on a pottery sherd dated to the end of the period of the kings in Israel. According to these sources, King ↗Solomon imported gold, exotic wood and precious stones from O. The expeditions to O. and the equally obscure Taršîš were carried out by Phoenician sailors, who started their journeys from the ports of Eloṯ (mod. Elaṯ) and ᶜEṣyon Geber, both in the mouth of the Gulf of ᶜAqaba. In 1 Kgs 10:11, the expedition to O. – headed by the Phoenician Hiram, responsible for a series of ↗trade missions in 1 Kgs 9 – is connected with the gifts Solomon received from the Queen of Sheba (↗Makədda). In early modern history, O. was taken as a materialisation of the ideal state or utopia.

In the Gəᶜəz ↗Bible, O. the son of Joktan, mentioned in Gen 10:28–29 is attested as **ሑፋር** (*Ḥufar*; in the LXX Ουφιϱ, *Ouphir*). The land of O. appears as **ኤፌራ** (*Efera*) in 3 Kgs (= Heb. 1 Kgs) 22:48; as **ኦፍር** (*Ofər*), **አፌር** (*Afer*), **አፍር** (*Afər*) in Job 28:16 (Gr. Ωφιϱ, *Ōphir*); as **ኦፋር** (*Ofar*) in Gregory's Epistle. In Eth. 3 Kgs (= LXX 1 Kgs) 9:28 and 10:11, O. appears as **ሶፌራ** (*Sofera*), **ሶፌር** (*Sofer*), respectively, in correspondence with the LXX renderings Σωφηϱα (*Sōphēra*), Σουφιϱ (*Souphir*); and in Job 22:24 as **ሰፍር** (*Säfər*; yet Ωφιϱ, *Ōphir*, in the LXX). O. does not appear in Ps 44:11 (= Heb. 45:9; already not in the LXX). **ሳፊር** (*Safir*, "Saphir"), the city built "with stones of gold" mentioned in the Ethiopic apocryphal text on the *Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan* (*Gädlä ↗Addam*), should also be identified with O. (Dillmann 1853: 117 and n. 125 p. 142). As a matter of fact, in antiquity, the name "Saphir" was a synonym for ↗India: it is there, "in the place called before Sophira and now land of Chrysē", that Josephus Flavius places O.; and in some Arabic Bible translations O. was in fact rendered as *al-Hind*, 'India' (s., e.g., Peters 1899: 46f.). O. is also mentioned in Book 1 of the *↗Qälemənṭos*, which closely follows its Vorlage, the *Kitāb al-maǧāll*, in its turn heavily drawing on the *Conflict of Adam and Eve* (Grébaut 1913: 56). In Is 13:12, O. (Σουφειϱ, *Soupheir*, or Σουφιϱ, *Souphir*, in the LXX) is rendered with **ሰንፔር** (*Sänper*), actually 'sapphire' (DillmLex 375; cp. Ex 24:10, 28:18; and also, e.g., the *Vita of ↗Giyorgis of Sägla*, Colin 1987: 4 [text]), possibly the result of a mistranslation.

O. has been localized in such different regions as Armenia, Eastern Africa, South Africa, India, Ceylon, Malaysia (with the peninsula of Malacca), and even Australia, New Zealand or South America: most likely, however, it is to be sought somewhere on the ↗Red Sea coast, possibly in South ↗Arabia (s. Görg 1981) or in Somalia (UllBible 8); or also in the border areas between Egypt and Ethiopia (Sinnār, Fazoġli, or even the region of ↗Adulis; s. Hermann 1939: 647f.). The "gold of O." and the "topaz of Ethiopia (↗Kush)" are mentioned in the same connection in Job 28:16–19, making it possible that both were results of the same expedition to O. Some scholars have suggested associating O. with ↗Punt (Baker 1992: 27; Kitchen 1997: 144; cp. De Romanis 1996: 83).

ዓፈራ (ᶜ*Afära*, here, though, possibly 'Africa' rather than 'O.', in vars. also **ዓረፋ**, ᶜ*Aräfa*, Dillmann 1859: 36) is also attested in the Ethiopic *Book of ↗Jubilees* (8:15) as part of Shem's lot. The toponym "Afrā" appears on an ancient Phoenician-Hebrew map as the East-African province of the land of Eden, placed itself in Arabia. If "Afrā" stands here for O. this may be a hint that the Biblical land of O. was the coastal strip of the African Red Sea from Eritrea to Bāb al-Mandab (Hermann 1939: 648). Conti Rossini (CRStor 48f.) proposed identifying O. with Maᶜafir in South Arabia.

↗Franchetti (1930) recorded a tradition, according to which the inhabitants of Danakil descended from O., and the name "↗ᶜAfar" is a distortion of O. (quoted in PollEr 248f.). Others (beginning, e.g., with Krapf 1860: 21), assumed instead that it was the name O. that was derived from the Cushitic ethnonym.

Scholars seeking for proof that the ↗Betä Ǝsraᵓel may indeed descend from Solomonic Israel have suggested that their ancestors were exiled or deported to O. by ↗Solomon, in exchange for large quantities of gold (Herrmann 1939: 648f.).

Src.: LIONEL CASSON (ed., tr.), *The Periplus Maris Erythraei*, Princeton, NJ 1989, ch. 52; GÉRARD COLIN, *Vie de Georges de Saglā*, Louvain 1987 (CSCO 492, 493 [SAe 81, 82]), 4 (text) = 3 (tr.); AUGUST DILLMANN (tr.), *Das christliche Adambuch des Morgenlandes*: *Aus dem Äthiopischen mit Bemerkungen übersetzt*, Göttingen 1853, 117, 142; ID. (ed., tr.), *Maṣeḥafa Kufālē sive liber Jubilaeorum aethiopice*, Lipsiae 1859, 36; DillmLex 375, 808; FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, *Jewish Antiquities*, tr. by William Whiston, intr. by Brian McGing, London 2006 (Wordsworth Classics of World Literature), Book I ch. 6, Book VIII ch. 6, § 4; RAIMONDO FRANCHETTI, *Nella Dancalia etiopica*: *Spedizione italiana 1928–29*, Milano 1930; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT (tr.), *Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine*: *Le Qalêmentos. Version éthiopienne en sept livres*. I. *Livres premier et deuxième*, Paris 1913, 56; JOHANN LUDWIG KRAPF, *Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labours during an Eighteen Years' Residence in Eastern Africa*, London 1860, 21.

Lit.: CHARLES ANTHON, *A Classical Dictionary*: *Containing the Principle Proper Names Mentioned in Ancient Authors,* part II, London 1888, repr. Whitefish, MT 2005, 926f.; DAVID W. BAKER, "Ophir (Place)", in: *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 5, New York 1992, 26–27; FRANÇOISE BRIQUEL-CHATONNET, *Les relations entre les cités de la côte phénicienne et le royaumes d'Israël et de Juda*, Louvain 1992 (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 46), 277-83; VASSILIOS CHRISTIDÈS, "L'énigme d'Ophir", *Révue biblique* 77, 1970, 240–47; CRStor 48f.; FEDERICO DE ROMANIS, *Cassia, cinnamomo, ossidiana*: *Uomini e merci tra oceano Indiano e Mediterraneo*, Roma 1996 (Saggi di storia antica 9), 58, 82f., 153; MANFRED GÖRG, *Ophir, Tarschisch und Atlantis*: *Einige Gedanken zur symbolischen Geographie*, *Biblische Notizen* 15, 1981, 76–86; JOSHUA GUTMANN, "Ophir", in: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 12, Jerusalem 1972, 1413–14 (= *Encyclopaedia Judaica*^{2}, vol. 15, Farmington Hills, MI 2007, 439); ALBERT HERMANN, "Ophir", in: [PAULY'S] *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften*, vol. 18, 1, Stuttgart 1939, 647–49; EMIL HIRSCH – IMMANUEL BENZINGER, "Ophir", in: *The Jewish Encyclopaedia*, vol. 9, New York 1905, 406–07; KENNETH ANDERSON KITCHEN, "Sheba and Arabia", in: LOWELL K. HANDY (ed.), *The Age of Solomon*: *Scholarship at the Turn of the Millennium*, Leiden 1997, 126–53, here 143–47 (Lit.); EDWARD LIPIŃSKI, *Itineraria Phoenicia*, Louvain 2003 (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 127, Studia Phoenicia 18), 189–224 (Lit.); ALBERTO MANGUEL – GIANNI GUADALUPI, *Von Atlantis bis Utopia*: *Ein Führer zu den imaginären Schauplätzen der Weltliteratur*, München 1981, 250; JAMES INNES MILLER, *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire, 29 B.C. to A.D. 641*, Oxford 1969, 62, 260f.; MARTIN NOTH, *Geschichte Israels*, Göttingen ^{6}1966, 197; PankBord 16f.; KARL PETERS, *Ophir nach den neuesten Forschungen*, Berlin 1908; ID. (CARL PETERS), *King Solomon's Golden Ophir*: *a Research into the Most Ancient Gold Production in History*, London 1899, 46f.; PollEr 248f.; GONZAGUE RYCKMANS, "Ophir", in: *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, vol. 6, Paris 1960, 744–51; UllBible 8, 17, 133; HERMANN VON WISSMANN, "Ophir und Hawila, das westarabische Goldland, Dedan und Hegra", in: [PAULY'S] *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften*, Neue Bearbeitung, Supplementband 12, Stuttgart 1970, 909–79.

Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Oromo Liberation Front

The OLF (Orom. *Adda Bilisummaa Oromoo* [ABO]) is a political organization struggling for the "cultural emancipation" and "self-determination" of the ↗Oromo people in Ethiopia.

In its founding period the OLF stood for a loose network which embraced various legacies of political activity among the Oromo, and which had developed since the 1960s. The legacies included the civic and cultural activities of the ↗Mäč̣č̣a and Tulama Association (1963–67); the peasant-based Bale uprising (1963–69), and its ↗Somali-sponsored revival since 1975; the largely ↗Harär-based and periodically Somali-sponsored (1960–69) organization called the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF) which was re-launched in 1971 as the Ethiopian National Liberation Front (ENLF). Its office in Damascus was using the term OLF as early as 1973. The network included Oromo activists within the Ethiopian student's movement, notably a group represented by ↗Baro Tumsa. During the initial period of the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council), later activists were engaged in two strongly connected organizations. As ECCAT (Revolutionary Struggle of the Ethiopian Oppressed [RSEO]) in 1976–77, they were part of the People's Office for Mass Organizational Affairs (POMOA), the civil Marxist-Leninist consultancy board of the *Därg*. At the same time an umbrella organization, the Oromo Organizations People's Liberation Struggle (OOPLS), claimed to coordinate political activities among the Oromo. In 1976 former ENLF activist *šeek* Jaaraa (Abdulkarīm Ibrāhīm Ḥāmid) was declared military commander of the OLF. In 1977 Magarsa Barii, a deputy administrator of Bale, became chairman of the different wings of the OLF (Zitelmann 1994: 82ff.).

At the core of ECCAT's interests stood the peasant issue, under the slogan "land to the tiller", which made the headlines with the land reform of 1976 (Noggo 1978). In 1978 ECCAT broke with the *Därg*. Some urban cadres, including Baro Tumsa, escaped to the ↗Gara Muläta mountains, into territory controlled by *šeek* Jaaraa. The tragic death of Baro Tumsa was never cleared up and this spoiled relations between the two wings of the OLF. In 1986 *šeek* Jaaraa renamed his wing as the Islamic Front for the Liberation of Oromiya (IFLO; Zitelmann 1993: 48). To escape from a too narrow linkage with Somalia, which in 1978 had invaded Ethiopia and which had sponsored the Somali Abbo Liberation Front

(SALF) under Waqoo Gutu, the ECCAT wing of the OLF opened an office for external relations in Khartoum in 1978. After Magarsa Barii was killed by Somali units in 1980, the office for external relations became the OLF's sole representative. The OLF's organizational structures copied the Ethiopian People's Liberation Front (EPLF) and the ↗Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), with a political body, a military structure, mass organizations (students, workers, women, youth) and relief work among refugees (the Oromo Relief Association [ORA]), however, on a much smaller and less hierarchic, and on less cohesive and less repressive scale than practiced by the EPLF and the TPLF (Zitelmann 1995: 250). Up to the early 1980s, a Marxist-Leninist approach to national liberation was still at the core of the OLF's ideology (OLF 1979). At that stage OLF politics were presented as the continuation of the land reform by other means (Zitelmann 2009: 282). These policies gradually took the form of micro-nationalism and culturally mediated identity politics, putting territory (*Oromiyaa*), the ↗Oromo language, and romanticizised elements of the Oromo past (notably the age- and generation grading ↗*gadaa* system with its electional procedures) into its ideological core (Gadaa Melbaa 1980; 1981; Zitelmann 1990; 1997). The polemics against Ethiopian "settler colonialism" in Oromo territories, with the ↗*näftäñña* as the archetype of imperial power, shifted from a structural attempt to describe class-relations to describing "the Amhara" as the ethnified enemy-other (Zitelmann ibid.).

During the 1980s the OLF's fighting force increased from a few hundred to about 8,000 fighters in early 1991. During 1991–92 numbers possibly rose to 20,000–30,000, but with no corresponding military leadership and logistics. When the OLF joined the transitory government in 1991, they could rely on the professional skills of former ECCAT cadres, who served as ministers, but they had no equivalent fighting force to challenge the TPLF's grasp for total power (Zitelmann 1993; 1995: 249).

During the 1980s the OLF's structures became crucial to the cultural self-assertion among Oromo, which culminated in the concept of 'Oromo culture' (*aadaa oromoo*) as a trait shared by all (Zitelmann 1994: 171f.). This was strongly supported by the use of the Oromo language as a means of literacy in the Latin script (*qubee*), and as a means of daily intercourse. Initially the OLF's literacy program had an impact only on Oromo refugee communities in the Horn of Africa (Somalia, Sudan) and the wider ↗diaspora (Middle East, Europe, North America), but with the OLF's participation in the Ethiopian transitory government in 1991 it also began to shape internal practices in the newly formed Oromiyaa Regional State (Mohammed Hassen 1996: 261ff.; Zitelmann 1996). The introduction of *qubee* remains a continuous legacy.

Since 1992 OLF structures survive in memory and in exile, occasionally recalled for well-meaning attempts to improve the dismal state of democracy in the Federal Republic of Ethiopia (Lata 2004; Pausewang 2009) or for "reinventing the movement" (Shinn 2009: 3).

By the end of the first decade of the 21st cent. the OLF appears to be split into three (Shinn 2009: 3). After three decades, observers are still puzzled by the question what the OLF and its quest for self-determination of the Oromo stands for: an independent Oromiyaa or autonomy within Ethiopia (Shinn 2009: 2). Attempts by parts of the ethnic nationalist OLF to join forces with Ethiopian nationalist-centralist opponents of Ethiopia's ruling Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) underline such questions (Pausewang 2007). However, the ambiguities in the political demands, practices and semantics of Oromo liberation have been issues ever since the OLF came into being in 1974 (Zitelmann 1993: 51f.; 1994: 55ff.).

Lit.: GADAA MELBAA, *Oromiyaa*: *Seensa Gabaabaa Seenaa Oromoo*, Oromiyaa 1981; ID., *Oromia*: *a Brief Introduction*, Finfinne 1980; OLF, "Letter to Cubans in Harar", *Horn of Africa* 2, 1, 1979, 10–14; LEENCO LATA, *The Horn of Africa as Common Homeland*: *the States and Self-Determination in the Era of Heightened Globalization*, Waterloo, ON 2004; MOHAMMED HASSEN, "A Brief Glance at the History of the Growth of Written Oromo Literature", in: CATHERINE GRIEFENOW-MEWIS – RAINER M. VOIGT (eds.), *Cushitic and Omotic Languages*: *Proceedings of the Third International Symposium, Berlin, March 17–19, 1994*, Köln 1996, 249–70; YOHANNES NOGGO, *Implementation of the Landreform and Problems of the Agrarian Reconstruction of Ethiopia*, Dakar 1978 (Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa, Occasional Paper 1), 60–92; SIEGFRIED PAUSEWANG, "The Oromo and the Coalition for Unity and Democracy", *The Journal of Oromo Studies* 14, 1, 2007, 63–77; ID. (ed.), *Exploring New Political Alternatives for the Oromo in Ethiopia*: *Report from Oromo Workshop and its After-effects*, Bergen 2009 (CMI Report 2009/6); DAVID H. SHINN, "Ethiopian Armed Groups", *Paper Presented at Conference Hosted by State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research and U.S. Africa Command. Garmisch, Germany, November 13–14*, The Elliot School of Social Affairs 2009; THOMAS ZITELMANN, "Politisches Gemeinschaftshandeln, bewaffnete Gewalt, soziale My-

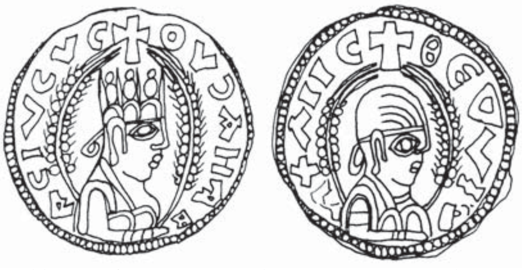
then: die 'Oromo Liberation Front' (OLF) in Äthiopien", in: THOMAS SCHEFFLER, *Ethnizität und Gewalt*, Hamburg 1991, 251–72; ID., "Violence, pouvoir symbolique et mode de représentation des Oromo", *Politique Africaine* 50, 1993, 45–58; ID., *Nation der Oromo*: *Kollektive Identitäten, nationale Konflikte, Wir-Gruppenbildungen*, Berlin 1994; ID., "Ethno-politische Vereinigung, Codes der Vergemeinschaftung und politische Repräsentation von Nationalismus unter Oromo (Äthiopien)", in: ACHIM VON OPPEN – RICHARD ROTTENBURG (eds.), *Organisationswandel in Afrika*: *Kollektive Praxis und kulturelle Aneignung*, Berlin 1995, 239–58; ID., "The Return of the Devils Tongue: Polemics about the Choice of the Roman Alphabet (qubee) for the Oromo Language", in: GRIEFENOW-MEWIS – VOIGT 1996, 289–98; ID., "Oromo National Liberation, Ethnicity and Political Mythomoters in the Horn von Africa", in: DAVID TURTON (ed.), *War and Ethnicity*: *Global Connections and Local Violence*, Rochester, NY 1997, 105–21; ID., "Towards the Acquisition of Conflict Knowledge: Fieldwork among the Oromo Liberation Front and among Oromo Refugees during the 1980s", in: PETER BERGER et al. (eds.), *Feldforschung*: *Ethnologische Zugänge zu sozialen Wirklichkeiten*, Berlin 2009, 273–309.

Thomas Zitelmann

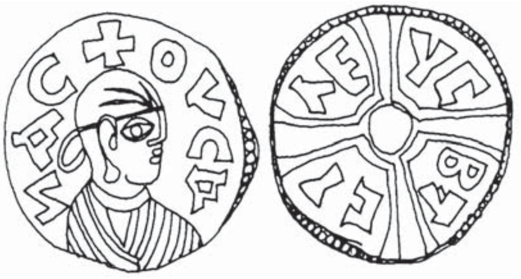
OUSANA(S) II

Ou. (Gr. OYCANA[C], i.e. *Οὐσανᾶ[ς], *Ousanâ*[*s*]), to be distinguished from ↗Ousas (s. EAE vol. 5) with whom he is occasionally identified (by taking the latter name as an abbreviation of the former, s. Godet 1986: 192f. and Breyer 2012: 41), is a Christian king of ↗Aksum of the late 5th/early 6th cent., possibly a predecessor of ↗Kaleb (if not his father ↗Tazena: s. MHAksum 83f., 88), with whose coins those of Ou. show close similarities. In the scholarly tradition counting ↗Ousanas I and Ou. II as successors of ↗Aphilas and ↗ʿEzana resp., he is referred to as Ous(an)a(s) III (s. Hahn 1984a: 131, 1984b: 177, 2000a: 288, 295ff., 309 and 2000b: 65). Yet, apart from the implied equation to Ousas, it can be now more safely assumed that there was only one namesake king, the brother and predecessor of ʿEzana (Ousanas I).

Ou. is known only from his ↗coinage. He is mentioned on a number of gold pieces recently increased by the discovery of the hoard of al-Maḍāriba (some 70 km west of Aden). On both sides, with beaded outer border and cross at top, the king appears in half-length bust facing rightwards, wearing a triple-element tiara or a head cloth resp., with a rounded fillet tied behind; the bust reaches the base of the coin. His figure, robed in a garment with the right section of the v-neck band forwards to meet the upcurve of the neckband above the hand (in a few instances, with a projecting upper collar or necklace and a deep round second collar below), is flanked by two small wheat stalks and included in a beaded inner border; his arm, more or less free, with armlets and bracelet, holds a stick or a tiny extra branch (a fly-whisk?), sometimes with a spear. Among possible symbols above the head are four pellets in a square arrangement, the Eth. letter **ወ**, *W*, etc. The obv. is inscribed in Greek all round between the inner and outer circles: + OYCANA(C) BACIΛEYC, i.e. *Ousana*(*s*) *basiléus*, 'Ousana(s) king'; continued likewise on the rev.: + ΘEOY EYXAPICTIA, i.e. *Theoû eucharistía*, 'by the grace of God' (Types 87 and 89–90 in Munro-Hay – Juel-Jensen 1995: 192f. and 194–98; AfrZion 111, nos. 34f., together with Ousas).



Gold coin of Ousana(s) II, diameter ca. 18 mm; drawing courtesy of Wolfgang Hahn



Silver coin of Ousana(s) II, diameter ca. 16 mm; drawing courtesy of Wolfgang Hahn

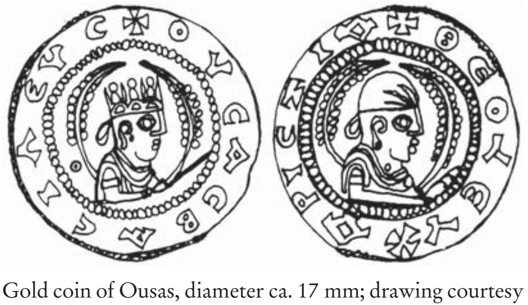
His only silver issue known displays, on the obv., the king in a (plain) beaded border, head and shoulder profile bust facing rightwards, wearing a head cloth with ribbon behind, without religious symbols. Greek legend: + OYCANAC, i.e. *Ousanas*. On the rev., in a beaded or ribbed outer border, there is a Greek cross with extremities touching upon it, voided centre inlaid with gold (s. Hahn 2002: 125f., fig. 11), and small intermediate arms between the larger ones. Greek letters divided in four groups by the cross form the second part of the legend: BACIΛEYC, i.e. *basiléus*, 'king' (Type 88 in Munro-Hay – Juel-Jensen 1995: 193f.).

Src.: Arturo Anzani, “Numismatica axumita”, *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* ser. 3^{a}, 3 [39], 1926, 5–110, here 37, 80, 105, no. 181 (pl. G); Stuart C. Munro-Hay, “Ousas/Ousana (Ousanas) AV 1a, 2”, in: *AfrZion* 111, nos. 34–35; Id., *Catalogue of the Aksumite Coins in the British Museum*, London 1999, 38ff., nos. 403–05, pl. 38; Id. – Bent Juel-Jensen, *Aksumite Coinage*, London 1995, 192–98, cp. 48.
Lit.: Francis Breyer, *Das Königreich Aksum. Geschichte und Archäologie Abessiniens in der Spätantike*, Darmstadt – Mainz 2012 (Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie. Sonderbände der Antiken Welt), 37, 41; CRStor 216; Eric Godet, “Bilan de recherches récentes en numismatique axoumite”, *Revue numismatique* 6^{e} sér. 28, 1986, 174–209 (pl. VIII), here 187, 192f.; Wolfgang Hahn, “Die Münzprägung des Axumitischen Reiches (Mit Katalog, metallurg. u. theolog. Anhang)”, *Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonenses* 2, 1983, 113–80, here 137f., 147, 167f., no. 37; Id., “Further Reconsiderations on the Chronology of the Coinage of Aksum”, *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 34, 1984a, 127–34, here 128; Id., “The Numismatic Evidence for the Reconstruction of the Aksumite Royal Line”, *American Numismatic Society Newsletter* 29, 1984b, 159–79 (pls. 27–32), here 177 pl. 29; Id., “Aksumite Numismatics: a Critical Survey of Recent Research”, *Revue numismatique* 155, 6^{e} sér. 42, 2000a, 281–311, here 288, 295ff., 309; Id., “Der Heilige Kaleb Ella Asbeha – [Ein] König des Abessinierlandes und seine Münzen”, *Money Trend* 32, 3, 2000b, 60–67, here 65; Id., “Die Teilvergoldung auf axumitischen Münzen – Metallurgische und ikonographische Aspekte eines münzgeschichtlichen Phänomens”, *ibid.* 124–27; MHAksum 83f., 88; Richard Pankhurst, “Ousanas II”, in: *DictEthBio* 129; SerHist 201.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

OUSAS

Ou. (Gr. ΟΥϹΑϹ, i.e. Οὐσας, *Ousas*, et. *ʾws* [?], s. Conti Rossini 1927: 200), was a Christian king of ↗Aksum in the late 5th/early 6th cent. His name is sometimes taken for an abbreviated form or a different spelling of ↗Ousana(s) II (s. EAE vol. 5), with whom he is supposed to be one and the same. Actually, there were two almost contemporary rulers, with quite similar series of coins, both linked to the slightly later ↗Kaleb's issues – on account of which, Ousa(na)s has been even viewed as another name of Kaleb's father and predecessor ↗Tazena (s. MHAksum 83f., 88 and Munro-Hay in AfrZion 111).



Gold coin of Ousas, diameter ca. 17 mm; drawing courtesy of Wolfgang Hahn

Known from his ↗coinage alone, Ou. appears on a series of gold pieces, 26 of them from the hoard of al-Maḍāriba (ca. 70 km west of Aden). On both sides, with beaded outer border and crosses at the top and bottom, the king is portrayed half-length bust facing rightwards, wearing a triple-element tiara or a head cloth resp., with a rounded ribbon falling behind; the bust sometimes descends to the base of the coin. His figure, robed in different ways (a garment in the v-neck style with the front part of the v-shape projecting forwards over a flattened neckband that rises again to meet it just above the hand; with the rounded collar and v-shape above it, and an extra line projecting forwards to represent the left shoulder; with the rounded collar and, perhaps, the shoulder-brooch pellet), is framed by two small wheat stalks and included with them in a beaded inner border; his arm is free, in some instances decorated with armlets and a bracelet, the hand holding a short stick or a triple-strand branch/fly-whisk. Occasional symbols by the left wheat stalks, among them: o, <, and a B on its side. The obv. is inscribed in Greek all round between the inner and outer circles: + ΟΥϹΑϹ Β+ΑϹΙΛΕΥϹ, i.e. *Ousas basiléus*, ‘Ousas king’; continued likewise on the rev.: + ΘΕΟΥ ΕΥΧΑΡΙϹΤΙΑ, i.e. *Theoû eucharistía*, ‘by the grace of God’ (Types 84–86 in Munro-Hay – Juel-Jensen 1995: 188–92; AfrZion 111, nos. 34–35, together with Ousana[s] II).

Src.: Arturo Anzani, “Numismatica axumita”, *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* ser. 3^{a}, 3 [39], 1926, 5–110, here 37f., 80f., 105, nos. 182–90 (pl. G); Carlo Conti Rossini, “Monete aksumite”, *Africa Italiana* 1, 1927, 179–212, here 200, § 19; Stuart C. Munro-Hay, “Ousas/Ousana (Ousanas) AV 1a, 2”, in: *AfrZion* 111, nos. 34f.; Id., *Catalogue of the Aksumite Coins in the British Museum*, London 1999, 38f., no. 402, pl. 38; Id. – Bent Juel-Jensen, *Aksumite Coinage*, London 1995, 188–92, cp. 48.
Lit.: Francis Breyer, *Das Königreich Aksum. Geschichte und Archäologie Abessiniens in der Spätantike*, Darmstadt – Mainz 2012 (Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie. Sonderbände der Antiken Welt), 37, 41; CRStor 167, 216; Eric Godet, “Bilan de recherches récentes en numismatique axoumite”, *Revue numismatique* 6^{e} sér. 28, 1986, 174–209 (pl. VIII), here 187, 192f.; Wolfgang Hahn, “Die Münzprägung des Axumitischen Reiches (Mit Katalog, metallurg. u. theolog. Anhang)”, *Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonenses* 2, 1983, 113–80, here 147, 167f., no. 37; Id., “The Numismatic Evidence for the Reconstruction of the Aksumite Royal Line”, *American Numismatic Society Newsletter* 29, 1984b, 159–79 (pls. 27–32), here 177 pl. 29; Richard Pankhurst, “Ousas”, in: *DictEthBio* 129; SerHist 201.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

P

Papyrus

P. (*Cyperus papyrus*; Gəʿəz ሰት/ስት, *sätt/sətt*, also ሶት, *sott*; ኀለት/ህለት, *ḫəllat/həllat*; ደንገል, *dängäl*, 'stalk of P.'; ጎሜዕ/ጐሜእ, *gomeʿ/gʷämeʾ*, 'P., reed'; Gr. πάπυρος, *pápyros*, hence the loanword ፓፒራ, *papira*) is a wetland sedge once abundantly growing (2–3 m tall) in the Nile Delta of ↗Egypt, where it was used as far back as the 3rd millennium B.C. for boats, mattresses, mats, rope, sandals, baskets and esp. as writing material. The paper made of thin slices cut from the pith of the plant was famously the most used such material in Ancient Egypt well into the Islamic period.

In Ethiopia, P. is only found along the marshy shores of Lake ↗Ṭana. The Greek geographer ↗Strabo has it that P. grows around the edges (*perì tà cheílē*) of a coastal fresh water lake close to the Pytholaos promontory (*Geogr.* XVI, 4, 14 [p. 774C]) – to be located on the northern coast of ↗Somalia. According to the 18th-cent. Scottish traveller James ↗Bruce, Egyptian P. would have "early come down from Ethiopia" (BruNile vol. 5, 1f.), as also maintained by modern papyrologists (cp. Bülow-Jacobsen 2009: 5).

Even today the ↗Wäyṭo living on the shores of Lake Ṭana use papyrus reed (*dängäl*) to make the ↗*tankʷa* boats. It seems likely that these have an ancient origin, similar boats being already mentioned, perhaps, in the broad "Ethiopian" context of Is. 18:1f.: "Ah, land of whirring wings that is beyond the rivers of Cush [*Kûš* (↗Kuš) in the Hebrew Bible, Aἰθιοπία(ς), ↗*Aithiopía*(*s*) in the LXX Greek text], which sends ambassadors by the sea, in vessels of papyrus [Gr. ἐπιστολὰς βυβλίνας, *epistolàs byblínas*, mistaken for መጻሕፍት, *maṣaḥəft*, 'letters', in the Gəʿəz ↗Bible, but restored to ንዋየ ፡ ጎሜዕ, *nəwayä gomeʿ*, 'vessels of papyrus', in the "new version" quoted in DillmLex 1149] on the waters!".

The use of P. as a writing material, which spread throughout the Mediterranean region, is hitherto unattested in Ethiopia. Yet, interestingly enough, the binding of the Gospels from ↗Ǝnda Abba Gärima (ms. I) bears scant traces of P. (Bausi 2010: 466, 470f.).

Src.: Horace Leonard Jones – John Robert Sitlington Sterrett (ed., tr.), *The Geography of Strabo*, VII, Cambridge, MA – London 1930 (The Loeb Classical Library 241), 330; Stefan Radt (ed., tr.), *Strabons Geographika*, vol. 4: *Buch XIV–XVII*: *Text und Übersetzung*, Göttingen 2005, 374; Nicola Biffi (ed., tr.), *Il Medio Oriente di Strabone. Libro XVI della* Geografia, Bari 2002 (Quaderni di Invigilata lucernis 19), 104f.; BruNile vol. 5, 1f.; ብሉይ ፡ ኪዳን (*Bəluy kidan*, 'The Old Testament'), Aśmära 1918 A.M. [1925/26 A.D.], vol. 4, 23b; DillmLex 1149; LesCDic 137, 193, 261, 517.

Lit.: Alessandro Bausi, "Intorno ai Vangeli etiopici di ʾEndā ʾAbbā Garimā presso Adua", *La Parola del Passato* 65, 2010 [2011], 460–71, here 466, 470f. (Lit.); Adam Bülow-Jacobsen, "Writing Materials in the Ancient World", in: Roger S. Bagnall, *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, Oxford 2009, 3–29; Kim Hoenselaar – Bernard Verdcourt – Henk Beentje, *Flora of Tropical East Africa*: *Cyperaceae*, Kew [London] 2010, 209ff.; Thomas O. Lambdin, "Egyptian Loan Words in the Old Testament", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 73, 1953, 145–55, here 149; Naphtali Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity*, Oxford 1974, 5f.; Kare Arnstein Lye, "Cyperaceae", in: Inga Hedberg – Mesfin Tadesse – Demissew Sebsebe – Sue Edwards (eds.), *Flora of Ethiopia and Eritrea*, vol. 6: *Hydrocharitaceae to Arecaceae*, Addis Ababa – Uppsala 1997, 391–511; Paul T. Nicholson – Ian Shaw, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, Cambridge [2000], 227ff.; UllBibl 6.

Agostino Soldati

Pausewang, Siegfried

P. (b. Wichstadtl, Sudetenland, in today's Czech Republic, 2 February 1937, d. 13 April 2012 Bergen, Norway) was a Norwegian-German social scientist and expert on Ethiopia, who worked and taught most of his life at the Christian Michelsen Institute in Bergen, ↗Norway. P. was a post-World War II refugee and grew up in Hamburg and Wiesbaden, and later studied sociology and politics at the universities of Marburg and Berlin. With his Norwegian wife he moved to Addis Abäba in 1967 to take up a teaching post at ↗Addis Ababa University.

P. was a social researcher and teacher with strong ethical commitments to social justice and ideals of political and economic equality. These aspects he sought to address in his many works on the Horn of Africa, notably Ethiopia. Among his first interests, however, were the methodological problems of studying peasants and the rural sector (cp. Pausewang 1969) and population dynamics (Pausewang 1971). He later went on to become a foremost expert on the peasantry, agrarian problems and land reform policies of contemporary Ethiopia, e.g., the land reform under the *Därg* (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council) regime (s. Pausewang 1983) and also the policies under the post-1991 government. In the 1990s and 2000s he did further field-based research on rural development and on local perceptions and refractions of politics and "democratization" among rural people. Between 1980 and 1984 he worked as the Head of the German Volunteer Service in Zambia.

After the Ethiopian regime change in May 1991, he developed a stronger interest in political studies, notably when a horizon of democratic promise briefly opened up, but in his opinion also rapidly showed severe limitations. He was an international election observer in Ethiopia and Eritrea in 1992, 1993, 1994, 2000 and 2001 in various ↗United Nations and European Union capacities. In several subsequent works and edited volumes, P. analyzed the deceptions if not failure of democratic politics and electoral processes in the country (and analyzed their consequences; cp. Pausewang et al. 2003). P.'s approach was quite original and was based on a perspective from the bottom up, taking seriously the worldviews, aspirations and feelings of ordinary rural people. His publications on these issues figured prominently in wider social science debates on Ethiopian (rural) society and inspired much empirical research and reflection.

P. was a modest and sincere professional academic rather than a loud activist, but he also engaged in assisting to bring together various political groups in Ethiopia and its ↗diaspora. Probably due to his organizing a conference on the ↗Oromo in 2004 in Norway with the participation of political activists (Pausewang 2009), he was once refused a visa for Ethiopia, although the exact reason was not given. During the 2005-Ethiopian elections P. was a member of the official European Election Observer team, but the Ethiopian government refused to accept him after his arrival as an active member. P. also made himself constantly available to advise and assist asylum seekers from Ethiopia and the Horn in Norway.

Src.: SIEGFRIED PAUSEWANG, "Empirische Sozialforschung in einem Entwicklungsland: Von den Erfahrungen eines Soziologen in Äthiopien", in: RENÉ KÖNIG (ed.), *Aspekte der Entwicklungssoziologie*, Köln – Opladen 1969, 606–25; ID., "The Place of Population Studies in Social and Economic Development: a Critical Essay based on Experience in Ethiopia", in: DAVID J. RADEL (ed.), *Population and Family Planning in Rural Africa*, East Lansing, MI 1971, 115–20; ID., *Methods and Concepts of Social Research in a Rural Development Society*: *a Critical Appraisal Based on Experience in Ethiopia*, München 1973; ID., *Peasants, Land and Society*: *a Social History of Landreform in Ethiopia*, München 1983; ID. et al. (eds.), *Ethiopia*: *Options for Rural Development*, London 1990; ID., "Brauchen Afrikas Bauern eine neue Weltordnung? Antworten aus der Perspektive äthiopischer Bauern", *Afrika Spektrum* 27, 1992, 187–205; ID. – ASTRID SUHRKE (eds.), *The Referendum on Independence for Eritrea*: *Report of the Norwegian Observer Group in UNOVER,* Oslo 1993; ID. (ed.), *The 1994 Election and Democracy in Ethiopia*, Oslo 1994; ABEBE ZEGEYE – SIEGFRIED PAUSEWANG (eds.), *Ethiopia in Change*: *Peasantry, Nationalism and Democracy,* London 1994; ID. – KJETIL TRONVOLL – LOUISE AALEN (eds.), *Ethiopia since the Derg*: *a Decade of Democratic Pretension and Performance*, London – New York 2002; BAHRU ZEWDE – SIEGFRIED PAUSEWANG (eds.), *Ethiopia*: *the Challenge of Democracy from Below*, Uppsala 2002; GUNNAR M. SØRBØ – SIEGFRIED PAUSEWANG (eds.), *Prospects for Peace, Security and Human Rights in Africa's Horn*, Bergen 2004; ID. (ed.), *Exploring New Political Alternatives for the Oromo in Ethiopia*, Bergen 2009.

Siegfried Pausewang (left) with Theodore Vestal during the 15th ICES in Hamburg; photo 2003, courtesy of the Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian Studies, University of Hamburg

Lit.: HARALD ASPEN et al., “In memoriam Siegfried Pausewang (1937–2012)”, *Aethiopica* 15, 2012, 253–55.

Jon Abbink

Ṗawlos

Abunä Ṗ. (**ጳውሎስ**, baptismal name Gäbrä Mädḫən; b. 3 November 1933, ʿAdwa, d. 16 August 2012, Addis Abäba) was the fifth Patriarch of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC).

Ṗ. was born to *afä mämhər* Gäbrä Yoḥannəs Wäldä Śəllase and *wäyzäro* Aradäčč Tädla. He completed the first stage of church ↗education (↗*nəbab bet*) at ↗Ǝnda Abba Gärima, and the second and third (↗*zema bet* and ↗*qəne bet*) at Ǝnda Abba Ḥadära, under *mämhər* Wäldä Ḥawaryat, *mämhər* Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer, *mämhər* Kidanä Maryam and *mämhər* Gäbrä Maryam. He was ordained ↗*diyaqon* by the metropolitan *abunä* Marqos and began his service at Ǝnda Abba Gärima. Eventually he took monastic vows and received ↗ordination from the metropolitan *abunä* Yəsḥaq. Ṗ. completed his modern secondary education at the ↗Holy Trinity Theological College in Addis Abäba. He was sent for further studies to the ↗United States. He attended St. Vladimir’s Orthodox Theological Seminary in New York graduating with a Diploma in Theology in May 1962. He obtained his Bachelor of Divinity from the Berkeley Divinity School at Yale in May 1966 and his Master of Theology in Divinity from Princeton University. His doctoral studies were interrupted in 1974, when he was summoned back to Ethiopia by the Patriarch *abunä* ↗Tewoflos and was, along with four others, anointed as bishop (↗*eṗṗisqoṗṗos*) on 12 September 1975, assuming the name *abunä* Ṗ. He was given the responsibility of the ecumenical affairs by the Patriarch. Prior to his episcopate, Ṗ. had headed different departments of the Patriarchate including St. Paul Higher Theological Seminary, the Department of Publication and Radio, ↗Tənśaʾe Zägubaʾe Printing Press and the Development and Inter Church AID Commission.

In 1976, the ↗Provisional Military Administrative Council (*Därg*) arrested the Patriarch and the five bishops. Tewoflos was executed in 1979; Ṗ. and his fellow bishops remained imprisoned until 1983. On his release, Ṗ. returned to Princeton to complete his doctoral degree. In 1986, *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot, the third Patriarch of the EOTC, elevated Ṗ. to the rank of Archbishop (*liqä ṗaṗṗasat*). During his study years, P. established more than ten churches across the United States and served diaspora Ethiopian communities. In 1988 Ṗ. obtained the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Divinity.

After the fall of the *Därg* in 1991 and the dethronement of the 4th Patriarch *abunä* Märqorewos, Ṗ. was elected and enthroned on 5 July 1992 as the 5th Patriarch of the EOTC.

Under Ṗ., the Church received back the properties confiscated by the *Därg* as well as some of the church treasures looted by the ↗Napier expedition to Mäqdäla (including ten ↗*tabots* held in the ↗British Museum). Ṗ. reformed the central administration of the Patriarchate and had the Patriarchal complex built. Ṗ. was a strong advocate of the victims of the *Därg*; at the same time he later advocated the release of the top authorities of the communist regime who had been imprisoned for almost two decades. Ṗ. had to agree to the breaking away of the Eritrean Orthodox Church when Eritrea declared independence from Ethiopia. He initiated a series of peace meetings between religious leaders of the two countries in 1998, 1999, and 2000.

Ṗ. was engaged in strengthening ecclesial relations among Oriental Orthodox Churches and travelled extensively for that purpose. He also chaired the Ethiopian Interfaith Dialogue Council. For his support of victims of war, droughts and HIV/AIDS he was awarded the Nansen Medal for Africa by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in 2002. In 2006, Ṗ. was elected one of the seven presidents of the World Council of Churches.

Ṗ. died in the Däǧǧazmač Balča Hospital in Addis Abäba. He was buried on 23 August 2012 at the cemetery of the ↗Qəddəst Śəllase Cathedral in Addis Abäba.

Src.: PATRIARCHATE OF THE EOTC, **የብፁዕ ፡ ወቅዱስ ፡ አቡነ ፡ ጳውሎስ ፡ ፓትርያርክ ፡ ዘኢትዮጵያ ፡ የ፲ ፡ ዓመት ፡ የሥራ ፡ ክንውን** (*Yäbəṣuʿ wäqəddus abunä Ṗawlos patrəyark zäʾityoṗya yä10 ʿamät yäśəra kənwən*, ‘The Ten Years Activities Carried by His Holiness *abunä* Ṗawlos Patriarch of Ethiopia’), Addis Abäba 1996 A.M. [2003/04 A.D.].

Lit.: *Obituary*: *Biographical Notes on His Holiness Dr. Abune Paulos I, Patriarch of Ethiopia 1933–2012*, Addis Abäba 2012.

Mersha Alehegne

Ṗawlos, *däǧǧazmač* ↗ Dərmən s. EAE vol. 5

Peiresc, Nicolas-Claude Fabri de

P. (b. 1 December 1580, Belgentier, Var, d. 24 June 1637, Aix-en-Provence), a French aristocrat and government official, was a learned man and one of the most outstanding intellectuals and famous men of his times. Considered an "archetype of all antiquarians" or the "Prince of the Republic of Letters", he perfectly embodied the period of transition between the late humanistic age – at its apogee in France – and a new scientific era, entertaining human relationships and correspondence with the most representative scientists, artists and intellectuals of the first half of the 17th cent. (among them, Pierre Gassendi, Galileo Galilei, François de Malherbe, Peter-Paul Rubens, Hugo Grotius, Athanasius Kircher, Claude de Saumaise, Pope Urban VIII, his nephew and librarian Cardinal Francesco Barberini, and many others), and is credited with having written more than 10,000 letters, many of which still remain unpublished and uncatalogued.

P. was educated at the Jesuit colleges in Avignon and Tournon. In 1599, P. moved to Italy, with the intention to study law in Padua. He took advantage of this opportunity to acquire an encyclopaedic culture in natural history, astronomy, and humanities, including Oriental studies. He returned from Italy in 1602 and got his degree in Aix in 1604. He subsequently travelled in the Spanish Netherlands, the United Provinces, and England, finally taking his uncle's position as councillor (senateur) in the parliament of Provence. P. later became secretary to the parliament's president Guillaume du Vair (1556-1621), and followed his master when he took service at Maria de' Medici's court in Paris. In 1623 P. returned to Aix, where in 1624 he took the tonsure of father and was granted an abbacy by Louis XIII at Guitres. He remained in Provence – where the proximity to merchants allowed him to keep an extensive correspondence with the Levant – until his death, devoting himself to the parliament of Provence and to knowledge. P.'s interests ranged from astronomy – where his observations and measurements were remarkable – to anatomy, from palaeontology to general natural sciences, from law and numismatics to epigraphy, history and the arts. All of his intellectual production has remained unpublished.

P. also cultivated a special interest in Oriental languages. With the help of the Capuchin friar father Gilles de Loches – who had also studied Gəᶜəz and written a grammar, which P. wished to publish – P. collected Coptic manuscripts. Some of them, received by Pietro della Valle, were then transmitted to Thomas Obicini for study and publication. After Obicini's death in 1629 the task was resumed by Athanasius Kircher in Rome, whose quite disappointing achievements were very skeptically received by P. (cp. Miller 2004; Hamilton 2006: 210). Evidence of P.'s linguistic interests is the publication by the Accademia degli Umoristi of Rome of a commemorative booklet also containing poetic enchomia in some 40 languages in his honour (*Monumentum romanum* 95f.), including one in Coptic and one in Ethiopic. The Coptic text (*Tristrophum Cophtum*) was composed by Kircher (whom P. had recommended to Cardinal Barberini). The Gəᶜəz poem (*Carmen Æthiopicum Asfa-Mariæ Æthiopis*) was composed by Asfa Maryam, a monk of ↗Santo Stefano dei Mori, which P. also visited; its longer version (preserved in ms. Vat. Lat. Barberini 1996, fols. 101f.) was later published by Chaîne (1933–34).

P.'s most known contribution to Ethiopian studies is the acquisition of ms. Paris BN Éth. 117. P. believed that the manuscript – actually a witness to the *Mäṣḥafä ↗məṣṭirä sämay wämədr* – was of the then much sought after *Mäṣḥafä ↗Henok*, as he had been informed in 1633 by Gilles de Loches. The manuscript came in P.'s possession on 4 November 1636, procured in Egypt by father Cassien of Nantes (martyrized in ↗Gondär in 1638 together with father Agathange de Vendôme), as it appears from the epistolary of Peiresc (cp. Id. in Grébaut 1911: 117–25; Apollinaire de Valence 1891: 17f., 270–73). The publication and translation of the purported *Mäṣḥafä Henok* remained a real obsession for P., as it appears from a letter written a day before his death, where this intention is once more emphasized (cp. Nau in Grébaut 1911: 123). On P.'s death, the manuscript – along with many others of his library – was purchased by Cardinal Jules Mazarin, and finally entered the Royal Library (↗Bibliothèque nationale de France). There, it was later studied by many scholars, such as ↗Wansleben (who made a copy of the manuscript, now BN Éth. 118, and also corrected the original manuscript, cp. Tubiana 1988: 208), ↗Ludolf (cp. LudHist book III, ch. 4, §§ 49 f.; Id. 1691: 347f.), Saumaise, Eugène Renaudot.

Another evidence of P.'s lasting, yet little satisfied, interest towards Ethiopia, was the shipment to a certain "Vermellius", i.e. Gaston Vermeil of Montpellier (purportedly a mercenary soldier at the service of the Ethiopian monarch and commander of the royal army in the years ca. 1622 to the early 1630s) of a number of books on mathematics and military and civil architecture to be used in Ethiopia, in exchange for "Ethiopic books, inscriptions which he could happen to find, and the description of the mountains of Amhara, rites, religion and vessels unknown to the Europeans" (Gassendi 1655: 171).

A second precious Ethiopic manuscript – a 14th-cent. pentaglot ↗Psalter (in Gəʿəz, Syriac, Bohairic, Arabic and Armenian languages) bought for P. by father Agathange de Vendôme in 1635 from the Coptic monastery of Saint Macarius at the price of a liturgical vessel – never entered his library, because the ship which transported it was attacked by the corsairs and looted. After complex passages the manuscript was finally donated to Cardinal Barberini by John Paul Lascaris in 1637, and is now kept in the ↗Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana as Vat. Barberinianus Orient. 2 (cp. Nau 1913: 53–58; GréTisVat I, 859ff.; Volkoff 1970: 38–42; Proverbio 2012).

The name of P. has been adopted for the "Laboratoire Peiresc – Centre de Recherche sur l'Afrique Orientale à Sophia-Antipolis" (France), and for the related publication series "Bibliothèque Peiresc", founded and for several years animated by Joseph ↗Tubiana and other members of the ↗Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (s. ARESAE).

Src.: mss. BN Éth. 117, 118 (ZotBNat 137–41); Vat. Barberinianus Orient. 2 (GrésTisVat I, 859ff.); Vat. Lat. Barberini 1996, fols. 101f.; P. Apollinaire de Valence, *Correspondance de Peiresc avec plusieurs Missionnaires et Religieux de l'ordre des capucins 1631–1637*, Paris 1891, *passim*; Marius Chaîne, "Une composition oubliée du père Kircher en l'honneur de Peiresc", *ROC* 3ème sér., 9, 1933–34, 196–208; Sylvain Grébaut (ed., tr.), *Les trois derniers traités du Livre des Mystères du Ciel et de la Terre*, Paris 1911 (PO 6/3 [28]), 117–25; *Monumentum romanum Nicolao Claudio Fabricio Perescio Senatori Aquensi doctrinae virtutisque causa factum*, Romae 1638, 95f.; François Nau, *Martyrologes et Ménologes orientaux*, II: *Les ménologes des évangéliaires coptes-arabes*, Paris 1913 (PO 10/2 [47]), 53–58; Jules Perruchon [– Ignazio Guidi] (ed., tr.), *Le Livre des Mystères du Ciel et de la Terre*, Paris 1903 (PO 1/1 [1]), viii–x; Amédée Caix de Saint-Aymour (comte de), *La France en Éthiopie: histoire des relations de la France avec l'Abyssinie chrétienne sous les règnes de Louis XIII et de Louis XIV (1634-1706) d'après les documents inédits des archives du Ministère des affaires étrangères*, Paris 1886, 273–88.

Lit.: Sydney H. Aufrère, *La momie et la tempête*: *Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc et la "curiosité Égyptienne" en Provence au début du XVIIe siècle*, Avignon 1990; Agnès Bresson, "Peiresc et les études coptes: prolegomènes au déchiffrement des hiéroglyphes", *Dix–Septième Siècle* 40, 1988, 41–50; Georges Cahen-Salvador, *Un grand humaniste, Peiresc, 1580–1637*, Paris 1951; CRStor 13; Pierre Dubois, "Peiresc, Enoch, et les Capucins", in: Ferrier 1988, 184–201; Jacques Ferrier (éd.), *L'été Peiresc. Fioretti II*: *Nouveaux mélanges*, Avignon 1988; Pierre Gassendi, *Viri illustris Nicolai Claudii Fabricii de Peiresc, senatoris aquisextiensis vita*, Hagae comitum ^{3}1655; Alaistar Hamilton, *The Copts and the West, 1439–1822*: *the European Discovery of the Egyptian Church*, Oxford – New York 2006 (Warburg Studies), 78, 202ff., 210, 254f., 261; Pierre Humbert, *Un amateur Peiresc*, Paris 1933; LudHist book III, ch. 4, §§ 49 f.; Hiob Ludolfus, *Ad suam historiam Aethiopicam antehac editam Commentarius*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1691, 347f.; Peter N. Miller, *Peiresc's Europe*: *Learning and Virtue in the Seventeenth Century*, New Haven, CT 2000; Id., "Copts and Scholars: Athanasius Kircher in Peiresc's Republic of Letters", in: Paula Findlen (ed.), *Athanasius Kircher*: *the Last Man Who Knew Everything*, London 2004, 133–48; Id., "Peiresc and Ethiopia: How? and Why?", *Lias*: *Journal of Early Modern Intellectual Culture and its Sources* 37, 2010, 55–88; Delio Vania Proverbio, "Barb. or. 2 (Psalterium Pentaglottum)", in: Paola Buzi – Delio Vania Proverbio (eds.), *Coptic Treasures from the Vatican Library*: *A Selection of Coptic*, *Copto-Arabic and Ethiopic Manuscripts. Papers collected on the occasion of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies* (*Rome, September 17th–22nd, 2012*), Roma 2012 (Studi e testi 472), 163–174; Francesco Solinas – Marc Fumaroli (eds.), *Peiresc et l'Italie*: *actes du colloque international, Naples le 23 et le 24 juin 2006. Istituto italiano per gli studi filosofici, Palazzo Serra di Cassano*, Paris 2009 (La République européenne des lettres 3); Joseph Tubiana, "À propos du «Livre des Mystères du Ciel et de la Terre»", in: *PICES* 1, 403–08; Id., "Peiresc et le manuscrit 'Eth. 117 (ex 37)' de la Bibliothèque Nationale", in: Ferrier 1988, 202–13; Oleg V. Volkoff, *À la recherche de manuscrits coptes en Égypte*, Cairo 1970, 38–42.

Alessandro Bausi

Pirenne, Jacqueline

P. (b. 1918, Neuilly-sur-Seine, d. 1990, Strasbourg) was a French scholar. A descendant of the historian Henry Pirenne, she studied philosophy at the Sorbonne, from where she obtained her degree in 1939. After World War II she joined the Université Catholique de Louvain and in 1951 obtained a degree in philology and Oriental history. Under the direction of Monseigneur Gonzague Ryckmans, in 1954 she defended her M.A. thesis on Greece and ↗Sabaʾ at the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres (Pirenne 1955). One year later she defended her Ph.D. thesis on Ancient South Arabian (ASA) ↗inscriptions (↗Epigraphic South Arabian) at the Institut Orientaliste of Louvain (Pirenne 1956). Both works were to become highly influential in South Arabian studies.

In 1957, P. joined the French Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, where she finished her academic career as "directeur de recherche" (research professor) in 1985. In 1987, she managed to establish a seminar of Sabaean studies at the University of Strasbourg. During this time, P. was also involved in archaeology. Between 1960 and 1971, she published nine studies on South Arabian archaeology in the journal *Syria* and participated in several missions in the Yemen.

P. defended the hypothesis that the Greek alphabet was a possible model of ASA. This idea led to the need to devise a new chronology for ASA history. Running counter to earlier historical theories which dated the beginning of ASA culture to the early-1st millennium, P. suggested that the first attested ASA historical evidences dated to the mid-1st millennium, around the 5th cent. B.C. This chronology was widely accepted up until the 1990s, when the first systematic excavations in the Yemen proved its erroneousness and brought the beginning of ASA history back to the early-1st millennium.

P. spent part of her life in Ethiopia dividing her time between scientific research and helping abandoned children. She took an interest in the chronology of the kings of ↗Aksum and in one of her last works she hypothesized a substantial migration of populations from Ethiopia to South Arabia and not just in the opposite direction (1989).

P. laid the foundations for a palaeographic study of ASA inscriptions which still today is unmatched for its cogency and analytical scope. She established the epigraph as an archaeological object and not merely a text and therefore a component part of art history and not only philology.

Src.: GIGAR TESFAYE – JACQUELINE PIRENNE, "Inscriptions sur bois de trois églises de Lalibala", *JES* 17, 1984, 107–26; JACQUELINE PIRENNE, *La Grèce et Saba. Une nouvelle base pour la chronologie sud-arabe*, Paris 1955; EAD., *Paléographie des inscriptions sud-arabes*, Brussel 1956; EAD., *Le royaume sud-arabe de Qataban et sa datation d'après l'archéologie et les sources classiques*, Louvain 1961; EAD., "Sabea d'Etiopia, arte", in: *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale*, vol. 6, Roma 1965, 1044–48; EAD., "Haoulti et ses monuments, nouvelle interprétation", *AE* 7, 1967, 125–40; EAD., "Haoulti, Gobochéla (Mélazo) et le site antique", *ibid.* 8, 1970, 117–27; EAD., "L'Imbroglio de trois siècles de chronologie aksumite", *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de la civilisation éthiopienne. Abbay* 6, 1975, 49–58; 7, 1976, 73–82; EAD., "Le cadre chronologique de l'histoire éthiopienne du IVe au VIe siècle", in: *Actes du XXIXe congrès international des Orientalistes. Section organisée par André Caquot*: *Études sémitiques*, Paris 1975, 48–54; EAD. – GIGAR TESFAYE, "Les Deux inscriptions du Negus Kaleb en Arabie du Sud", *JES* 15, 1982, 105–24; EAD., "Al-Maddab (Bab-el-Mandab) et le débarquement éthiopien de 525 après J.-C.", *Semitica* 33, 1983, 133–45; EAD., *Corpus des inscriptions et antiquités sud-arabes*, 2 vols., Louvain 1977–86; EAD., "Des Grecs à l'aurore de la culture monumentale sabéenne", in: TOUFIC FAHD (ed.), *L'Arabie préislamique et son environnement historique et culturel*, Leiden 1989, 257–69; EAD., "La signification symbolique des églises de Lalibela à partir des inscriptions découvertes en 1980–1983", in: *PICES* 8, vol. 2, 137–45; EAD., *Fouilles de Shabwa*, I: *Les témoins écrits de la région de Shabwa et l'histoire*, Paris 1990; EAD., *La légende du "Prêtre Jean"*, Strasbourg 1992; EAD., "Le "Prêtre Jean" d'Éthiopie: Yimrehane Kristos", in: *PICES* 10, 121–26.

Lit.: ERNEST WILL, "Nécrologie: Jacqueline Pirenne (1918–1990)", *Syria* 68, 1991, 465–66.

Alessandra Avanzini – Red.

Poetry, Amharic

In the Ethiopian traditional culture(s), P. is normally intended for singing (↗Songs) and regarded as a branch of ↗music, and music, in turn, is considered P. This is true for all the many genres of Amharic folk P. with its system of different poetic forms used for the communication within the society. Since the late 19th-early 20th cent., modern written Amharic P. has evolved as a popular genre of ↗Amharic literature.

Folklore P. is composed on a wide variety of occasions. Inseparable from musical culture, poems are always sung or at least (rhythmically) recited (cp. ↗*gəṭəm*); the recitation can be accompanied by ↗musical instruments such as the ↗*bägäna* or ↗*mäsinqo*. Song lyrics cover an extensive range of theme, depending on the occasion for the composition. This can be praise for kings or overlords (of the type of the Old Amharic "Royal songs", s. Guidi 1889; cp. more recent examples in Kamil 1957), songs performed on the occasion of religious ↗feasts and rituals (e.g., ↗*əngʷəgʷərro* and a few other types of funeral P.), love and ↗wedding songs, work songs, war and boasting chants such as ↗*fukkära* (also ↗*šəlläla* and *qärärto*), laments (like ↗*ənqoqəlləš*), lullabies etc. Religious, moral and educational P., including parables and tales, also exists. Various types of poetic compositions (humorous, satirical songs) are the domain of the bards such as ↗*azmari* and ↗*lalibäločč*. Songs accompanied by *bägäna* are a kind of elegy for religious meditation. With few exceptions, it was not until the late 19th–20th cent. that some examples of oral Amharic P. were collected, written down and later on put into print (whether by foreign researchers or indigenous scholars and literates such as ↗Ḫəruy Wäldä Səllase who published a collection of lamentations).

Modern written Amharic P. emerged somewhat later than the modern Amharic prose, and was initially dominated and strongly influenced by the abovementioned traditional forms as well as Gəᶜəz poetry (↗*qəne*). It seems that the pioneers of the modern Amharic literature did not express much interest in writing poetic texts, and if they did, they used poetic forms on very special occasions. Sometimes these works were printed, but apparently not for the broad public: cp. an epic poem on the 1916 battle of ↗Sägäle by *aqqa* Gäbru, praising the victorious *alga wäraš* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (s. Fusella in PICES 6, 133–92); a 1916 polemic poem by ↗Afäwärq Gäbrä Iyäsus (Fusella, in PICES 5a, 1–34); praise songs in MahZekr 872–86.

The earliest published collection of modern Amharic poetry is thought to be *Yäbägäna mäzmur* (lit. '*Bägäna* Psalms') by *däbtära* Admasu Ǧämbäre of ↗Dima Giyorgis. However, according to the author, he wrote the collection in 1921/22 to create an Amharic "equivalent" for the Gəᶜəz Psalter, to be performed as songs with *bägäna*. Its first edition (1929/30) contains a collection of 100 "psalms" (the second, printed in 1947/48, includes 50 more). All "psalms" feature the same metric structure of 12 syllables and three caesurae in a verse. In an original and individual way, the author draws on common themes of the Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church teaching (Bərhanu Gäbäyyähu 2008/09:170f.).

Other pre-war intellectuals who published their poems are ↗Wäldä Giyorgis Wäldä Yoḥannəs (1934/35), ↗Yoftahe Nəguśe (1935/36) and ↗Agäññähu Ǝngəda (1935/36) (s. Bərhanu Gäbäyyähu 2008/09:170 and no. 29).

Amharic P. made a stronger appearance only after the 1941 Liberation, primarily in the form of moralistic and pious poems (conforming to the trend in the Amharic prose), and also in some other traditional forms (e.g., "praising poems"). One of the earliest works printed seems to be *Mäzmurä lədät* by ↗Yared Gäbrä Mikaʾel (1938 A.M. [1946 A.D.]). Other authors who published poetic works (in some cases, extensive poetic passages included in prosaic works) in 1950s were, e.g., Mäzgäbu Abatä, Agdaw Wäldä Giyorgis, Dässaläññ Agaze, Asras Asfa Wäsän, Wänd Yərad Yəmar, Nəguśe Täfärra, Mäkbəb Gäbäyyähu, and a few others. ↗ᶜAlämayyähu Mogäs printed an impressive patriotic "geographic" poem *Mälkəᶜa Ityop̣ya* (in 1960, anticipating the complete dissolving ↗Ethiopian-Eritrean federation since ↗Eritrea is listed as one of the provinces). The most prominent was, however, ↗Käbbädä Mikaʾel, with his 1947 didactic and educative poem *Bərhanä ḫəllina*. He extensively uses poetic speech also in his dramatic works, such as *Annibal* (1964); *Ato Bälaynäh wäyəm yäqəṭat maᶜəbäl* (1965/66), *Yätənbit qäṭäro* (1971/72); and in the didactic novel *Yäᶜəwqät bəlləč̣ta* (1963/64). Especially in the case of Käbbädä Mikaʾel, poetic speech was apparently considered as powerful device facilitating "teaching process", and explaining values or conveying information better than the prose.

Some of the early Amharic poets, in the first line such influential figures as ↗Märsəᶜe Ḫazän Wäldä Qirqos, ↗Maḫtämä Śəllase Wäldä Mäsqäl, ᶜAlämayyähu Mogäs, and also Käbbädä Mikaʾel, paid great attention to systematizing P. through defining poetic forms (frequently tracing them back to the traditional songs, or adjusting them to *qəne*-poetry). E.g., Märsəᶜe Ḫazän Wäldä Qirqos (1942/43:212ff.) identified eight patterns of the Amharic verse (cp. 19 patterns in KaneLit 24ff.). The metric patterns range from lines of three to 12 syllables, commonly divided into two hemistitches (cp. ibid., and Bərhanu Gäbäyyähu 2006/07:238–52). Often used patterns were identified as **ወዳጅ ፡ ዘመዴ** (*wädağ zämäde*), a line with seven syllables; **መዲና** (*mädina*), a line with eight syllables; **ደምበኛ ፡ ቤት** (*dämbäñña bet*), a line with 12 syllables.

There was a tendency to equate Amharic P. with P. in Gəᶜəz, especially *qəne* (starting from the name, "Amharic *qəne*"). Some authors "experimented" with mixing metric patterns (early ↗Yoḥannes Admasu, early ↗Abbe Gubäñña) and even languages (Yoftahe Nəguśe). Also, Amharic P. was expected to be written in accordance with *qəne*-forms such as ↗*mäwäddəs* (a poem having nine to ten lines) and ↗*gubaʾe qana* (a simple poem having only two lines). Early poets strove to adopt for Amharic verses the technique known as ↗*sämənna wärq* or other devices of the traditional Gəᶜəz P. Any (good) *qəne* was expected to contain in its core a poetic figure, i.e. two semantic layers: the obvious meaning of the words called "wax", and their more or less hidden meaning, the "gold". In a poem, "wax and gold" are presented in opposition, while their predicates are rendered jointly by a single verb which carries both the wax and the gold meaning. Such art of verses requires a masterly knowledge of the language and a skilful employment of such means as ambiguity, shift of word boundaries, assimilation, gemination or replacement of radicals, exchange of voiced, voiceless or glottalized phonemes, insertion or elision of *-ə-*, use of words in an abstract sense or insertion of idiomatic expressions (Richter 2002: 573ff.). The following Amharic *qəne* (taken from Maḫtämä Śəllase Wäldä Mäsqäl 1962/63: 25) may illustrate this:

> አዳራሹ ፡ ሰፊ ፡ በሩ ፡ አልጠበባችሁ ፡
> በተራ ፡ በተራ ፡ ምነው ፡ መግባታችሁ?
>
> *Addarašu säffi bärru alṭäbbäbaččəhu*
> *Bätära bätära mənnäw mägbataččəhu*?

The "wax"-meaning is:

> The hall is wide, the door is not narrow for you.
> Why are you entering *one after the other*?

The change of the word boundary from *bätära bätära* ('one after the other') to *bätärabä tära* ('instead of the hungry') leads to the "golden" meaning (or *məśtir*, 'mystery', i.e. the hidden meaning):

> The hall is wide, the door is not narrow for you.
> Why are you entering (first), *instead of the hungry*?

About a dozen of figures, also in fact included into the repertoire of *sämənna wärq* technique, were considered to be useful for the symbolic and subtle art of *qəne*-P. in Amharic (e.g., Märsəᶜe Ḫazän Wäldä Qirqos 1942/43: 215–20). However, being continuation of the traditional poetic practices much revered in Ethiopia, such type of P. was not adopted for the nascent modern readership. Later, this type of P. has retained some popularity until the recent time, intended not only for the public with traditionalistic attitudes, but increasingly becoming a vehicle of teaching the Amharic language (cp., e.g., such books as Nəguśe Nägäwo Dägaga 1999/2000).

Completely different, modern trends in Amharic P. became visible only in the late 1950s. ↗Mängəśtu Lämma, one of Ethiopia's biggest 20th-cent. authors, could be considered the first truly modern author of Amharic P. In the preface to his poetic collection *Yägəṭəm gubaᵓe* (1957/58) he expressed hopes that his poetry would be "pleasant reading" for "young people of our time, both men and women"; and doubted, on the other hand, that he would find much understanding among elderly readers, who might find his love poems "shameful" (*ayn afarənnät yalläw nägär*) because they were not familiar with the poetry of Shakespeare or ↗Pushkin. In his verses Mängəśtu Lämma turned to the internal world of his characters and introduced the lyricism of an unprecedented openness, sharing with the readers his emotional experiences and personal feelings (in narrative poems and love poems). Some poems, such as "*Bäṭärra č̣äräqa* …" ('Under the new moon …'), "*Təzzəta*" ('Memory') brought Mängəśtu Lämma the world fame. He also acted as an early literary critic, trying to foresee the future ways of the Amharic modern P. He represented the opinion that, for writing poems, a poet had to learn how to do it but also must have a special talent for that. He recommended a simplification of the system of the Amharic metrics, proposing to drop the forms which were derived from the songs and to keep three basic forms for the verses. Also he understood the ambiguity of the sixth order grapheme that permits the elision or insertion of *-ə-*, decisive for establishing the number of syllables within a line (Mängəstu Lämma 1963).

↗Ṣäggaye Gäbrä Mädḫən became widely known as a poet thanks to his collection *Əsat wäy abäba* ('Flower or Fire', 1966/73–74) which was pioneering, among other things, because of emotional monologues ("*Yədräs lä-wändəmme lämmalawqəh*", 'Might it Reach my Brother whom I do not Know'; "*Ay Märkato*!", 'Oh Märkato!'), his new vision of nature ("*Abrän zəmm ənnəbäl*", 'Let us Keep Silence Together'; "*Awaš*"), even in his view of history ("*Dogᶜali*", "*Ambo*", "*ᶜAdwa*"; cp. also Bərhanu Gäbäyyähu 2008/09: 181). His rich imaginary, extensive application of ellipsis and hyperbole, poetic discourse sometimes amounting to the "stream of consciousness" require from the reader intensive mental process and emotional co-involvement. He also enriched Amharic metrics with the so-called "*Ṣäggaye bet*", of 16 syllables per line.

Poets who experimented with poetic forms and tried to go beyond the then poetic canons in search of creative freedom and new means of expression were Sälomon Däressa (*Ləǧənnät*, 'Childhood', 1970) and Säyfu Mättafäriya. The latter, however, strove to link the modern poetry with *qəne*-tradition; the former applied the "blank verse" (called *wälälo*), getting a good portion of criticism. Ṣäggaye Gäbrä Mädḫən and Sälomon Däressa's were the first poets to include in their verses elements from their ↗Oromo cultural background.

↗Gäbrä Krəstos Dästa, a famous painter, wrote poems experimenting with graphic representation of texts and punctuation signs (but they became widely known only in recent time, s. Heran Sereke-Berhan 2006).

↗Addis Ababa University was the place that in 1950–60 produced a number of poets who strongly articulated their social and cultural positions, as well as their attitude to the country's current situation. Such writers as Yoḥannəs Admassu, Ḫaylu Gäbrä Yoḥannəs, Daññaččäw Wärqu, Säyfu Mättafäriya (*Afär yanäśśa śəga*, 'Flesh that Raised the Dust' 1964 A.M. [1972 A. D.], *Yätäsfa əgər bərät*, 'Fetters of the Hope Feet' 1969 A.M. [1976 A.D.]), Gərma Taddäsä and Mäsfən Wäldä Maryam saw poetry as one of the means for changing the society (Bərhanu Gäbäyyähu 2008/09: 187, 190).

Despite the rise in the 1960s, the conditions for the development of the modern Amharic P., in particular for that one not oriented towards the traditional forms, were still not favourable. The reasons were the same that affected the development of the modern Amharic literature in general: the lack of a large interested readership, appreciation of poetic work only from the side of a small part of the educated society, absence of literary criticism and opportunities for poets to develop their skills. The conditions deteriorated in the post-1974 ↗Revolution period; yet, despite all odds, that time saw the rise of at least three renowned poets, such as ↗Däbbäbä Säyfu (with collection *Yäbərhan fəqre*, 'My Love of Light', 1987/88), Ayyalnäh Mulatu (collections *Ṭəggät lam*, 'Milk Cow', 1992/93), and Fäqadä Azzäzä.

After the fall of the *Därg*, the improvement of the social and political situation in the country resulted in a surge in writing and publishing of P. Some collections of Amharic P. which had been written in 1950s-70s and considered "classics" of Amharic literature 20 years later, were (re)printed. A new trend in the literary life was the emergence of a number of new associations (in addition to a few well-established like *Yä-Ityopya därasəyan maḫəbär*, 'Association of the Ethiopian writers', set up in 1960) and "clubs" of authors, and also poets, offering for them at least a sort of support, a forum, and a hope to develop their talent. Young poets have been entering literary life in growing numbers. Many of them appear on the literary scene for a short time only; others have been able to attract attention, like Getənnät Ǝnnəyäw (*Ǝwqätən fəlläga*, 'Looking for Knowledge', 1985); Tagäl Säyfu (*Qäfowən attənkut*, 'Do not Touch the Beehive', 1986); Bälay Mäkonnən (*Yäqəne käwakəbt*, '*Qəne* Stars', 1990); Bäfäqadu Moräda (*Yätəwləde mäzmur*, 'The Psalm of My Generation', 1994); Wasihun Bälay (*Algäbam goǧǧoye*, 'I Will not Enter My Hut', 1998), and many more. A new feature of the literary life is the appearance of female poets (some claiming to have started writing poems many years before their first publications), like Mulu Sälomon (*Gize*, 'Time', 2001; *Sənkəfre*, 2004); Wəddalat Gädamu (*Ǝnnatənna ləǧǧ*, 'Mother and Child', 2004; *Sədätäñña gəṭəmočč*, 'Refugee Poems', 2010); ʿAlämitu Dämäna (*Battəggarraññ*, 'You Shall not Share with Me', 2003); Firmaye ʿAlämu (the head of the Ethiopian Women Writer Association, until her death in 2001) and Aräggaš Säyfu (participated in the collection of 170 poems, *Ǝñña*, 'We', 1998, together with Mäqdäs Gämbäru, Märkäb Ṣäggaye, Śännayt Abärra, Səmaññ Gəzaw). Young female poets' voice is represented, among others, by the Association of the Ethiopian Young Women. Bigger urban centres, Addis Abäba in the first line, play the leading role in spreading the P. culture. In addition, Amharic P. has been flourishing in Ethiopian ↗diaspora, particularly in the USA.

The complexity of the Ethiopian modern literary life, its increasing openness to the outside influences, growing role of the mass media and quick spread of education, interaction with the powerful layer of the traditional culture and different ethnic cultures, make contemporary Amharic P. a manifold social phenomenon, still waiting for evaluation and study.

Src.: ADMASU ĞÄMBÄRE, **የበገና ፡ መዝሙር** (*Yäbägäna mäzmur*, '*Bägäna* Psalms'), Addis Abäba 1922 A.M. [1929/30 A.D.] [^{2}1940 A.M.]; LUIGI FUSELLA, "Una poesia di ʾAfawarq Gabra ʾIyasus sui fatti del 1916", in: *PICES* 5a, 1–34; ID., "Una poesia amarica di Aqqā Gabru sulla bataglia di Sagalē", in: *PICES* 6, 133–92; GETIE GELAYE, "Amharic Praise Poems of *Däǧǧazmač* Bälay Zälläqä and the Patriots of Goǧǧam during the Resistance Struggle against the Italian Occupation of Ethiopia, 1936–1941", in: *PICES* 15, 588–603; IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Le canzoni geez–amariña in onore di Re abissini", *RRALm* ser. 4^{a}, 5, 1889, 55–66; HERAN SEREKE-BRHAN (ed.), *Mängäd səṭuññ säffi. Gäbrä Krəstos Dästa. Yägəṭəm mädbäl. Expansive Pathway … Lifetime Traveler, Gebre Kristos Desta*: *an Anthology of Poetry*, [Germany, n.p.] 2006; MAHTÄMÄ SƎLLASE WÄLDÄ MÄSQÄL, **አማርኛ ፡ ቅኔ ፡ ከነመፍቻው** (*Amarəñña qəne kännämäfčaw*, 'Amharic *qəne* with key'), Addis Abäba 1955 A.M. [1962/63 A.D.]; MahZekr 872–86; MÄNGƎŚTU LÄMMA, **የግጥም ፡ ጉባኤ** (*Yägəṭəm gubaʾe*, 'Synod of Poetry'), Addis Abäba ^{2}1955 A.M. [1962/63 A.D.]; MÄRSƎʿE ḪAZÄN WÄLDÄ QIRQOS, **ያማርኛ ፡ ሰዋስው** (*Yamarəñña säwasəw*, 'Amharic Grammar'), Addis Abäba 1935 A.M. [1942/43 A.D.]; MURAD KAMIL, *Amharische Kaiserlieder*, Wiesbaden 1957 (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des

Morgenlandes 23, 4); Nəguse Nägäwo Dägaga, **የቅኔ ፡ አፈታት ፡ ዘዴዎችና ፡ የምርጥ ፡ ቅኔዎች ፡ ስብስብ** (*Yäqəne affätat zädewoččənna yämərṭ qənewočč səbəssəb*, ‘Methods of Interpreting *Qəne* and a Collection of Selected *Qəne*’), Addis Abäba 1992 A.M. [1999/2000 A.D.]; Yədnäqaččäw Täsämma, **ሰምና ፡ ወርቁ – ተሰማ ፡ እሸቴ** (*Sämənna wärqu – Täsämma Əšäte*, ‘Wax and its Gold – Täsämma Əšäte’), Addis Abäba 1965 A.M. [1992/93 A.D.].
Lit.: Bərhanu Gäbäyyähu, **የአማርኛ ፡ ሥነ ፡ ግጥም** (*Yäᵓamarəñña śənä gəṭəm*, ‘Amharic Poetry’), Addis Abäba 1999 A.M. [2006/07 A.D.]; “*Məṭane bäᵓamarəñña śənä gəṭəm*” (‘Metrics in Amharic Poetry’), *JES* 33, 1, 2000, 62–101; Id., “**ዘመናዊ ፡ የአማርኛ ፡ ሥነ ፡ ግጥም ፥ አንዳንድ ፡ ነጥቦች**” (*Zämänawi yäᵓamarəñña śənä gəṭəm*: *andand näṭəbočč*, ‘Contemporary Amharic Poetry: a Few Points’), in: Däräğğä Gäbre (ed.), **መድበለ ፡ ጉባኤ ። የምእተ ፡ ዓመቱ** … (*Mädbälä gubaᵓe. Yämᵓətä ᶜamätu* …, ‘A Collection. A Hundred Years of …’), Addis Abäba 2001 A.M. [2008/09 A.D.]; CerLett; LevWax s. index; Fäqadä Azzäzä, **የስነ-ቃል ፡ መምሪያ** (*Yäsənä-qal mämriya*, ‘Introduction to Oral Literature’), Addis Abäba 1991 A.M. [1998/99 A.D.]; Fekade Azeze, *Unheard Voices*: *Drought, Famine and God in Ethiopian Oral Poetry*, Addis Ababa – Trondheim 1998; Fəqrä Dəngəl Bäyyänä, **የምሳሌያዊ ፡ ንግግሮች ፡ ሰዋስው ፥ ሰምና ፡ ወርቅ ፡ ሰዋስው** (*Yäməssaleyawi nəgəggəročč säwasəw. Sämənna wärq säwasəw*, ‘Grammar of Proverbial Speech. Grammar of Wax and Gold’), Addis Abäba 1985 A.M. [1993/94 A.D.]; Getie Gelaye, “Contemporary Amharic Oral Poetry from Gojjam: Classification and a Sample Analysis”, *Aethiopica* 2, 1999, 124–43; KaneLit 67–73, s. index; August Klingenheben, “Zur Amharischen Poesie”, *RSE* 15, 1959, 5–20; Enno Littmann, “Geschichte der äthiopischen Litteratur”, in: Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der christlichen Litteraturen des Orients*, Leipzig 1909, 185–269; MolLit; Mängəśtu Lämma, **ያማርኛ ፡ ግጥም – ዓይነቱ ፤ ሥረቱ ፤ ሥርዓቱ** (*Yamarəñña gəṭəm – ᶜaynätu śərätu śərᶜatu*, ‘Amharic Verses: Types, Character, Structure’), *JES* 1, 2, 1963, 133–51; Renate Richter, “Wenn das Wachs schmilzt …”, in: Werner Arnold – Hartmut Bobzin (eds.), *“Sprich doch mit deinen Knechten aramäisch, wir verstehen es!” 60 Beiträge zur Semitistik. Festschrift für Otto Jastrow zum 60. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden 2002, 569–82; Samuel Adal, *The Development of Modern Amharic Poetry*, M.A. thesis, Addis Abäba University 1994; RicLett 851–82 (“Letteratura in lingua amarica”); Anton Schall, *Zur äthiopischen Verskunst*, Wiesbaden 1961; Zärihun Asfaw, **የስነጽሑፍ ፡ መሰረታውያን** (*Yäsənäṣəḥuf mäsärätawəyan*, ‘Fundamentals of Literature’), Addis Abäba 1992 A.M. [2000 A.D.], 73ff.

Renate Richter – Denis Nosnitsin –
Magdalena Krzyżanowska

Polo, Marco

P. (b. ca. 1254, Venice, [?], d. 1324, Venice) was a Venetian merchant and traveller. His recollections, duly recorded, greatly contributed to Europe’s knowledge and perception of the Orient.

Born to an old family of traders, P. was the son of Niccolò and the nephew of Marco and Maffio (i.e. Matteo), his father’s elder and younger brother, resp. Under the supervision of Marco, Niccolò and Maffio had established their firm in Constantinople (↗Byzantine Empire) before 1259/60. They moved their business to Soldaja (today’s Sudak), on the north rim of the Black Sea (Crimea), and then further into the western parts of the newly-formed Mongol empire known in Europe as the Golden Horde. At Buḫārā, in modern Uzbekistan, where they stayed for three years, they joined the embassy of *Īlḫān* Hūlāgū of Persia (↗Iran) – who had earlier invited them to travel east – to his brother *Great Ḫān* Qūbīlāy, the founder of the Yuan dynasty. Having ventured as far as “Cathay”, i.e. Northern China, and present day Beijing, Qūbīlāy’s seat, the Polos returned temporarily to Europe in 1266 with a message from Qūbīlāy to the pope. In that letter the former requested oil from the lamp of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (↗Jerusalem) and a hundred wise men acquainted with the liberal arts to teach Christianity and Western customs to his people, so as to oppose the diffused Lamaistic practice of magic.

However, Pope Clement IV, who in 1267–68 had engaged in correspondence with *Īlḫān* Abaqa, had died in 1268, while the new pope, Gregory X, was elected only in 1271. Delayed in their attempts to satisfy Qūbīlāy’s request, in 1269/70, and after staying for a while at St. John of Acre (Galilee), where they sought advice from the pontifical legate Theobald Visconti (the future Pope Gregory X), the two brothers headed back to Venice. Here, Niccolò found his son, by then 15 or 16 years old, who had been living with other relatives since the death of his mother, and was educated in such subjects as foreign currency, appraising and cargo shipping.

In 1271, taking P. with them, the Polos left again for the Orient, accompanied by two Dominican friars, Niccolò of Vicenza and Guillaume of Tripolis, who quitted, though, before reaching their destination. They were carrying presents and letters from Gregory X, whose idea of crusade implied an alliance with the Mongols (purportedly Christian). The Polos reached Qūbīlāy at Kaipingfu or Shangdu, his summer capital, in 1274 – after a three-year journey through the Middle East and Central Asia.

P. was quick to learn the languages and customs of the Mongols as well as of the Persians, but not of the Chinese; this was usual for officials of foreign origin in newly-conquered China. He thus earned the full confidence of Qūbīlāy, who sent him on several missions throughout the Yuan

Empire, especially to the inaccessible regions between Tibet and Yunnan. It is possible that P. became governor of Yangzhou or, more likely, superintendent of the salt-works. While carrying out his duties, he was able to make keen observations of the lands in which he travelled and give accurate reports to the emperor. In 1291, after 17 years, Qūbīlāy, who had always declined the Polos' requests to return to Europe, gave them a last assignment: to escort the Mongol princess Kökečin to her betrothed, *Īlḫān* Arġūn, the son of Abaqa. Departing from the southern port of Zitong (later Quanzhou), via Sumatra, Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and ↗India (where, among other places, P. visited Mylapore, with the tomb of St. Thomas), the party eventually crossed the "Arabian Sea" (Indian Ocean) to Hurmūz and reached Persia in 1293 or 1294. The two-year voyage, partly along the ancient silk roads, was a perilous one: of the 600 people in the convoy (apart from those who organized it) only 18 survived, among them the Polos. Arġūn having died in 1291, they left the princess with the new *īlḫān*, Gayḫātu, and moved overland to Trebizond (now Trabzon, Turkey), sailing from there to Venice, which they found at war with Genoa.

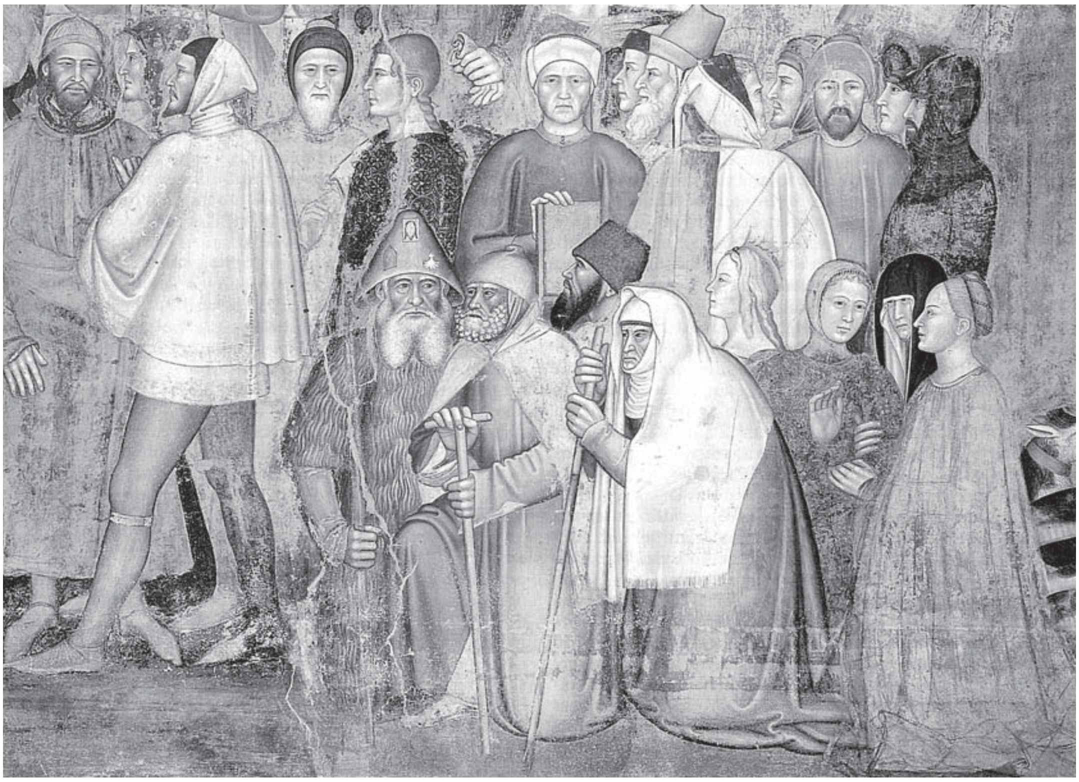
During this war, P. was taken prisoner by the Genoese in unclear circumstances: according to tradition, either after the Venetian defeat near Curzola (the Dalmatian island of Korčula) in 1298 or during a sea battle or, more plausibly, following an act of piracy off Lajazzo (Āyās, not far from Adana, modern Turkey) in 1296. While detained in Genoa, he had the opportunity of dictating his memoirs, in the form of a detailed travelogue, to a fellow inmate, Rustichello da Pisa, a romance writer who incorporated tales of his own and turned the text into a book in the Langue d'oïl (the ancestor of French), a lingua franca of chivalric and crusader stories: *Le divisament dou monde*, better known as *The Travels of Marco Polo* or *Book of the Marvels of the World*, commonly called *Milione*, possibly from the Polos' use of the (nick)name *Emilione* to distinguish their branch of the family.

Released in August 1299, P. returned to Venice – where his father and uncle had purchased a large house – and became a wealthy merchant. He married Donata Badoer, the daughter of a wealthy fellow trader, and had three children. In his will, written on 9 January 1324 (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, cod. Lat. V 58 = 2437, c. 33, s. Zorzi 1988), P. set free a "Tatar slave" who may have followed him from Asia. P. died shortly after and was buried in the church of San Lorenzo in Castello before 24 June of the same year. There his tomb remained until 1797.

Created mainly as a handbook for merchants, essentially focusing on products, weights, measures and distances, and yet burdened with exaggerations and legends well beyond the author's experience during his long stays in China and India, the *Milione* depicts P.'s journeys, along with further stories and details directly or indirectly linked with them. It is divided into four parts. Book I describes the lands of the Middle East and Central Asia, with the domains of "Prestre Johan" (↗Prester John), for P. either a king of the Kereits (Qara Ḫitāy) in central Mongolia or a prince of the Ongut, a Nestorian tribe living in the northern part of the Ordos (inner Mongolia) and territories to the north-east of it (LXV.16–LXVIII.12 [26d–27d] ed. 1928 = 64, 6–67, 6 ed. 1975 and, resp., LXXIII.9–LXXIV. 21 [31b–31c] = 72, 6–73, 11 and CIX.7–CX. 19 [48c–49a] = 107, 3–108, 14). Book II is devoted to China and the court of Qūbīlāy. Book III describes such coastal regions of the East as Japan, India, Ceylon, Southeast Asia and the east coast of Africa. Book IV covers the then recent wars among the Mongols and describes some regions of the Far North, among them Russia.

Thus the *Milione* brings together both first-hand knowledge and hearsay evidence, i.e. anecdotes and current affairs of places P. could not have visited personally – for which, however, his pages prove to be mostly objective and reliable. This is the case, e.g., for the famous stories of the "Assassins", an Ismaʿīlī sect centred at Ālamūt, near Qazwīn (XLI–XLIII [18b–19b] = 40–42), not far from P.'s itinerary, but also for those on the more remote countries of the Red Sea and the Horn of Africa, with "Middle India, which is called Abasce, i.e. [*al-*]*Ḥabaša* or '↗Abyssinia' (CXCIII.60–CXCIV.105 [93a–94c] = 187, 24–189, 18) – vs. the Greater and Lesser Indias, stretching from Coromandel to Makran and, resp., from today's Vietnam to Andhra Pradesh (s. ↗"India" as a name of Ethiopia).

On that peculiarly "western" milieu, comprising such islands as the fabulous, and Christian, "Male" and "Female", with a suffragan bishopric of "Scara" or "Scotra" (↗Soqotra), a ↗Nestorian archbishopric ultimately dependent on the see of Baġdād (CXC–CXCI [90b–91b] = 184f.), he relates data and lore then circulating, in Arabic garb,



Niccolò, Maffio and Marco Polo celebrated as ambassadors, missionaries and merchants, standing in the upper row, next to the lady in profile and the gentleman with a hood. They are depicted in Oriental ("Tatar") attire, Marco holding his book (cp. Olschki 1957: 113ff.); fresco from 1366, detail of the *Militant Church* by Andrea di Bonaiuto and followers on the southern wall of the Cappellone degli Spagnoli in Florence, church of Santa Maria Novella; photo courtesy of the DSAMS, Università degli Studi di Milano

through the harbours of the Indian Ocean. In this connection, clues seem to plead for ^{c}Adan (today's Yemen), of which he offers a most valuable description as a trading centre and a "province" (CXCV [94d–95a] = 190 in particular, s. Conti Rossini 1940: 1021f.; Tedeschi 1981: 362f.). Likewise, the island of "Ma(n)dagascar", actually ↗Mogadishu in the Somali peninsula of Banādir, appears to be ruled by "IV esceque – ce vaut a dire IV vielz hommes" ("four shaiks, that is to say four elders"), i.e. the *Arba^{c} Rukun*, "Four Wise Men" (*rukun* being here a plur. of *rakīn*?), well known from Arabic sources on the origins of the local sultanate in the 13th cent. (CXCII [91b–92b] = 186, s. Fiaccadori 1989: 257ff. and ns. 3–6).

P.'s "Abasce" is a powerful Christian kingdom whose people are branded by fire as a mark of their religious identity. It is governed by three Christian and three Muslim rulers, all paying obedience to a greater Christian king, the "roi d'Abasce". The latter was then "at war with the sultan of Aden and with that of ↗Nubia", the latter being distinguished from Ethiopia but possibly confused with a Muslim realm (CXCIV.14–18 [93a] = 188, 7, s. Tedeschi 1981: 367f., 373). In 1288, the greater king – *nəguś* ↗Yagba Ṣəyon – was the protagonist of a "bielle estoire": he wanted to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, but was persuaded to send a bishop instead; the latter was captured and circumcised on his return way by the *sulṭān* of "Aden" (CXCIV.19–85 [93b–94b] = 189, 1–13, s. Tedeschi 1981: 367f., 373). This was a (Beğa) chief neither of ^{c}Adan nor of ↗^{c}Adal, but of the coast region – between the ↗Barka delta and the border of ↗Eritrea – mentioned as "Adam" or "Ad(d)an" in the early 15th-cent. itineraries of Antonio ↗Bartoli and Pietro ↗Rombulo (s. Tedeschi 1981: 377ff., 383–86; cp. Fiaccadori 2005: 46 and n. 13).

P.'s work afforded Europeans their first comprehensive insight into the East, from the more familiar African shores of the Red Sea up to the almost unknown land of Japan that Qūbīlāy was attempting to seize. It is worth noting that other famous 13th-cent. European travellers to the Orient such as the Franciscans André de Longjumeau, William of Rubruck and Giovanni di Pian del Carpine did not reach as far as China. Besides, they were missionaries, with a strictly religious perspective. P. obviously had a Christian audience and some prejudice against Islam, as well as (Tibetan) Buddhism and its magic bias, but his point of view is generally more open, as reflected in a number of acute remarks on political circumstances and military events, as well as geographic, ethnic and economic situations. P. paid great attention to the customs and culture of the people he encountered or heard of on his way to and from China – which accounts for the unique fascination of the *Milione*.

A rare popular success in an era before printing, the *Milione* soon spread throughout Europe, enjoying wide diffusion in terms of the numbers of copies and translations into European languages, within P.'s lifetime. About 150 manuscripts in the different versions are extant, with major textual discrepancies. Quite a few of these manuscripts are illuminated: luxury exemplars were produced for Charles of Valois (from a copy presented to him, through his seneschal Thibaut de Chepoy, by P. in 1307) and for John Duke of Berry a century later (s. Chiappori 1998: 608 and Gousset 2002: 6f.; in general, *Il Milione* ed. [1999]: XIX–XXIV). During the copying and translating process, however, the original text disappeared, overshadowed by new versions, first and foremost the Latin one, *De mirabilibus mundi* ('The Marvels of the World'), completed in 1314 by the Dominican Francesco Pipino and still transmitted in some 50 manuscripts. P.'s work was first printed in German (Nuremburg 1477), then in Latin (Gouda 1483/84 ca.) and Portuguese (Lisbon 1502), hence its impact on the "age of discovery".

An effort to collate manuscripts and improve on P.'s available text was made by Giovambattista Ramusio as early as 1559: for the third volume of his Italian collection of travellers he used an authoritative Latin manuscript (Toledo, Biblioteca capitular, ms. Zelada 49.20, "Z", once the property of Cardinal Francesco Saverio de Zelada), that preserves details likely to have been censored in the rest of the tradition (ed. 1980). A critical edition of the original was only achieved, however, by Luigi Foscolo Benedetto in 1928, based on the oldest surviving testimony, ms. Paris BN, fr. 1116 ("F", in French heavily flavoured with Italian), which he amended on the basis of the more detailed texts of Ramusio as well as of another Latin manuscript (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Y. 160 sup.). Benedetto's edition prompted further translations, starting from his own into Italian (1932), which features the critically reconstructed text in a continuous narrative, and Aldo Ricci's, with an Orientalist introduction and an index by Edward Denison Ross (1931).

P.'s pioneering journey – the first such endeavour to be widely known – exerted a definitive influence on the development of European ↗cartography, and ultimately led to European voyages and explorations more than a century later. 30 names in China and a number of other Asian toponyms are to be found in the 1375 *Catalan Atlas*, used in turn by ↗Fra Mauro for his famous mid-15th-cent. *Mappamondo*. Although never mentioned here, P.'s work ranks among the primary sources of Fra Mauro's masterpiece – a "visual rendering" of the *Milione*. According to a local tradition preserved by Ramusio (1980: 68f.), entire parts of the *Mappamondo* were drawn "from a most beautiful and very old nautical map and a world map that had been brought from Cathay by the magnificent Messer Marco Polo and his father" (cp. Fiaccadori 2012: 327f.). Inspired by P.'s description of the Far East and its wonders (including cannibals and spice growers), Christopher Columbus tried to reach those lands by sea, on a westward route. He owned a printed copy of the *De mirabilibus mundi* that can still be seen, with his notes, in the Columbian Library in Seville.

↗Italy, relations with

Src.: MARCO POLO, *Il Milione*, ed. by LUIGI FOSCOLO BENEDETTO, Firenze 1928 (Comitato Geografico Naz. Italiano. Pubblicazioni 3); ID., *Il Libro di Messer Marco Polo cittadino di Venezia, detto Milione, &c.*, tr. by LUIGI FOSCOLO BENEDETTO, Milano – Roma 1932; ID., *The Travels of Marco Polo*, tr. into English from the text of Luigi Foscolo Benedetto by ALDO RICCI, with an Introduction and Index by EDWARD DENISON ROSS, London 1931 [^{2}1950]; ID., *The Description of the World*, ed. by ARTHUR CHRISTOPHER MOULE – PAUL PELLIOT, London 1938; ID., *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venitian*, tr., ed. with notes by HENRY YULES, rev. by HENRI CORDIER, London 1903 [repr. 1921; New York 1993 as *Travels of Marco Polo*: *the Complete Yule*-*Cordier Edition* …]; ID., *Il Milione*: *Versione toscana del Trecento*, ed. by VALERIA BERTOLUCCI PIZZORUSSO, Index by GIORGIO R. CARDONA, Milano 1975 [repr. ^{2}2001] (Classici 31; Lit.); ID., *Milione*: *Le divisament dou monde. Il Milione nelle redazioni toscana e franco*-*italiana*, Introd. by CESARE SEGRE, ed. by GABRIELLA RONCHI, Milano ^{2}2005 [including ed. Benedetto 1928, retouched, and Pizzorusso 1975]; ID., *Milione, Redazione latina del manoscritto Z*, ed. ALVARO

Barbieri, Parma 1998 (Fondazione Pietro Bembo); Id., *Il Milione*, contributions by Alvise Zorzi, Fabrizio Lollini, Marcello Brusegan, Monica Centanni, Firenze [1999], here xix–xxiv; Mario Eusebi (ed.), *Il manoscritto della Bibliothèque nationale de France Fr. 1116*, Padova 2010 (Biblioteca veneta. Poliana 1); Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Navigazioni & viaggi*, vol. 3 [*1559*], ed. by Marica Milanesi, Torino 1980 (I Millenni), 21–297, here 69; *Marco Paulo … conforme a impressão de Valentim Fernandes, feita en Lisboa em 1502*, ed. by Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira, Lisboa 1922 (Publicações da Biblioteca Nacional. Reimpressões 2).

Lit.: Alvaro Barbieri, "Quale 'Milione'? La questione testuale e le principali edizioni moderne del libro di Marco Polo", *Studi mediolatini e volgari* 42, 1996, 9–46 (Lit.); Luce Boulnois, *Silk Road: Monks, Warriors & Merchants*, Hong Kong 2005, 311–35; Eugenio Burgio (ed.), *Giovanni Battista Ramusio "editor" del Milione*: *Trattamento del testo e manipolazione dei modelli. Atti del seminario di ricerca* (*Venezia, 9–10 settembre 2010*), Padova 2011 (Biblioteca veneta. Poliana 2); Angelo Cattaneo, *Fra Mauro's Mappa Mundi and Fifteenth-Century Venice*, Turnhout 2011 (Terrarum orbis 8), 185–225; Maria Grazia Chiappori, "Polo, Marco", in: *Enciclopedia dell'arte medioevale*, vol. 9, Roma 1998, 606b–08b, here 608a (Lit.); Carlo Conti Rossini, "Marco Polo e l'Etiopia", *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 99, 1940, part ii, 1021–39; Alfonso D'Agostino, "La prosa delle origini e del Duecento", in: Enrico Malato (ed.), *Storia della letteratura italiana*, vol. 10: *La tradizione dei testi*, ed. by Claudio Ciociola, Roma 2001, 99–135, here 99–102; Piero Falchetta, *Fra Mauro's World Map, with a Commentary and trans. of the Inscriptions*, Presentation by Marino Zorzi, Turnhout 2006 (Terrarum Orbis 5), 61–69; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Arba^{c} Rukun: Note sull'ordinamento repubblicano di Mogadiscio nel medioevo", in: *Studi in memoria di Giuseppe Bovini*, Ravenna 1989 (Biblioteca di «Felix Ravenna» 6), vol. 1, 257–74, here 257ff. and nn. 3–6; Id., "Un re di Nubia a Costantinopoli nel 1203", in: *VarAeth* 43–49, here 47f. and n. 19; Id., "Fra Mauro e il laboratorio geografico di San Michele di Murano", in: Marcello Brusegan – Paolo Eleuteri – Gianfranco Fiaccadori (eds.), *San Michele in Isola – Isola della conoscenza*: *Ottocento anni di storia e cultura camaldolesi nella laguna di Venezia …*, Torino 2012, 323–31, here 323, 327f. (Lit.); Luciano Formisano, "L'Italia e l'Europa nei primi secoli del secondo millennio", in: Id. (ed.), *Storia della letteratura italiana*, vol. 12: *La letteratura italiana fuori d'Italia*, Roma 2002, 98–109, here 98–106 (§ 4 "M. Polo"), 108f. (Lit.); Fausto Freschi, "Marco Polo e la provincia indiana di Lar", *La parola del passato* 48, 1993, 445–53 (Lit.); Marie-Thérèse Gousset, *Marco Polo*: *Le livre des merveilles du monde*, Paris 2002, 6f.; Peter Jackson, "Marco Polo and his 'Travels'", *BSOAS* 61, 1998, 82–101; John Larner, *Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World*, New Haven, CT 1999; Adriano Màdaro (ed.), *Gengis Khan e il tesoro dei Mongoli. La Via della Seta e la civiltà cinese* (*Treviso, Casa dei Carraresi, 20 ottobre 2007–4 maggio 2008*), Treviso 2007; Steven Otfinoski, *Marco Polo*: *to China and Back*, New York 2003; Leonardo Olschki, *L'Asia di Marco Polo*, Firenze 1957 (Biblioteca storica Sansoni, n. ser. 30), 113ff. and fig. 2, 228f., 376–79; Paul Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, ed. by [Louis Hambis], vols. 1–2 and 3, Paris 1959–63 and 1973; Salvatore Tedeschi, "L'Abissinia nel libro di Marco Polo", *Africa* (Roma) 36, 1981, 361–89; Giuseppe Tucci (ed.), *Oriente poliano. Studi e conferenze tenute all'IsMEO in occasione del VII centenario della nascita di Marco Polo (1254–1954)*, Roma 1954; Francis Wood, *Did Marco Polo Go to China?*, Boulder, CO 1996; Marino Zorzi, "M. Polo, Testamento", in: Id. (ed.), *Biblioteca Marciana, Venezia*, Firenze 1988, 100 (pl. xvii).

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Pontius Pilate

P. (Lat. *Pontius Pilatus*, Gr. Πόντιος Πιλᾶτος, *Póntios Pilâtos*, Eth. **ጲላጦስ ፡ ጴንጠናዊ**, *Ṗilaṭos Ṗänṭänawi*, d. 37/38 A.D.?), a Roman knight (*eques*) of likely Samnite origin, was the fifth *praefectus* ('governor') of Judaea, with an unusually long period of office, ca. 26 to 36 A.D., under Emperor Tiberius I. Actually a protégé of the latter's favourite Seianus (who, however, fell from the emperor's grace in 30 A.D.), besides control of financial administration, P. also exerted supreme judicial power. In this capacity, he presided over the trial of Jesus, releasing him to the Jews to be crucified.

The chief sources both for this event, to which P.'s fame is definitely bound, and for his biography are the canonical ↗ Gospels (Mt 27, 1–31; Mc 15, 1–20; Lc 23, 1–5; Jo 18, 28–19, 16 and 21) and the Roman historian Tacitus (*Ann.* XV, 44). The Jewish writers Philo of Alexandria (*Leg. ad Caium* 38, with a letter of Herod Agrippa I to Caligula) and Flavius Josephus (*Ant. Iud.* XVIII, 3, 2) dwell on P.'s merciless and obstinate temper and, resp., on other incidents that took place during his tenure, owing to his insensitivity to Jewish customs. After being reported to Vitellius, legate of Syria, for attacking the Samaritans on Mt. Gerizim in 36 A.D., P. was charged for cruelty and oppression and summoned to trial in Rome, but Tiberius had died (37 A.D.) before P. could reach there. Equally important is the "Pilate stone", a Latin inscription discovered in 1961 at the Roman theatre of Caesarea Maritima, the capital of Judaea, and presently housed in the Israel Museum of Jerusalem (*Année épigraphique* 1963, no. 104; cp. Holum – Hohlfelder 1988: 108ff. and fig. 67). The authenticity of this inscription can hardly be doubted: it yields P.'s official title, [*praef*]*ectus* (against Tacitus's *procurator*, indeed the same office in "archaic" garb), and lends historicity to his character as featured in the Gospels.

With varying emphasis and details, the Gospels underscore P.'s reluctance to send Jesus to death, as he found no guilt with him – up to washing his hands to show that he was not responsible for the execution. John in particular provides a more dramatic insight into the dialogue between Jesus and P., whose main question to him was whether he truly considered himself to be the "King of the Jews" (Jn 18:37). Jesus's confirming his kingship was not enough, however, for P. to view him as a potential political threat (Jn 18:38). According to Matthew (27:19), even P.'s wife (St. Proc[u]la or Claudia in later Christian traditions), following a dream or premonition, spoke to him in favour of Jesus. It was customary for Roman governors to set a prisoner free at Passover. After the crowd asked for the release of Barabbas (a notorious murderer), P. eventually felt compelled to sentence Jesus to death against his own will. He then ordered a sign, reading "Jesus the Nazarene, the King of the Jews" (the so-called *titulus Crucis*), to be posted "in Hebrew, Greek and Latin" above the crucified, to give public notice of the legal charge against him (Jn 19:19–22).

With reference to an otherwise unknown report by P. on the crucifixion, ↗Eusebius of Caesarea maintains that P. suffered great misfortunes under Emperor Caligula (37–41 A.D.), was exiled to Gaul and eventually, on the orders of Caligula, killed himself at Vienne (*Hist. eccl.* II, 7; *Chron.* ad a. 39 A.D.) – according to the 10th-cent. Melkite bishop Agapius of Manbiğ, in 37/38 A.D. (*Kitāb al-ᶜUnwān*, 'Book of the Title', ed. Vasiliev 1911: 483 [= 27]). Quite later traditions variously locate the place of P.'s death in Italy or Switzerland, but none of them – including the legends in Germanic folklore – can be considered authoritative.

The agenda surfacing in the canonical Gospels, which places the blame on the Jews, not on the Romans, is apparent in a series of further Greek writings concerning P., among them the 4th/5th-cent. apocryphal *Acta Pilati* ('Acts of Pilate'), later found as the first part (chs. 1–16, followed by the *Descensus ad inferos*, 'Harrowing of Hell') of the medieval Latin *Evangelium Nicodemi* ('Gospel of Nicodemus', to whom an alleged Hebrew original is attributed). The more or less contemporary *Anaphora Pilati* ('Report of Pilate') contains P.'s purported letter to Tiberius on Jesus's trial and its aftermath (this text should not be confused with that mentioned by Eusebius). Its continuation, the *Paradosis Pilati* ('Handing over of Pilate'), is a fictitious account on P. being recalled to Rome and censured by the emperor.

These apocryphal writings quickly spread, with various fortunes, into Latin and the languages of the Christian Orient (Syriac, Coptic, Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian and Georgian). There they gave birth to several cycles of legends, as attested to by the interlinked minor literature on P., such as the 10th/11th-cent. Arabic apocryphal Gospel of John (i.e. the ↗*Täʾammərä Iyäsus* of ↗Gəᶜəz literary tradition). Some of the above Greek writings convey both a mild judgement upon P.'s crime – as a matter of fact, instrumental in the atonement – and the claim that, like his wife, he actually became a Christian. As such, he appears already in Tertullian (2nd cent. A.D.), also hinting at a report sent by P. to Tiberius and claiming the emperor himself was a Christian (*Apol.* 5, 2 and 21, 24, cp. Justin, *Apol.* I, 35, 9 and 48, 3). The legends concerning P. are intermingled, in more than one respect, with the cycle of Tiberius – eager to punish him and the Jews for the crucifixion – and thereby connected to the legend of ↗Abgar and the "true portrait" of Jesus.

In further elaborations of the original cycle (the so-called *Acta Salvatoris*, 'Acts of the Saviour') and its eastern offshoots, P. became a holy man and a martyr for the Coptic and the Ethiopian Churches, in which he is considered a saint and commemorated, with his wife, on 25 *Baʾūna* and 25 *Säne,* resp. He has a proper entry only in the Ethiopic ↗*Sənkəssar* (GuiSyn I 674f.; the memory of Procula, but not of P., is celebrated on 27 October by the Greek Orthodox Church). Here, as in the corresponding entry of the Coptic Synaxarium, he is also held responsible for the death of Longinus, the soldier who pierced Jesus's side on the Cross with his spear (cp. Cerulli 1973: 147 and n. 1). Evidence for the cult of P. in Egypt are both the existence, in the late 12th cent., of a church dedicated to him at Abyar (Ibyār), a village in the Delta, and the diffusion of his name among the Copts from the 6th to the 18th cent. (Luisier 1996: 411–20). A *Psali* ('Psalmody') from a 19th-cent. manuscript of Ḥarat Zawīla (Cairo), the seat of an Ethiopian community too (CerPal II, 354–60), seems to have been translated from Ethiopic in the 16th/17th cent. (Volkoff 1969–79: 170 n. 1).

The main work in this connection is the *Martyrdom of Pilate*, presenting P.'s spiritual accomplishments, crowned by his martyrdom in Rome. A medieval Egyptian composition with Jerosolimitan features, this work was originally written in Arabic – and transmitted also in *ġaršūnī* within the Syrian Orthodox milieus of Palestine (ed. Mingana 1928: 531–80 [283–332]) – as a homily under the authorship of Cyriacus of Behnesa, whose name conceals that of (Judas) ↗Cyriacus of

Jerusalem, the legendary bishop martyred under Julian the Apostate (Luisier 1996: 411f. and n. 8). In the text itself, Gamaliel – i.e. *Rabban* Gamaliel the Elder, a member of the Sanhedrin and a contemporary of Jesus (Acts 5:34 and 22:3) – is introduced as a witness to the events (ed. Monferrer Sala 2009). The Ethiopic version, *Səmᶜa Ṗilaṭos* (‘Martyrdom of Pilate’), was produced from Arabic by the metropolitan *abunä* ↗Sälama “the Translator” before 1388 (ed. van den Oudenrijn 1959: 112–69, cp. 170–80 and Beylot 1988: 186–93, with the intriguing story of the portrait of Jesus by his disciple John, ed. Id. 1993:676 and 678, §41f.). An incomplete résumé of the *Martyrdom* can be found, since the 15th cent., in a few manuscripts of the ↗*Täʾammərä Maryam* (ed. Cerulli 1964: 14–29, cp. Beylot 1988: 194f.).

The *Martyrdom* is, to a certain extent, the continuation of another Arabic piece of the Egyptian-Ethiopian apocryphal cycle of P.: the *Lament of* ↗*Mary* or *Lament of the Virgin*, which makes Gamaliel even more important as an author (or a source) and is equally attributed to Cyriacus of Behnesa (ed. Galtier 1912; for the Coptic fragments s. Luisier 1996: 416 and n. 31, and esp. Suciu 2012). Transmitted also in *ġaršūnī* (ed. Mingana 1928: 459–88 [211–40]), it was translated into Gəᶜəz as ↗*Laḥa Maryam* (where the Virgin Mary, lamenting at the empty tomb of Jesus, is conflated with ↗Mary Magdalene), again by *abunä* Sälama. It is part of the ↗*Gəbrä ḥəmamat*, the lectionary of the Holy Week that is still read in the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (ed. van den Oudenrijn 1959: 2–83, cp. 84–110 and Beylot 1988: 181–86 and Luisier 1996: 421–25).

A third piece of the same dossier is the passion narrative known in Ethiopic as *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*dorho*, so named after the tale it contains of the cock roasted by Akrosənna (the wife of Simon the Pharisee) and resurrected by Jesus. Also translated from Arabic into Gəᶜəz by Sälama, it is likewise included in the *Gəbrä ḥəmamat*. It ultimately goes back to a now lost 5th/6th-cent. Greek original from ↗Jerusalem, on which the newly-discovered Arabic version is dependent via a hitherto unknown Coptic intermediary (Piovanelli 2005: 433–37 and Lucchesi 2005: 92).

Two Ethiopic hymns to P. as a saint, a ↗*mälkəᶜ* and a ↗*sälam*, are appended to the *Laḥa Maryam* in the 18th-cent. ms. BN, éth. d’Abb. 177 (= CRAbb 89); they are available in English and French translations, resp. (Cerulli 1973: 150–54 and 1975–76).

Src.: *Anneé épigraphique* 1963, no. 14; EMILE GALTIER, *Mémoires et fragments inedits*, ed. by EMILE CHASSINAT, Le Caire 1912 (Mémoires de l’IFAO 27), 31–103 [“Le martyre de Pilate”, ed., tr.]; *CANT* nos. 64–68 [“Cyclus Pilati”]; ALPHONSE MINGANA (ed., tr.), with intr. by RENDEL HARRIS, “The Lament of the Virgin and the Martyrdom of Pilate”, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 12, 1928, 411–580 [repr. in: ID., *Woodbrooke Studies*: *Christian Documents in Syriac, Arabic and Garshūni*, vol. 2, Cambridge 1928, 163–332; repr.: *The Apology of Timothy the Patriarch before the Caliph Mahdi*, Piscataway, NJ 2009], here 430–58 [182–210] (tr.) = 459–88 [211–40] (*ġaršūnī* text) [I. *Lament of the Virgin*], and 491–530 [243–82] (tr.) = 531–80 [283–332] (text) [II. *Martyrdom of Pilate*]; MARC-ANTOINE VAN DEN OUDENRIJN, *Gamaliel*: *Äthiopische Texte zur Pilatusliteratur*, Freiburg 1959 (Spicilegium Friburgense. Texte zur Geschichte des kirchlichen Lebens 4) [from ms. BritLib, Or. 690 = WrBriMus CCLIV (16th cent.)]; ENRICO CERULLI, “L’Oriente cristiano nell’unità delle sue tradizioni”, in: *Atti del Convegno Internazionale sul tema: L’Oriente Cristiano nella storia della Civiltà* (*Roma 31 Marzo–3 Aprile 1963*; *Firenze 4 aprile 1963*), Roma 1964 (Problemi attuali di scienza e di cultura 62), 9-43 [partial reprod. in: CerLett 196–209], here 14–29; ID., “La légende de l’empereur Tibère et de Pilate dans deux nouveaux documents éthiopiens”, *Byzantion* 36, 1966, 26–34; ID., “Tiberius and Pontius Pilate in Ethiopian Tradition and Poetry”, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 59, 1973 [1975], 141–58, here 147 and n. 1, 150–54; ID., “Un hymne éthiopien à Pilate sanctifié”, *Mélanges de l’Université St.-Joseph* 49, 1975–76 [1977], 591–94; ROBERT BEYLOT (ed., tr.), *Martyre de Pilate*, Turnhout 1993 (PO 45/4 [20], 617–87 [also from mss. EMML nos. 1826 (14th/15th cent.) and 1827 (15th cent.)]; GuiSyn I, 674f.; BudSaint 209f., 1034, 1145f.; JUAN PEDRO MOFERRER SALA, “The *Anaphora Pilati* according to the ‘Sinaitic Arabic 445’: a New Edition, with Translation and a First Analysis”, *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 61, 2009, 167–98; ALEXANDER VASILIEV (ed., tr.), *Agapius de Menbidj, Kitâb al-ᶜUnvân – Histoire universelle*, I (2), Paris 1911 (PO 7/4 [34], 483 [= 27]; OLEG VOLKOFF, “Un saint oublié: Ponce Pilate”, *Bulletin de la Société d’archéologie copte* 20, 1969–70 [1971], 167–75 and pl. I, here 170 n. 1; ALIN SUCIU, “A British Library Fragment from a Homily on the Lament of Mary and the So-Called Gospel of Gamaliel”, *Aethiopica* 15, 2012, 53–71.

Lit.: ROBERT BEYLOT, “Bref aperçu des principaux textes éthiopiens dérivés des Acta Pilati”, *Langues orientales anciennes, philologie et linguistique* 1, 1988, 181–95; CerPal II, 354–60; ALEXANDER DEMANDT, *Hände in Unschuld*: *Pontius Pilatus in der Geschichte*, Köln – Weimar – Wien 1999 (Lit.); PAUL DEVOS [review of van den Oudenrijn 1959], *AnBoll* 78, 1959, 476-78; GCAL I, 238ff. and II, 488; ERICH FASHER, “Pilatus, Pontius”, in: *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 20, 2 [= 40], Stuttgart 1950, 1322–23; ID., “Pilatusakten”, *ibid*. 1323–24; ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT [review of van den Oudenrijn 1959], *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 6, 1966, 380–83; KENNETH J. HOLUM – ROBERT L. HOHLFELDER, *King Herod’s Dream*: *Caesarea on the See*, New York – London 1988, 109ff. and fig. 67; PHILIPPE LUISIER [review of Beylot 1993], *OrChrP* 61, 1995, 249–52; ID., “De Pilate chez les Coptes”, *ibid.* 62, 1996, 411–25; ENZO LUCCHESI, “La ‘Vorlage’ arabe du *Livre du coq* éthiopien”, *Orientalia* nova ser. 74, 2005, 91–92, here 92; PIERLUIGI PIOVANELLI, “D’un récit de la passion (Marc 14–16) à l’autre (*Livre* *du Coq*). De la quête d'un sens théologique à la recherche d'un effet dramatique", in: DANIEL MARGUERAT (ed.), *La Bible en récits. L'exégèse biblique à l'heure du lecteur. Colloque international d'analyse narrative des textes de la Bibles, Lausanne* (*mars 2002*), Genève 2003 (Le monde de la Bible 48), 431–41; ID., "Exploring the Ethiopic *Book of the Cock*: an Apocryphal Passion Gospel from Late Antiquity", *Harvard Theological Review* 96, 2003, 427–54; ID., "Marius Chaîne, Joseph Trinquet et la version éthiopienne du *Livre du coq*", *Transversalités* 85, 2003, 51–62; LANFRANCO RICCI [review of van den Oudenrijn 1959], *BiOr* 19, 1962, 289–91; EDWARD ULLENDORFF [review of van den Oudenrijn 1959], *JSS* 6, 1961, 258–60.

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Prophecy in Ethiopian culture

P., or supernatural revelations about the future told to a third party, either those in charge or even the public in general, are a common feature in most Ethiopian cultures. In contrast to other forms of divination (s. ↗Oracles and divination), P. cannot be asked for on demand, but is received spontaneously – a feature directly derived from its Christian and Judaic roots (Schmitt 1992: 482). The Gəᶜəz word for this kind of spontaneous P. is **ትንቢት** (*tənbit*) or **ተነብዮ**(**ት**) (*tänäbəyo*(*t*)) meaning "prophecy, oracle, prediction". The word *tənbit* is directly taken into Amharic and Təgrəñña, meaning "prophecy, prediction, forecast". In contrast to **ራእይ** (*raᵓəy*, "vision, revelation, apocalypse") *tənbit* or *raᵓəyä tənbit* describe the act of speaking out the vision seen in a *raᵓəy* or **ሕልም** (*ḥəlm*, "dream, vision"). Prophetic revelations, especially concerning approaching danger or opportunities, are often revealed in visions and dreams (e.g., the visions in Ferenc 1976: 249–50 [text] = 275–76 [tr.]; the visitation of the archangel Rufaᵓel in Marrassini 1995: 51 [text] = 85 [tr.]; or the voice calling from heaven in a dream in Raineri 1990: 22, 24 [text] = 23, 25 [tr.]). Oral P. are not only made by ↗saints, ↗holy men and ↗hermits (*baḥtawəyan* [sg. *baḥtawi*], *ḫəbuᵓan*, ↗*səwwuran*, *nazrawəyan* [sg. *nazrawi*]), but also by laymen and lay women (cp. PankSoc 263).

P. in its Christian form, however, does not mean divination by a seer or sibyl (Boring 1992: 495) and has to be distinguished from the broader term P., which has falsely been used to subsume different practices in Ethiopian and African cultures, as, e.g., the translation of the Oromo term *raga* as "prophecy" shows, which should, however, be better described as oracles and divination (s. also ↗Qaalluu, ↗Qalləčča).

The identification of Christian hermitage with the gift of P. is so strong, that Ethiopian hermits trace back their roots to Biblical prophets, such as Elijah and Elisha. As P. is an inherent part of being a hermit, in hagiographic texts (↗Hagiography, ↗*Gädl*, ↗*Sənkəssar*) predicting the future is often mentioned as one of the holy deeds carried out by saints (e.g., Conti Rossini 1910: 79f. [text] = 72 [tr.]; Grébaut 1908: 414; Marrassini 1981: 26, 31, 38, 40 [text] = 27, 32, 39, 41 [tr.]; Wajnberg 1936: 16, 30, 52, 54, 58, 90, 92 [text] = 17, 31, 53, 55, 59, 91, 93 [tr.]), next to ↗healing, performing miracles, communicating with ↗angels and taming wild beasts or ↗demons. For the Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church P. is counted as one of the essential spiritual gifts, as has already been mentioned in the Bible by St. Paul, even as the second most significant gift next to love (Boring 1992: 500).

In the Islamic tradition, the ↗Qurᵓān and the prophetic traditions (*ḥadīṯ*) may sometimes be used for divination (s., e.g., WagFath 126f.). Muslim holy men (↗*Walī*) may also pray for revelations of the future in *duᶜāᵓ* prayer ceremonies. Spontaneous P. by Muslim holy men in Ethiopia is not often recorded; still, some examples of Islamic P. are commemorated in oral traditions. One example of written Muslim P. is the ↗*Fatḥ Madīnat Harar*, in which the Muslim saint ↗Abādir ᶜUmar ar-Riḍā foresees the Italian conquest of Ethiopia (WagFath 130f.).

Christian P. has a long literary tradition and many prophetic visions and predictions mentioned in Christian scriptures serve as examples for the Ethiopian experience (s., e.g., Ferenc 1976: 243–94, the hagiographic account being substantiated by quotations from the Bible; s. also GuiLett 41; ↗Prophets, biblical; ↗Pseudepigrapha and Apocrypha; Wisdom of ↗Sibyl).

Moreover, P. has often been recorded in Ethiopian written sources and literature and has even influenced political decisions (↗Historiography). Wars were waged, royal settlements and monasteries were established, heirs were appointed, new kings were chosen and the date of their enthronement was fixed on the basis of P. However, not only political decisions were based on P., even whole political and religious movements were founded on it. P. was thus often used by political and religious leaders to justify their claims for power. Some prominent historical examples are: firstly the overthrow of the ↗Zagʷe dynasty and *aṣe* ↗Yətbaräk by ↗Yəkunno Amlak, which had been prophesied by a holy man (BudHist 285), probably ↗Iyäsus Moᵓa. Secondly the founding of ↗Gondär as the first Ethiopian royal capital by ↗Fasilädäs, who was led there by dreams and miracles, as well as a long foretold P. about the royal abode of Lǝbnä Dǝngǝl's descendants starting with the letter G. (Pankhurst 1969: 177f.). Thirdly the ascent to the throne by ↗Iyasu I was foretold by his mother Śäblä Wängel (GuiIohan 60 [text] = 58f. [tr.]). Fourthly the claim to the throne by ↗Iyasu II was justified by a P. of the female saint ↗Wälättä Ṗeṭros (GuiIyas 15–18 [text] = 13–16 [tr.]) and a vision by his mother ↗Mǝntǝwwab (GuiIyas 18f. [text] = 17ff. [tr.]) as well as the Queen's brother (GuiIyas 20 [text] = 19f. [tr.]; s. also dynastic ↗genealogy).

↗Tewodros II even chose his royal name deliberately, justifying his claim to the throne by several written P., which predicted a mystical king, named Tewodros, who would unify the empire (RubTew 49ff.; *↗Fǝkkare Iyäsus*; GuiLett 42f.; s. also *Apocalypse of ↗Pseudo-Methodios*).

As for modern history, only a few chosen examples will be given: *aṣe* ↗Mǝnilǝk II's settling on ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo mountain (GSMen 97) was based on a written P., found in a manuscript at the monastery of Däbrä Ṣǝyon (↗Tulluu Guddoo). On another occasion, the P. of approaching danger to his kingdom forced Mǝnilǝk not to spend the rainy season in Boru, Wällo, but to return to Ǝnṭoṭṭo, where his appointed official Gobäna had fallen ill and died shortly after (BTafA 802 [text] = 803 [tr.]). Later, several P., of which one was made by a Harari Muslim *šayḫ* (fieldnotes of Müller 2003), foretold the reign of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śǝllase I.

Prophetic revelations are also mentioned in travel accounts (e.g., BruNile, vol. 2, 554, 606f.; vol. 3, 177) and even inspired modern ↗Amharic literature, such as the novel *Yätǝnbit qäṭäro* by ↗Käbbädä Mikaᵓel. Compared to Western culture, in which some sort of belief in P. still exists to a minimal extent in broader society (s. Lewinsohn 1961 [1958]), but is a taboo topic for modern science, in Ethiopia the belief in P. can still be found at all levels of society, crossing all ethnic and religious boundaries. P. influences individual lives as much as political decisions (s. Newman 1998).

In many evangelical churches P. in combination with confession and exorcism of demons are inherent parts of church services (↗Protestantism).

Even today charismatic figures with a Christian Orthodox background, who establish themselves in the tradition of O.T. pre-exilic prophets foretelling doom and preaching repentance (Schmitt 1992: 484, 487, Barton 1992: 489) speak publicly against the church or the government. A recent example is *baḥtawi* Gäbrä Mäsqäl, who was arrested by the police in 1993 for teaching in Addis Abäba (Anon. Feb./Mar. 1993: 40f.). After his release (Anon. Mar/Apr. 1993a: 32ff.) he married and set up a welfare organization called "Mekane Hizunan Welfare and Assistance Organization" near Bole Mädḫane ᶜAläm Church, which is supported by several non-Ethiopians, such as the famous Afro-American singer Lauryn Hill (s. video by Andrew Laurence, 2006). A recent example of the abundant P. connected to Tewodros is *abba* Ammǝḫa Iyäsus, who was active during 1992 and 1993 in Gondär town, until he was arrested on 7 September 1993 (Resource Information Center 1994: 26). He had gathered more than 1,000 followers at the church where he was preaching and prophesied a king named Tewodros coming from Gondär and bringing peace and justice to Ethiopia (for the long history of this recurring P. s. also BruNile vol. 2, 64; vol. 4, 129f.; BudHist 475). He remained in prison for 15 years and was released only recently (field notes of Müller 2012).

Ethiopia is furthermore mentioned in several P. and the Biblical sentence "Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands to God" (Pro 68:31; s. UllBibl 9, 14) has been a source of great expectations for some, e.g., for Rastafarians who see Ethiopia as the Promised Land (↗Rastafari).

Src.: video by Andrew Laurence, 2006; interview with Aron Yäšiṭälla, 20 February 2012; field notes of Angela M. Müller, Harär 2003; RESOURCE INFORMATION CENTER, DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, *Profile Series: Ethiopia, Update on Political Conditions* [*PR/ETH/94.001*], Washington, DC, December 1994, 26; BTafA 802 (text) = 803 (tr.); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, *Vitae Sanctorum Indigenarum II. Acta sancti Abakerazun et sancti Takla Hawāryāt*, Parisiis 1910 (ser. altera 24) [repr. Louvain 1962 (CSCO 56–57 [SAe 25–26])], 79f. (text) = 72 (tr.); ALEKSANDER FERENC, "Les Actes d'Isaïe de Gunda-Gundé", *AE* 10, 1976, 243–94, here 249f. (text) = 275f. (tr.); *liqä tǝguhan baḥtawi* GÄBRÄMÄSQÄL ḪAYLÄMÄSQÄL, **ያለፈውና ፡ የሚመጣው ፡ የትንቢቱ ፡ መልዕክት** [sic] **፤ ምሥጢሩ ፡ ምን ፡ ይሆን** (*Yalläfäwǝnna yämmimäṭaw yätǝnbitu mälᶜǝkt*: *Mǝśṭiru mǝn yǝhon*?, 'The Past and the Coming Prophetic Signs: What will be the Secret?'), no. 2, Addis Abäba, *Näḥase* 2003 A.M. [2010 A.D.]; SYLVAIN GRÉBAUT, "Vie de Barsoma le Syrien", *ROC* 13, 1908, 339–416, here 414; GuiIohan 60 (text) = 58f. (tr.); GuiIyas 15–20 (text) = 13–20 (tr.); PAOLO MARRASSINI, *Gadla Yohannes Mesraqawi*: *Vita di Yohannes l'Orientale*, Firenze 1981 (Quaderni di Semitistica 10), 26, 31, 38, 40 (text) = 27, 32, 39, 41 (tr.); ID., *Il Gadla Yemreḥanna Krestos*: *Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione*, Napoli 1995 (Annali IUO 55, fasc. 4, Supplemento 85), 51 (text) = 85 (tr.); OSVALDO RAINERI, *Atti di Habta Māryām e di Iyāsu santi monaci etiopici*, Roma 1990 (OrChrA 235), 22, 24 (text) = 23, 25 (tr.); ISAAK WAJNBERG, *Das Leben des Heiligen Jāfqerana ᵓEgzīᵓ*, Roma 1936 (OrChrA 106), 16, 30, 52, 54, 58, 90, 92 (text) = 17, 31, 53, 55, 59, 91, 93 (tr.); Anon., **ዝሆን ፡ ከዝሆን ፡ ሲታገል ፡ የሚጐዳው ፡ ሣሩ ፡ ነው ፤ የቤተ ፡ ክህነትና ፡ የባሕታዊ ፡ ገ/መስቀል ፡ ፍጥጫ** (*Zəhon käzəhon sittaggäl yämigʷädaw śaru näw: yäbetä kəhənätənna yäbaḥtawi Gä/Mäsqäl fəṭəča*, 'If an Elephant Fights with an Elephant, the Grass is the one Suffering: the Clergy and the Imprisonment of the Hermit G/Mäsqäl'), **ማህሌት** (*Mahlet*) 1, no. 5, *Mäggabit* 1985 A.M. [Feb./Mar. 1993 A.D.], 40–41; Anon., **ባሕታዊ ፡ ገብረመስቀል ፡ ከእስር ፡ ተፈቱ።** (*Baḥtawi Gäbrämäsqäl käʾəsər täfättu*, 'The Hermit Gäbrämäsqäl was Released from Imprisonment'), *ibid.* no. 6, *Miyazya* 1985 A.M. [Mar./Apr. 1993a A.D.], 32–34; Anon., **የባሕታዊ ፡ ገ/መስቀል ፡ እግረ-ሙቅ ፡ ወለቀ** (*Yäbaḥtawi Gä/Mäsqäl əgrä-muq wälläqä*, 'The Tiresome Journey of the Hermit G/Mäsqäl'), **ሉሲ** (*Lusı*) 4, *Miyazya* 1985 A.M. [Mar./Apr. 1993b A.D.], 36–38; Anon., **ከባህታዊ ፡ አምሀ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ጋር ፡ የተካሄደ ፡ ቃለ ፡ ምልልስ** (*Käbahtawi Amməha Iyäsus gar yätäkahedä qalä mələlləs*, 'An Interview with the Hermit Ammäha Iyäsus'), *ibid.* 1, no. 7, 1986 A.M. [1993/94 A.D.], 16; Anon., **የምዕመናን ፡ ምስክርነት** (*Yämәᶜәmänan məsəkkərənnät*, 'Testimony of the Faith'), *ibid.* 17–19; Anon., **እናንት ፡ የእፉኝት ፡ ልጆች** (*Ǝnnantə yäʾəfuññit ləǧočč*, 'You, Children of the Viper'), *ibid.* 19–23; **ና ፡ ብሎ ፡ ዕዳ** (*Na bəlo ᶜəda*, 'Come, Said Fate'), **ሙዳይ** (*Muday*) 8, *Miyazya* 1985 A.M. [Mar./Apr. 1993c A.D.] 16–17; Anon., **ሃይማኖት – "ለፅድቅ ፡ ወይንስ ፡ ለጭንቅ"** (*Haymanot – "läṣ́ədq wäyns läčənq"*, 'Religion – for Righteousness or for Distress'), *ibid.* 28–30 (Gäbrä Mäsqäl); Anon., **አርባ ፡ ቀን ፡ በአሜሪካን ፡ ዋሻ** (*Arba qän bäʾamerikan waša*, 'Forty Days in an American Cave'), **ሕሊና** (*Ḥəllina*) 1, no. 3, *Hədar* 1985 A.M. [Oct./Nov. 1992 A.D.], 5–11 (biography Gäbrä Mäsqäl); Anon., **የባሕታዊ ፡ ገብረ ፡ መስቀል ፡ ትንቢታዊ ፡ አነጋገር** (*Yäbaḥtawi Gäbrä Mäsqäl tənbitawi annägagär*, 'The Prophecies of the Hermit Gäbrä Mäsqäl'), *ibid.* no. 4, *Taḫśas* 1985 A.M. [Nov./Dec. 1992 A.D.], 37–38.

Lit.: Asmarom Legesse, "Prophetism, Democharisma, and Social Change", in: Thomas D. Blakely – Walter E.A. van Beek – Dennis L. Thomson (eds.), *Religion in Africa*: *Experience and Expression*, London – Portsmouth, NH 1994, 314–41; John Barton, "Postexilic Hebrew Prophecy", in: David Noel Freedman (eds.), *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 5, New York 1992, 489–95, here 489; M. Eugene Boring, "Early Christian Prophecy", in: Freedman op. cit. 1992, vol. 5, 495–502, here 495, 500; BruNile vol. 2, 64, 554, 606f.; vol.3, 177; vol. 4, 129f.; BudHist 285, 475; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Note per la storia letteraria abissina", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 8, 1899, 197–220, 263–85; GSMen 97; GuiLett 41ff.; Richard Lewinsohn [Morus], *Prophets and Prediction*: *the History of Prophesy* [sic] *from Babylon to Wall Street*, London 1961 [tr. from German *Die Enthüllung der Zukunft*, Hamburg 1958]; Deena Newman, "Prophecies, Police Reports, Cartoons and other Ethnographic Rumours in Addis Ababa", *Ethnofoor* 11, 2, 1998, 105–17; RubTew 49ff.; Richard K.P. Pankhurst, "Notes on the History of Gondar", *EthObs* 12, 1969, 177–227, here 177f.; PankSoc 263; John J. Schmitt, "Preexilic Hebrew Prophecy", in: Freedman 1992, 482–89, here 482, 484, 487.

Angela M. Müller

R

Rodén, Karl Gustav

Reverend R. (b. 27 August 1860, d. 23 November 1943) was a scholar and missionary of the Swedish Evangelical Mission (SEM; s. ↗Evangeliska Fosterlands Stiftelsen).

R. studied at the Johannelunds Teologiska Institut from 1877–83, where he became acquainted with ↗Onesimos Näsib and Karl ↗Cederqvist (s. EAE vol. 5), both of whom were later missionaries in Eritrea and Ethiopia.

As a missionary R. was based in different stations of the SEM in Eritrea: ↗Ǝmkullu 1885, ↗Ḥərgigo 1887, ↗Gäläb (s. EAE vol. 5) 1890–1900 and 1903–20, ↗Asmära 1901–02. He returned to Uppsala in 1921. When R. and his wife Emelie Rodén (née Nilsson) came to Gäläb for the second time, they were accompanied by ↗Dawit Amanuʾel and Alazar Ḥəmmäd, two of the earliest Evangelical Christians among the ↗Təgre.

During a severe famine (ca. 1890) R. supervised the repair of one of the roads from the coast to the interior, in order to assure food supply. The initiative was well received by Governor Ferdinando ↗Martini who later paid a visit to Gäläb in 1905 and expressed his pleasure. R. was allowed to build a mission house in ↗Kärän and had the full support of the regional commissioner, V. Fioccardi. Martini also gave a gift of 1,000 Lira for the printing of *Feteḥ Maḥārī*, R.'s study on the people of ↗Mänsa^{c}. R. was often consulted by the colonial authorities on issues relating to tribal customs, language, culture etc. and he gathered ethnographical and ornithological data and objects, the latter in cooperation with G. Schrader.

R. gave much of his time to literary production in Təgre. As editor, supervisor or publisher, he collaborated with a number of people, who however, were rarely credited for their part in the work: ↗Täwäldä Mädḫən Gäbrä Mädḫən, Dawit Amanuʾel, Karl ↗Winqvist, Yəsḥaq (Giuseppe) Ḥəmmäd, A. Renlund and Axel Jonsson.

While producing a translation of the ↗New Testament (N.T.) into Təgre, R. had serious arguments with ↗Sundström and Täwäldä Mädḫən Gäbrä Mädḫən about the correct spelling of Təgre words. The conflict was so severe that the printing of the N.T. had to be delayed for two years. In 1906–07 R. worked on a revision of the Amharic N.T. together with *aläqa* ↗Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam in Berlin, Germany, under the auspices of the ↗British and Foreign Bible Society. On 6 June R. personally handed over a copy of his *Le tribù dei Mensa* to the Italian monarch, ↗Vittorio Emanuele III, when the Italian king and queen paid a visit to the Swedish Royal House.

Several of R.'s works remain unpublished: a translation of the ↗Old Testament (up to 1 Chr); a Grammar of Təgre; a Təgre-Swedish, Swedish-Təgre Dictionary; *Bible Knowledge* (introduction to books of the ↗Bible, in Təgre); a translation of the N.T. (Acts and Romans) into Amharic, with *aläqa* Tayyä.

↗Bible: Bible translations

Src.: Stockholm, and Evangeliska Fosterlands-Stiftelsen, Kyrkans Hus, Uppsala, Stadsbiblioteket, Archived material on Rodén; MARIA HÖFNER, *Das Feteḥ Maḥārī: Sitten und Reicht der Mänsa^{c}, nach dem Tigrē-Text K.G. RODÉN's übersetzt*, Wiesbaden 1951 (Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz 8); KARL WILHELM NORLEN – FR. LUNDGREN, *Racconti biblici. Tradotti dallo svedese in tigrè da A. RENLUND e K.G. RODÉN*, Asmara 1916; EAED., *Manuale di storia sacra* (*Versione tigré*). *Riveduta da K.G. Rodén e Giuseppe Hemmed*, Asmara 1925; GUSTAV RODÉN, *Om de tigrétalande folkstammarne och missionsarbetet bland dem*, Stockholm 1896; ID. – TÄWÄLDÄ MÄDḪƎN GÄBRÄ MÄDḪƎN – DAWIT AMANUʾEL, *Il nuovo testamento in Tigre*, Asmära 1902; KARL GUSTAV RODÉN, *Mensa. Något om dess land och folk samt missionsverksamheten därstädes*, Stockholm 1907; ID., *Le tribù dei Mensa. Storia, legge e costumi*, A: *Testo originale in Tigrè*, B: *Traduzione italiana*, Asmara – Stockholm 1913; ID., *Sillabario e compimento per le scuole elementari inferiori in lingua tigrè*, Asmara 1916; ID., **ምህሮ ፡ እምነት ፡ ክስታን ።** *Dottrina Cristina, secondo il Piccolo Catechismo di Martino Lutero. Liberamente tradotta dello svedese in tigrè da K.G. RODÉN*, Asmara 1920; ID., *Martino Lutero Piccolo Catechismo. Tradotto in tigrè da K.G. RODÉN*, Asmara 1926; ID. – GUSTAF RICHARD SUNDSTRÖM (tr.), *Cantici di Sion in tigrè* – **ድሩስ ፡ ጽዮን ፡ እብ ፡ ትግሬ**, Asmara 1902 A.M. [1909/10 A.D.]; KARL GUSTAV RODÉN – AXEL JONSSON, *I vangeli gli Atti degli Apostoli in Lingua Tigré*, Asmara 1931.

Lit.: ArEvang 353–57; KARL JOHAN LUNDSTRÖM – EZRA GEBREMEDHIN, *Kenisha: the Roots and Development of the Evangelical Church of Eritrea*, Uppsala 2012, s. index; NILS RODÉN, *Johannelunds Missionsinstitut genom 75 år*, Stockholm 1938, 135f.

Ezra Gebremedhin

Rom

R. (**ሮም**, also **ሮምያ** Romya, **ሮሜ** Rome) is the name used at different times in Ethiopian literature to designate both Byzantium or, more generally the ↗Byzantine Empire and the city of Rome or, more generally, the Latin people (*Romawəyan*); it is the Ethiopic equivalent of the Arabic term *Rūm*.

The patriarch Alfonso ↗Mendes, in 1651, identifies the toponym *Rum* with Thrace (Greece). He also adds that R. is called by the Latin troops and colonies *Romania* while by the Orientals *Rum* (*Rumes* its inhabitants; BecRASO VIII, 70f.). Hiob ↗Ludolf registers the form *Rome* (LudHist Ib. III, ch. III, § 1f.).

In hagiographic literature, R. frequently features as the place of origin of the foreign saints. Some of the Aksumite saints are said to have come from R., such as ↗Ṗänṭälewon *zäṣomaᶜt*, Yəsḥaq (↗Gärima), ↗Zämikaᵓel Arägawi, ↗Oṣ and the ↗*Ṣadəqan*. These saints are also known in the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*məsṭir* as *Qəddusanä Rom* 'the saints of Rom' (YaqBeyMist I, 122 [text]). R. is also the place where *abba* ↗Kiros was born.

The toponym is attested in Ethiopian literature since its very beginning, as testified, e.g., by some hagiographies included in the archaic collection of *Gädlä* ↗*sämaᶜətat*. There, the term is mostly (but non exclusively) used to refer to Byzantium; it is found in the Acts of such martyrs as (1) Arsonofis, Ṗeṭros and Askiryon (*Martyrium of the soldiers Arsenofis, Peter and Askirion*, cf. Conti Rossini 1938); (2) Askänafer (*Martyrium of Askänafer the governor*); (3) Elewtəros and Ǝntəya (*Martyrium of Elewtəros and his mother Ǝntəya*); (4) Ewosṭatewos (*Martyrium of Eustathius, his wife and his two children*); (5) Fasilädäs (*Martyrium of Basilides* the composition of which is attributed to Kələstyanos – Celestine I – Pope of Rom, cf. Pereira 1907); (6) ↗Gäbrä Krəstos (*Life of Saint Alexis*, cf. Cerulli 1969); (7) Herenewos (*Martyrium of Irenaeus, Bishop of Sirmium*); (8) Mäkbəyu (*Martyrium of Makbeyu and her seven chidren*); (9) Mamas, Tewodoṭos, Tewofina (*Martyrium of Mamas, Tewodoṭos and his wife Tewofina*); (10) Märqorewos Ṗilobader (*Martyrium of Mercurios Philopater*, cf. Nollet 1931; Proverbio 1993); (11) Sofya, Ṗisṭis, Alapis, Agaṗis (*Martyrium of Sophia, and her daughters Pistis, Elpis and Agapis*); (12) Tewoqriṭos Ǝnagnosṭis (*Martyrium of Theocritus the lector*); (13) Ṭaṭus (*Martyrium of Ṭaṭus*); (14) Yasay (*Martyrium of* abba *Yasay*; Schneider 1963).

The toponym R., referring to both Byzantium and Rome, is also attested in several miracles of the ↗*Täᵓammərä Maryam* (CerMaria 179, 344, *passim*). A cycle of tales in this collection is directly connected with the tradition of the medieval city of Rome (ibid. 408–71 ["I racconti medievali di Roma"]).

R. is also mentioned in the Ethiopic ↗*Sənkəssar*.

↗Syrian influences

Src.: BecRASO VIII, 70f.; CerMaria 179, 344, 408–71; ENRICO CERULLI, *Les vies éthiopiennes de Saint Alexis l'Homme de Dieu*, Louvain 1969 (CSCO 298, 299 [SAe 59, 60]); CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "La Passione del martire Arsenofis e dei suoi compagni nella versione etiopica", *Orientalia* nuova ser. 3, 1938, 193–214, 319–32; LudHist Ib. III, ch. III, §1f.; GENEVIEVE NOLLET, "Les miracles de saint Mercure Philopater", *Aethiops* 4, 1931, 20–24; ESTEVES PEREIRA, *Acta martyrum*, Romae 1907 (CSCO Ae s. 2, 28), repr. Louvain 1962 (CSCO 37, 38 [SAe 20, 21]); DELIO VANIA PROVERBIO, "Le recensioni etiopiche della *Passio Mercurii*", *Studi Classici e Orientali* 43, 1993, 453–66; ROGER SCHNEIDER, "La Bibliothèque du Couvent de Gounda Goundé", *Tārik* 2, 1963, 45–46; YaqBeyMist I, 122, 516 (text) = 73 (tr.).

Lit.: GLEN W. BOWERSOCK, "Le tre Rome", *Studi Storici* 47, 4, 2006, 977–92; ID., "Old and New Rome in Late Antiquity Near East", in: PHILIP ROUSSEAU – MANOLIS PAPPOUTSAKIS (eds.), *Transformations of Late Antiquity*: *Essays for Peter Brown*, Farnham, Surrey 2009, 37–49, 4, 2006, 977–92; ANTONELLA BRITA, *I racconti tradizionali sulla «seconda cristianizzazione» dell'Etiopia*: *Il ciclo agiografico dei nove santi*, Napoli 2010 (StAfEt 7), s. index; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "Some Considerations on the Problem of the 'Syriac Influences' on Aksumite Ethiopia", *JES* 23, 1990, 35–46, here 35; ID., "Ancora sul problema degli influssi siriaci in età aksumita", in: LUIGI CAGNI (ed.), *Biblica et Semitica*: *Studi in memoria di Francesco Vattioni*, Napoli 1999 (Istituto Universitario Orientale. Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Ser. Minor 59), 325–37, here 327; ADALGISA DE SIMONE – GIUSEPPE MANDALÀ, *L'immagine araba di Roma*: *I geografi del Medioevo*, Bologna 2001.

Antonella Brita

Rom

R. (**ሮም**) is the name given, in oral traditions of the ↗Bilin and ↗Təgre-speaking people, to the early medieval ↗Beǧa settlers of Eritrean and Northern Ethiopia highlands, partly also of the ↗Red Sea coasts, who migrated around the 8th cent. A.D. with the decline of the Kingdom of ↗Aksum. Parallel and corresponding oral traditions of the ↗Təgrəñña-speaking people designate them as Bäläw (↗Balaw). The name of the R. is possibly a result of their identification with people coming from the Mediterranean "↗Rom", i.e. from the Byzantine empire (cp. Ar. *Rūm*) and the Mediterranean Sea (cf. Reinisch 1887:290; PerChron 487–90 [tr.]), and is used for the Beǧa by Arab authors (Ibn Ḥawqal).

Actually traditions from ↗Säraye attribute an origin from "Rom" to the Bäläw (Conti Rossini 1942: 130, n. 2) and traditions from the ↗Irob also claim an origin from "Rome" for their name (cf. Reinisch 1878: 89f.; PerChron 489; Conti Rossini 1910: 884, n. 1, 893, 900).

R. (i.e. Beğa) people occupying Eritrean and northern Ethiopian highlands were later replaced by further waves of ↗Agäw immigrants (the Bilin first, s. ↗Migrations EAE vol. 5; cf. Fiaccadori 2010: 193 ff.), most of whom were Semitized in the course of time (e.g., the ↗Adkämä Məlgaʾ). Evidence of R.'s presence from the Red Sea coast (e.g., near Massawa, cf. Reinisch 1888: 713) to the ↗Gaš valley, however, widely survive both in oral traditions and in ethnonyms and place names (summary in CRStor 276ff.). Bilin tales tell of R.'s cow robberies and also depict them as the first (i.e. the previous) inhabitants of the land, who were fiercely punished by God for their arrogance and haughtiness, and finally disappeared under heaps of stones and were replaced by the Barya (↗Kunama; cf. Reinisch 1883: 6–9, §§ 2f.). Təgre tales equally portray R. as nomadic, giant (cf. "Romāy" in LitPEA IV, 470, no. 307, n.), exceptionally fierce and strong people (a feature probably accounting for Tgn. *romay* 'large spear; person of herculean proportions', cf. KaneTDic 549) who are fond of songs, bread cows and pasture their flocks everywhere (LitPEA I–II, no. 73); a legend has it that they put an end to their life by digging their own graves and built up "the stones of their tombs like a hut over them", leaving "no known village or settlement, because they were uncivilized and roaming herdsmen only" (*ibid.* no. 74).

R. is also attested as an element in personal names: e.g., simply R. (CRAxum II [tr.], 90.32 [R. is a *daña bäʿalä wak̲o*], 91.25), Rom Gänäyäla (PerrZarY 4 [var.], 14), Rom Sägäd (CRHist [text] 8, 18 etc.; Conti Rossini 1942: 128, 198; KrLebD 53, 61 [text]), Rom Zämäda (Conti Rossini 1923: 465); as well as in placenames: e.g., May Romi (Id. 1942:202, n. 4, near "Debebti", in the territory of "Egri-Machèl"). Islamized people called Arom (very likely the same as R.), ruled by a queen Faṭəma, were fought by *aṣe* ↗Susənyos, who sent *baḥər nägaš* ↗Gäbrä Maryam against them, at a place 8-day march from ↗Šire (cf. PerChron [§ 55], 211f. [text] = 163 [tr.]); "Arùm", a Hadendoa tribe, are also known in oral traditions from the Barka valley collected by Conti Rossini; later still, in the 17th cent., "Rumes" are mentioned in Portuguese sources as dwelling in both coast and inland regions of Eritrea and Təgray (cf., e.g., Beccari 1903: 420, 422, 428, 436; BecRASO XV, 295 s.v. "Rum et Rumes").

The "Tombs of the Rom" (to which the so-called "houses of the Dom" can be assimilated) are scattered in a vast area of the northern Eritrean lowland in the form of stone-heap ruins (cf. LitPEA II, fig. 11 in front of p. 94; CRStor pl. LXV, fig. 208). They consist of a 2-m wide polygonal circle, enclosed by big stones and slabs driven into the ground and emerging with an about 0.5-m elevation. It has been hitherto unnoticed that "stones of R." are also mentioned in the *Mäṣḥafä ↗Aksum* (CRAxum II [tr.], 4, 11). In the absence of any serious archaeological survey of the Eritrean lowlands, it is extremely difficult to assess context and chronology of settlements attributed to the R. or even their actual association with them (cf. Fattovich 1992: 31; Conti Rossini 1922).

Src.: Camillo Beccari, *Notizia e saggi di opere e documenti inediti riguardanti la Storia di Etiopia durante i secoli XVI, XVII e XVIII …*, Roma 1903, 420, 422, 428, 436; BecRASO XV, 295 s.v. "Rum et Rumes"; Carlo Conti Rossini, "Racconti e canti Bileni", in: *Actes du XIVe Congrès International des Orientalistes. Alger 1905*, vol. 2, Paris 1907, 331–94, here 336; Id., "Studi su popolazioni dell'Etiopia: I. Gli Irob e le loro tradizioni", *RSO* 3, 1910, 849–900, here 884, n. 1, 893, 900; Id., "Aethiopica [II]", *RSO* 9, 1923, 449–68, here 465 (§ 23); Id., *Proverbi tradizioni e canzoni tigrine*, Verbania 1942 (Collezione scientifica e documentaria dell'Africa italiana 5), 128, 130, n. 2, 198; CRAxum II, 4, 11; KaneTDic 549; KrLebD 53, 61 (text) = 54, 61 (tr.); LitPEA I, 83–88 (text), nos. 73–74 = II, 89–94 (tr.), III, 224 (text), no. 307 = IV, 470 (tr.), n.; PerChron 211f. (text), § 55, 163 (tr.) = 487–90 (comm.); PerrZarY 4, 14; Leo Reinisch, "Die Sprache der Irob-Saho in Abessinien", *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 90, Wien 1878, 89–142, here 89f.; Id., *Die Bilin-Sprache*, vol. 1: *Texte der Bilin-Sprache*, vol. 2: *Wörterbuch der Bilin-Sprache*, Leipzig 1883, here 6–9, §§ 2–3, and 1887, here 290.

Lit.: Carlo Conti Rossini, "Ricerche e studi sull'Etiopia", *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* ser. 4ª, 1, 1900, 104–20, here 110f.; Id., "Schizzo etnico e storico delle popolazioni eritree", in: Ferdinando Martini et al., *L'Eritrea economica*, Roma – Novara 1913 (Biblioteca geografica dell'Istituto Geografico de Agostini 1), 61–90, here 72f.; Id., "Antiche rovine sulle Rore eritree (Strabone, XVI, 8; Plinio, VI, 191)", *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 31, 1922, 241–78; CRStor 276ff.; Rodolfo Fattovich, *Lineamenti di storia dell'Archeologia dell'Etiopia e della Somalia*, Napoli 1992 (Annali IUO, Supplemento n. 71), 31; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Di alcune fonti islamiche per la storia del medioevo etiopico", in: Alessandro Gori – Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti (eds.), *L'Islam in Etiopia: Bilanci e prospettive*, Napoli 2010 (= *Civiltà del Mediterraneo* 16–17), 183–209, here 193ff.; PollEr 32–36 (ch. XII "La leggenda dei Rom"); Leone [Leo] Reinisch, "L'Italia e l'Abissinia",

Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana ser. 3ª, 1, 1888, 711–14, here 713; Peter R. Schmidt – Matthew R. Curtis – Zelalem Teka (eds.), *The Archaeology of Ancient Eritrea*, Trenton, NJ 2008, 284.

Alessandro Bausi

Rombulo, Pietro

R. (pron. [Ròmbulo]; b. 1385/90, Messina, d. after 1450) was an Italian traveller and adventurer and one of the first Europeans to have spent many years – 37 years – living in Ethiopia.

R. arrived there in 1407 (or 1413) and soon attained a high rank at the local court. He eventually became a confidant of *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yaʿəqob, who, between 1444 and 1448, dispatched him several times as ambassador to ↗India, and once to Ceylon (to buy gems for the emperor) as well as on a four-year journey to ↗China ("Catai"; s. de Witte 1956: 288 and n. 5).

In the same capacity, R. was sent to Pope Nicholas V and to King Alfonso I of Naples (↗Alfonso V of Aragon) in 1450 (Cerone 1902: 71, 64ff., 83; de Witte 1956: 288f.), together with "Fra Michele" (i.e. *abba* Mikaʾel), "prior of the church of Gudaber" (also known as "Gedabar": between ↗Bärara and ↗Däbrä Bərhan?) and "Bumar moro" (↗Moors, s. EAE vol. 5) or "Anamer Jundi" (*Abū ʿUmar [al-]Zanǧī?). In Rome, on 20 May 1450, R. and the other Ethiopian envoys received a *littera passus* ('pass') from the pope (Città del Vaticano, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 411, fol. 312v, ed. in de Witte 1956: 295). In Naples, R. was visited by the Dominican bishop, humanist and ambassador Pietro Ranzano (also Ransano/-ni, Lat. Petrus Ransanus; b. 1426/27, Palermo, d. 1492/93), who collected from both R. and his (otherwise unknown) writings several details on his life as well as on contemporary Ethiopia and its neighbours. Ranzano integrated these details, though rather unsystematically, in the sections devoted to India and Africa of his *Annales omnium temporum* ('Annals of All Times'), which he started drafting before 1460 (Figliuolo 1997:164ff.).

Ranzano's *Annales*, a huge (and unfinished) chronological work, are still largely unpublished (résumé in Termini 1915: 85–106). The only parts to be printed are a few sections on Italy, later exploited by Leandro Alberti (Figliuolo 1997: 200; Petrella 2003: 168–72 and 2004: 42–58), and on Hungary, where the author had been an ambassador for three years (Kulcsár 1977), as well as on Cyprus, the Ottoman sultan (↗Ottoman empire) and Tamerlane (Figliuolo 1997: 201–44). The fourth of the original eight volumes in-folio has been lost. The remaining seven are kept in Palermo, Biblioteca Comunale, mss. 3. Qq. C. 54–60 (cp. Boglino 1900: 226). Only vol. 2 (ms. 3. Qq. C. 55) was copied from Ranzano's autograph, now lost (Id. 1892: 273, a unique circumstance, yet unnoticed in Trasselli 1941 and CrawItin 5–8). The manuscript contains books VIII and IX, with lengthy notes on India and Africa, for which Ranzano is likely to have used R.'s personal diary (Figliuolo 1997: 186).

In *Annales* VIII, 11 (fols. 91ff.), R.'s biography is retold from his personal recollections: he went to Ethiopia as a young man, at the time of King David, i.e. *aṣe* ↗Dawit II. Previously, R. had travelled to Spain, France, Italy and ↗Egypt, where he had spent four years. In Ethiopia, he married a wealthy and noble lady (elsewhere, "Maria", i.e. Maryam, s. de Witte 1956: 288 n. 3), and had eight children, seven of them living in 1450. He stayed there for 37 years (i.e. 1407–44 or 1413–50), earning the monarch's confidence and even becoming his ambassador (fols. 98ff. of the ms. are devoted to R.'s missions to India and China: outward journey by ship, returning by land). Book IX is devoted first to Africa as a whole (ch. 9, fols. 250ff.) and then to Ethiopia (fols. 288v–93r, 296v–301v).

In Ranzano's narrative, R.'s record on Ethiopia is hopelessly mixed with traditional beliefs and various legendary elements, often taken from classical sources (s. Fera 1988), as well as with reliable reports of other travellers. However, the arrangement of the text makes the sources indiscernible from one another (for a summary of the few certain data, with a list of identifiable place names, s. CrawItin 5–8; full text in Trasselli 1941).

The historicity of Ranzano's report on R.'s mission to Alfonso V (I as king of Naples, since 1442) is confirmed by other sources. Among them is Alfonso's reply to Zärʾa Yaʿəqob on 18 September 1450 (ms. Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Reg. 2658, fol. 57, where R. is referred to as "Pero Rombolo de Messina vassallo nostro e servitore", in Cerone 1902: 64f., but s. de Witte 1956: 288 n. 4), with the promise of cooperation and mutual assistance, and esp. of sending craftsmen and artisans as well as precious textiles if their security conditions could be guaranteed. The same letter also discloses the fact that R. had already visited Rome and the pope (not the other way round, as in EAE vol. 3, 237). As noted by Ranzano, R.'s mission was an event of some significance, which impressed a large community including envoys from all over the known world. Yet, R.'s intention to surprise the king of Naples with astonishing news might be ultimately related to the disappointing results of the mission itself in terms of its political effectiveness and trade perspectives.

R. could be one and the same as "a Neapolitan of the city of Naples who was called Peter of Naples" met by Bertrandon de La Broquière in Constantinople in 1432 (s. Munro-Hay 2006: 109ff. and Fiaccadori in preparation). A native or a subject of the kingdom of Naples (cp. "vassallo nostro e servitore" in Alfonso's letter above), Peter hailed from, or claimed connection with, its capital, indeed more prestigious than Messina. Accompanied to Ethiopia by a Frenchman and a Spanishman who both died in 1430, he later reached Constantinople in the service of *aṣe* ↗Yǝsḥaq, possibly with the aim of hiring craftsmen and skilled artisans. From there he might have brought pictorial models, namely Byzantine icons, to Ethiopia. Peter went to Ethiopia before 1416, not necessarily as an envoy of John Duke of Berry, and married there (Schefer 1892: 142ff.). Both the timing of his sojourn in Ethiopia and the circumstances of his marriage are strikingly similar to R.'s, seven of whose children were alive in 1450, during the Neapolitan mission, which offers a *terminus post quem* for his death.

↗Italy, relations with

Src.: mss. Città del Vaticano, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 411, fol. 312v; Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Reg. 2658, fols. 57–57v; Palermo, Biblioteca Comunale, 3 Qq C. 54–60 (= Pietro Ranzano's *Annales*); LUIGI BOGLINO, *I manoscritti della Biblioteca comunale di Palermo*, vol. 3: *M–Q*, Palermo 1892, 273, and vol. 4: *R–Z*, 1900, 226; CARMELO TRASSELLI, "Un italiano in Etiopia nel XV secolo: Pietro Rombulo da Messina", *RSE* 1, 1941, 173–202; FRANCESCO CERONE, "La politica orientale di Alfonso di Aragona [I]", *Archivio storico per le Province napoletane* 27, 1902, 3–93, here 64–68, 71f., 75, 83; ADELE DI LORENZO – BRUNO FIGLIUOLO – PAOLO PONTARI (eds.), *Pietro Ranzano*: *Descriptio totius Italiae* (*Annales, XIV–XV*), Firenze 2008 (Il ritorno dei classici nell'umanesimo 4. Edizione nazionale dei testi della storiografia umanistica 3) (Lit.); FLAVIA FICHERA, *Pietro Ranzano,* De lo autore et de li primi principii de la felice cità de Palermo: *edizione critica, introduzione, concordanze*, Ph.D. thesis, Università degli studi di Catania 2000; PÉTER KULCSÁR (ed.), *Petrus Ransanus*: *Epithoma rerum Hungarorum, id est Annalium omnium temporum liber primus et sexagesimus*, Budapest 1977 (Bibliotheca scriptorum medii recentisque aevorum, nova ser. 2); CHARLES HENRI AUGUSTE SCHEFER (ed.), *Le Voyage d'Outremer de Bertrandon de La Broquière, premier écuyer tranchant et conseiller de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne* (*1432–1433*), Paris 1892 (Recueil de voyages et de documents pour servir a l'histoire de la géographie depuis le XIII^{e} jusqu'à la fin du XVI^{e} siècle 12) [repr. Farnborough 1972], 142–147.

Lit.: CrawItin 5–9; PATRICK GAUTIER DALCHÉ, "L'Éthiopie selon Grifon de Flandres, Martino de Segono et Pietro Ranzano", *AE* 27, 2012, 91–106, 319–20 (Engl. abstr.), here 94; DOMENICO DEFILIPPIS (ed.), *Da Flavio Biondo a Leandro Alberti. Corografia e antiquaria tra Quattro e Cinquecento*, Bari 2009 (Biblioteca di critica e letteratura 41), 121–23, 241–49; BRUNO DUCATI [review of Trasselli 1941], *Gli Annali dell'Africa italiana* 4, 1941, 1081–82; VINCENZO FERA, *Cultura classica e mediazione umanistica negli* Annales *di Pietro Ranzano*, Messina 1988, 1–26; BRUNO FIGLIUOLO, *La cultura a Napoli nel secondo Quattrocento. Ritratti di protagonisti*, Udine 1997 (Fonti e testi. Raccolta di Storia e Filologia), 86–276 [II. "L'umanista e teologo palermitano P. Ranzano (1426/27 – 1492/93)"; Lit.], esp. 164–200 [§ 4. "Gli 'Annales omnium temporum'"]; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Umanesimo e grecità d'Occidente", in: ID. – PAOLO ELEUTERI (eds.), *I Greci in Occidente. La tradizione filosofica, scientifica e letteraria dalle collezioni della Biblioteca Marciana. Catalogo della mostra* (*16 ottobre–5 novembre 1996*), Venezia 1996, XVII–LXXV, here XXVIf., LXIXf. (Lit.); ID., "Nota su Pietro Rombulo da Messina" (in preparation); MARILYN E. HELDMAN, *The Marian Icons of the Painter Frē Ṣeyon*: *a Study in Fifteenth-Century Ethiopian Art, Patronage and Spirituality*, Wiesbaden 1994 (Orientalia Biblica et Christiana 6), 148 and nn. 44–45; RENATO LEFEVRE, "Riflessi etiopici nella cultura europea del Medioevo e del Rinascimento. Seconda parte", *Annali lateranensi* 9, 1945, 331–444, here 387–92; STUART [C.] MUNRO-HAY, *Ethiopia Unveiled*: *Interaction between Two Worlds*, Hollywood, CA 2006, 109ff. and nn. 162–65 (270), 127–34 and nn. 195–201 (273f.); GIANCARLO PETRELLA, "Per la fortuna di Pietro Ranzano, storico dell'Ungheria: *excerpta* dagli *Annales omnium temporum* nella *Descrittione d'Italia* di Leandro Alberti", *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 44, 2003, 161–87, here 168–72; ID., *L'officina del geografo. La "Descrittione di tutta Italia" di Leandro Alberti e gli studi geografico-antiquari tra Quattro e Cinquecento*, Milano 2004 (Biblioteca erudita 23), 42–58; FERDINANDO ATTILIO TERMINI, *Pietro Ransano, umanista palermitano del sec. XV*, Palermo 1915, 85–106; CHARLES-MARTIAL DE WITTE, "Une ambassade éthiopienne à Rome en 1450", *OrChrP* 22, 1956, 286–98, here 286ff., 288 n. 5, 295.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Roux, Marius-Honoré

R. (b. 19 March 1874, Marseille, d. 12 October 1954, Paris) was a French diplomat and Freemason (↗Freemasonry, s. EAE vol. 5). Of modest origins, he arrived in Ethiopia in the early 1890s as a young employee of the Eastern Telegraph Co Ltd established at Perim (Mayyūn). He then began working for the governor of the French colony of ↗Obock, Léonce ↗Lagarde, to whom he delivered information on English and Italian activities.

In 1894, R. joined the recently established administration at Obock. On 10 August 1898, he joined the Colonial Office as Technical Officer of Native Affairs in ↗Djibouti and on 24 December 1900 he became dragoman responsible for the Chancery of the Legation of ↗France in Ethiopia under the authority of Minister Plenipotentiary Léonce Lagarde. From October 1899 to June 1900, in Harär, he was diplomatic attaché of the French legation based in Addis Abäba. In 1905 he also worked as an interpreter.

A long-time Freemason, R. founded, on 1 September 1909, the French lodge "Light of Ethiopia" in Addis Abäba. The lodge was first active on an interim basis and on 9 February 1910 it was incorporated permanently under the obedience of the Grand Orient de France. Consisting of not more than 20 members, it was formed mostly of Greek or Armenian merchants and also included such figures as ↗Wärqənäh Ešäte (Dr. Martin) and Alexis ↗Desvages. Its chief aim, besides propagating Masonic ideals, was the spread of French influence in the region.

The Masonic experience in Ethiopia was short-lived but had enduring effects. Its members, themselves influential figures in the press, education and printing milieu, were to form a generation of Ethiopian intellectuals that assisted *ras* Täfäri (↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) in his efforts to modernize the country.

R. left Ethiopia in 1911 and took the office of chancellor in charge of the Vice-Consulate of France in Al-Hudaydah, Yemen. After a short period as prisoner of the Turks, from November 1914 to February 1915, he pursued his diplomatic career. He held positions in Cairo, Port Said, Baghdad, Galaţi, La Coruña, Riga and Lagos. On 25 January 1934, he retired and on 13 August 1937 he was awarded the Legion of Honour.

R. married twice. In 1904, he married Angles, a French woman of high status but the couple soon divorced. In 1913 he remarried in Addis Abäba and divorced again in 1923.

Src.: Grand Orient de France, carton *La Lumière d'Éthiopie*; Ministère des Affaires étrangères (MAE), dossier personnel, 2ème série, 1353; MAE, *Annuaire diplomatique*, Paris 1908-29.

Lit.: LUKIAN PRIJAC, *Antony Klobukowski et le traité franco-éthiopien de 1908*, Paris 2003.

Lukian Prijac

S

Säᶜatat: Mäṣḥafä säᶜatat

The S. (**መጽሐፈ ፡ ሰዓታት**, ‘Book of Hours’, ‘Horologium’, also simply **ሰዓታት** or **ሰዐታት**, *Säᶜatat*, ‘Hours’) is a Church service made up of psalms, biblical readings and hymns. Arranged to be said at fixed hours of night and day, the readings are called by these same hours in order to achieve a form of perpetual prayer leading to union with God. This way of prayer, also called “canonical hours”, was born in the desert of Egypt and elsewhere, first in monastic communities.

There has been very little study of S., including in the local languages (HabUff 40). Taft (1986: 266) identified four types of S. that have been in use in Ethiopia, neither of them properly studied: 1) the Coptic S. (*Säᶜatat zägəbṣ*, hereafter S.^{1}); 2) the S. of *abba* ↗Giyorgis of Sägla/Gasəčč̣a (hereafter S.^{2}); 3) a S. that includes the entire ↗Psalter in the daily *pensum* (S.^{3}); 4) the cursus of prayers found in ms. Vat. Aeth. 21 (15th cent.) and some other manuscripts (S.^{4}).

Only S.^{1} and S.^{2} are actually major Ethiopic S. S.^{3} reminds of what is found elsewhere (Zanetti 1990: 357–63), but with a different distribution. The Ethiopic witnesses (at least mss. Vat. Aeth. 15 and EMML no. 2097) “with no psalms at compline or in the midnight office, but with thirty psalms and three canticles in each of the other five hours” (Taft 1986: 270) follow obviously the Ethiopian distribution of the Psalter in 15 *nəguś* or set of ten psalms, prescribed in the ↗*Dəggʷa* for a whole week (HabUff 173–77). Although it is organized in hours, S.^{4} (described in GréTisVat I, 75–100, commented Salaville 1936 = 1940) is not actually a S. but a genre of its own, called **ጊዜ ፡ ጸሎት** (*Gize ṣälot*, ‘Time of Prayer’), for the use of ↗hermits (*baḥtawiyan*) and recluses (*yäzäggu*).

S.^{1} is entirely taken from the Copto-Arabic tradition, with some parts maybe taken directly from the Greek. It is found in a large number of manuscripts. It was edited by Turaev (1897) from eleven manuscripts, with few variant readings mentioned in the footnotes (ibid. p. V). Van Lantschoot (1940) translated Turaev’s text into Latin for the use of the ↗Sacra Congregatio pro Ecclesiis Orientalibus, and identified each single part of it (except one prayer p. 102f.), with the help of two additional manuscripts from the ↗Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vat. Aeth. 1 and 57). The Roman liturgical edition (1952) claims to be based on a number of manuscripts, but gives no more detail.

Compared to the Coptic *Hours* (called *Aǧbīya*, Burmester 1973), S.^{1} contains additional material taken from the Coptic Psalmodia (mainly the *Psalis* and the *Theotokia* [i.e. ↗*Wəddase Maryam*]), from the Euchologion (prayers), but also prayers and *troparia* found in the Greek *Horologium* (and not in the *Aǧbīya*), as well as some parts from S.^{2}, and even prayers found exclusively in a Maronite *Horologium* printed in Rome in 1584. A deeper study, analyzing a large number of manuscripts, is needed.

Some manuscripts of S.^{1} have a “Service at the Cockcrow”, which, in fact, is a part of the Coptic Psalmodia, with additions; it is given as such both in Turaev’s edition and in the Roman edition of S.^{1} (the latter being more developed; cf. Quecke 1970: 18f.).

S.^{1} continued to be copied for a long time; e.g., the 19th-cent. ms. EMML no. 4419 includes “the beginning of the Coptic Horologium, f. 103b” (EMML X, 143). It is no longer in use, except a partial survival in the ↗*Gəbrä ḥəmamat*, Egyptian in origin and character.

The date of translation into ↗Gəᶜəz is unknown; there are no documents ascribing the translation to *abunä* ↗Sälama “the Translator”. According to the teachers of the ↗*Qəddase bet*, S.^{1} was spread by the 13th-cent. *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot and his monastic network.

S.^{2}, presently in liturgical use throughout Ethiopia and Eritrea, is particularly difficult to treat. The identification of the original work, the circumstances that created the need for this new composition, the time when it was made (14th-cent. *abba* Giyorgis was probably still at the court of the emperor), came in use and eventually replaced the S.^{1}, its performance and its edition are among the problems to be faced.

The Acts of *abba* Giyorgis of Sägla (nicknamed *Bäᶜalä Säᶜatat*, 'The Composer of the [Book of] Hours'), report that he composed a text entitled *Maṣḥafä səbḥat zämäᶜalt wäzälelit zäläläsäᶜatu wäzäzäṣotahu wäzäsämäyo mäṣḥafä bərhan* ('Book of Praise for the Day and for the Night, for Each Hour and Each Mode, named Book of the Light'; s. Colin 1987: 22 [text] = 16 [tr.]). The original S.^{2} seems to be very close to, if not identical with, a particular book identified by the monks as the personal work of Giyorgis (ms. Gasəč̣č̣a 18, photographed by Marie-Laure Derat in 1993; not yet described). Among other witnesses of S.^{2} are mss. EMML no. 4016 (s. EMML X, 8: 1746–55, with the Horologium for the Day [*Säᶜatat zämäᶜalt*]) and BN Eth. 381 = Griaule 77 (s. StrGriaule 12–16), which seem to be a hybrid of S.^{1} and S.^{2}.

The printed editions in use derive from S.^{2}, the standard being the Asmära edition of 1983. They differ from the manuscript versions in the following points: the whole *Night Hours* are given as one service without reference to particular hours; the 8th, 9th and 10th Hour are not printed; most of the numerous readings have been suppressed; the long Prayer of the 'Laying on of the Hand' (*Anbərotä əd*), including many saints of the O.T., has also been discarded. Täsfa Gäbrä Śəllase claims that he made a critical edition by emending the additions made by later authors (1955; HabUff 270).

It is not yet clear when S.^{2} replaced S.^{1} in use. It has been suggested that the 15th-cent. *aṣe* ↗Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob was responsible for spreading S.^{2} (Derat in MiscAethKur 55; cp. PerrZarY 51). The version of the ↗*Täᵓammərä Maryam* in ms. EMML no. 2275 (Däfäro Maryam, Ankobär, Šäwa; first half of the 16th cent.; copied from a late 15th-cent. ms.; Getatchew Haile 1982: 68) contains a miracle that made monks switch from S.^{1} to S.^{2}, indicating that there was a strong trend to using S.^{2} relatively shortly after Giyorgis's death in ca. 1426.

The reason for the composition of S.^{2} may have been a development in ↗Mariology. Giyorgis's presence among the *kahənatä däbtära* (priests of the royal camp) must have placed favourably the new service book.

According to the traditional scholars, S.^{2} was universally received much later, when the *Sällälkulla* ↗*zema* came in use for the ↗*Qəddase*, before the spread of the school of ↗Däbrä Abbay in the 19th cent., after the time of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II.

The monks of Gasəč̣č̣a still use the service of S.^{2} The complete service takes them from 9 o'clock p.m. to 7 o'clock a.m. to complete. If they happen to be not numerous enough (at least five trained persons are necessary), they use the shorter, printed version and the section of the ↗*Səbḥatä fəqur*, which it takes one hour to complete. They never do the *Day Hours*.

Ethiopian ↗monasteries of the *andənnät* style (the "coenobites") do not sing the "cathedral office" (↗*Maḫlet*) but only celebrate the S. all the year round together with the ↗*Wəddase Amlak*, also organised in hours. At main feasts, if many people attend, the *Maḫlet* may be sung even in these monasteries, but then it is normally done by external singers, not by the monks themselves, who would not attend. In all other churches S. replaces the *Maḫlet* during the nights of ↗Lent and of the Fast of the ↗*Fəlsäta*, except its eve. It is possible to shorten the service on the occasion of funerals: one would then begin at "Mikaᵓel" and continue directly with the *Səbḥatä fəqur.*

The *Ṣälotä əṭan* (↗Incense) is always done during the execution of the S., always immediately followed by the *Ṣälotä* ↗*kidan*.

The S. of the ↗*Ṣomä dəggʷa* are taken from S.^{2}, despite the conservative character of the Lenten season (↗Calendar, Christian).

Certain monastic churches (but not Gasəč̣č̣a) sing the *Säᶜatat zämäᶜalt*, also ascribed to *abba* Giyorgis and transmitted in a separate volume (so far unedited). A traditional centre for the teaching of these S. is the church of Däbrä Iyäsus, ca. 30 km from ↗Däbrä Wärq (Goǧǧam).

A *Säᶜätatä dəngəl Maryam* is mentioned in a Miracle of Mary (Budge 1933) but does not seem to exist as anything else but a translation-adaptation standing for the *Salve Regina* of Western sources.

Src.: mss. Gasəč̣č̣a 80; EMML nos. 2097, 2275, 4016, 4419; BN Éth. 381 = Griaule 77; Vat. Aeth. 1, 15, 21, 57; interviews with *liqä ḫəruyan* Alämnäw Azzänä of Däbrä Wärq, Addis Abäba, June 2009, *abba* Kidanä Maryam of Gasəč̣č̣a, Addis Abäba, 26 March 2009; BegCron 7; Ernest Alfred Thomson Wallis Budge (tr.), *One Hundred and Ten Miracles of Our Lady Mary*, London 1923 [1933^2]; CerMaria 25, 127f.; Gérard Colin (ed., tr.), *Vie de Georges de Saglâ*, Louvain 1987 (CSCO 492, 493 [SAe 81, 82]); EMML VI, VII, X; Getatchew Haile, "On the Writings of *Abba* Giyorgis Säglawi from Two Inedited Miracles of Mary", *OrChrP* 48, 1982, 65–91; GréTisVat I, 75–100; Ḥaddis Wäldä Mikaᵓel (ed.), **መጽሐፈ ፡ ሰዓታት ። ጸሎት ፡ ዘሌሊት** (*Mäṣḥafä saᶜatat. Ṣälot zälelit*, 'The Book of Hours. Prayer of the Night'), Addis Abäba 1941 A.M. [1949 A.D.]; *aläqa* Mäkʷännən Sälomon – *ləǧ* Bəśrat Masräša (ed.), **መጽሐፈ ፡ ሰዓታት ፡**

በግዕዝና ፡ በአማርኛ ። ዘሌሊት ፡ ወዘነግህ (*Mäṣḥafä säᶜatat bägəᶜəzənna bäᵓamarəñña. Zälelit wäzänägh*, 'The Book of Hours in Gəᶜəz and in Amharic. [Hours] of the Night and of the Morning'), Addis Abäba 1945 A.M. [1953 A.D.]; *liqä mäzämməran* Mogäs ᶜEqʷəbä Giyorgis (ed.), **መጽሐፈ ፡ ሰዓታት ፡ ምስለ ፡ ኵሉ ፡ ጸዋትዊሁ ፡ ወባሕረ ፡ ሐሳብ** (*Mäṣḥafä saᶜatat məslä kʷəllu ṣäwatəwihu wäbaḥrä ḥassab*, 'The Book of Hours with all its Sections, and the Computus'), Asmära 1959 A.M. [1967 A.D.], ^{2}1975 A.M. [1983 A.D.]; **መጽሐፈ ፡ ሰዓታት** (*Mäṣḥafä säᶜatat*, 'Horologium'), Roma 1945 A.M. [1952 A.D.]; **መጽሐፈ ፡ ሰዓታት ፡ ዘሌሊት ፡ ወዘነግህ ፡ በግዕዝና ፡ በአማርኛ** (*Mäṣḥafä säᶜatat zälelit wäzänägh bägəᶜəzənna bäᵓamarəñña*, 'The Book of the Hours of the Night and of the Morning in Gəᶜəz and in Amharic'), Addis Abäba 1945 A.M. [1953 A.D.], repr. 1986/87 A.M. [1994 A.D.]; PerrZarY 51; Täsfa Gäbrä Śəllase (ed.), **መጽሐፈ ፡ ሰዓታት ፡ ዘሌሊት ፡ ወዘነግህ** (*Mäṣḥafä säᶜatat zälelit wäzänägh*, 'The Book of the Hours of the Night and of the Morning'), Addis Abäba 1947 A.M. [1955 A.D.]; StrGriaule 12–16; Boris Turaev (ed.), *Časoslov efiopskoj cerkvi* ('Horologium of the Ethiopian Church'), Saint-Pétersbourg 1897 (= *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg*, 8^{e} sér., classe historico-philologique 1, 7); **መጽሐፈ ፡ ሰዓታት ፡ ከነምልክቱ፡** (*Mäṣḥafä säᶜatat kännäməlәkkətu*, 'The Book of Hours with Notation'), Addis Abäba 1992 A.M. [2000 A.D.]; Arnold van Lantschoot (ed.), *Horologion Aethiopicum iuxta recensionem Alexandrinam Copticam*, Città del Vaticano 1940.

Lit.: Oswald Hugh Ewart KHS-Burmester, *The Horologion of the Egyptian Church*, Cairo 1973 (Studia Orientalia Christiana. Aegyptiaca); Marie-Laure Derat, "La sainteté de Giyorgis de Sägla: une initiative royale?", in: *MiscAethKur* 51–62; Getatchew Haile, "Builders of Churches and Authors of Hymns: Makers of History in the Ethiopian Church" in: *PICES* 10, 369–75; GuiSLett 27f.; HabUff 40, 173–77, 270; Hans Quecke, *Untersuchungen zum koptischen Stundengebet*, Louvain 1970 (Publications de l'Institut orientaliste de Louvain 3); Sévérien Salaville, "La prière de toutes les heures dans la littérature éthiopienne", *La Vie Spirituelle* 49 (supplément), 1936, 111–27 (repr. in: Id., *Studia orientalia liturgico-theologica*, Roma 1940 [Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae 20], 170–85); Robert F. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: the Origins of the Divine Office and its Meaning for Today*, Collegeville, MN 1986 (^{2}1993), 266–71; Ugo Zanetti, "La distribution des psaumes dans l'horologion copte", *OrChrP* 56, 1990, 323–69.

Ugo Zanetti – Emmanuel Fritsch

Ṣägga Krəstos

Ṣ.K. (**ጸጋ ፡ ክርስቶስ**, in European sources "Zagachristo", "Saga Christos" and, more rarely, "Athanasio"; b. ca. 1608, d. 22 April 1638, Rueil-Malmaison, France) was an Ethiopian traveller who claimed to be an Ethiopian prince.

Ṣ.K.'s princely claims were the source of dispute during his lifetime. According to his host in Palestine, the Custodian of the Holy Land (1632-35) Paolo da Lodi, Ṣ.K. was the son of "Claudius" (i.e. Gälawdewos), king of the region of "Arzo" or "Narea" (i.e. ↗Ǝnnarya) and who was killed in 1607 by Susənyos (Somigli 1928: 9ff.; BecRASO I, 379); other sources have him as the son of one king Yaᶜəqob said to have been killed in 1628 and the brother of "Damiano" and "Cosimo" (Somigli 1928: 13, 32; Roger 1646: 349f.). On the contrary, the *abba* of the monastery of ↗Dayr al-Muḥarraq allegedly informed ↗Franciscan friars in Cairo that Ṣ.K. was an apostate monk from the order of "St. John Baptist"; the missionary Antonio da Virgoletta referred to Ṣ.K. as a "personaggio" (Somigli 1928: 5). More importantly, the Jesuit Patriarch Afonso ↗Mendes and Hiob ↗Ludolf called him "aretalogus" and "impostor", respectively, and both vehemently denied his noble claims (BecRASO XIII, 146f.; also IX, 253ff.; Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide; LudHist; cf. also Björnstahl 1780: 149). Indeed, during the ↗Jesuit mission in Ethiopia, no sources, European or Ethiopian, mention the name of Ṣ.K.

Ṣ.K. first appears in the historical record in early 1632 in Cairo. He claimed to having reached the Egyptian capital fleeing the persecution of *aṣe* Susənyos and after a long trip of over four years that took him first to ↗Sinnār (Somigli 1928: 10). In Cairo Ṣ.K. met Franciscan friars who helped him pursue his journey to Jerusalem. He resided for some time in Nazareth, hosted by Paolo da Lodi, in which town, on 29 June 1632, he also made solemn profession of Catholic faith (ibid. 7).

In late 1632, Ṣ.K. reached Rome. At the papal capital, he lived first at the Franciscan convent of San Francesco a Ripa and later, at the expenses of the ↗Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda, in San Pietro in Montorio. On 18 May 1633, he had an audience with Pope Urban VIII. Between 1634 and 1635, accompanied by Franciscan friars, among whom the agent of Propaganda Fide Antonio Dalla Porta (better known as Antonio da Virgoletta), he toured several Italian cities in seek of support for a grand project to return to Ethiopia. When this failed, he menaced to approach "enemy" nations such as Holland and England with the same purpose (Piazza 1986; BecRASO VIII, XXIII; Somigli 1928: 14, 19f.).

After having parted company with his Franciscan companions at Turin, in 1635, at the invitation of the French ambassador in Rome Charles I de Blanchefort, Marquis of Créquy, Ṣ.K. went to Paris. At the French capital he tried anew to gather support for his Ethiopian project. He was welcomed at the court of Louis XIII and received a pension. Suffering from an illness since his days in Italy, he died of pleurisy at the castle of Cardinal Richelieu in Rueil-Malmaison. He was buried there, the expenses being covered by Cardinal Richelieu (Roger 1646: 360; Dubois–Fontanelle 1775: 41f.; Björnstahl 1780: 149).

Regardless of Ṣ.K.'s mysterious identity, his presence in Europe had an impact. His arrival in Rome seems to have been the spark for the foundation, under the auspices of Propaganda Fide, of a second mission to Ethiopia. The mission was to be led by Franciscan friars and directly answerable to Rome, thus taking it away of the control of the Jesuit order and of Portugal (cf. Somigli 1928: 16, 22ff., 43f., 50). After his death, Ṣ.K.'s figure focused the attention of several European writers in the 17th and 18th cents. (Miller 1985: 35–38; Hoffmann 1973: 28f.; Pintard 1943: 259; cf. Störk in VarAeth). Moreover, Ṣ.K. allegedly took to Europe two important Ethiopian codices: one challenging Jesuit theology with the help of Zämikaᵓelite doctrines (published by Enrico Cerulli 1960); and a second containing the *Arganonä Dəngəl* (↗*Arganonä Maryam*). Both are preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale (ZotBNat 97, 141; Somigli 1928: 48f.; Cerulli 1960: VIII–IX).

↗Italy, relations with

Src.: Rome, Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, Fondo Acta, Indice Alfabetico, "Indice Generale Fino ad Aprile 1657", (A1): "ABCDE"; BecRASO I, 18, 27ff., 93, 379; VIII, XXI–XXIV; IX, 253ff.; XIII, 146f.; JACOB JONAS BJÖRNSTAHL, *Briefe auf seinen ausländischen Reisen* …, tr. by JUST ERNST GROSKURD, vol. 1, Leipzig – Rostock 1780, 148f.; JEAN DE GIFFRE DE RECHAC, *Les estranges événemens du voyage de Son Altesse, le Sérénissime Prince Zaga-Christ d'Éthiopie* …, Paris 1635; JOSEPH-GASPARD DUBOIS–FONTANELLE, *Anecdotes africaines, depuis l'origine ou la découverte des différentes royaumes qui composent l'Afrique jusqu'à nos jours*, Paris 1775, 41f. ("Anecdotes Abyssiniennes"); MICHEL FELIBIEN, *Histoire de la ville de Paris* …, vol. 2, Paris 1725, 1368; [GIOVANNI PAOLO MARANA], *Letters Writ by a Turkish Spy* …, vol. 1, London 1770, 68; LudHist liv. II, ch. VII; EUGÈNE ROGER, *La Terre Saincte, ou description topographique très-particulière des saincts Lieux et de la Terre de Promission* …, Paris 1646, 345–60 (ill. 350); TEODOSIO SOMIGLI, *Etiopia Francescana nei documenti dei secoli XVII e XVIII* …, tomo I, parte I: *1633–1643*, Quaracchi 1928 (Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Francescano, ed. Girolamo Golubovich, Serie Terza: Documenti), 5 et passim.

Lit.: GIOVANNI MARIA ACQUAVIVA, *Il principe Zaga Christos*: *Un episodio poco noto delle nostre relazioni con l'Etiopia nel secolo XVII*, Roma 1935, 30–37; ENRICO CERULLI, *Scritti teologici etiopici dei secoli XVI–XVII*, Città del Vaticano 1960 (Studi e testi 198), vol. 1, viii–ix; LÉON-FRANÇOIS HOFFMANN, *Le Nègre romantique*, Paris 1973, 28f.; CHRISTOPHER L. MILLER, *Blank Darkness*: *Africanist Discourse in French*, Chicago, IL ca. 1985, 35–38; C. PIAZZA, "Dalla Porta, Antonio", in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 32, Roma 1986, 12–14; RENÉ PINTARD, *Le libertinage érudit dans la première moitié du XVIIᵉ siècle*, Paris 1943, 259; LOTHAR STÖRK, "Notizen zu Zaga Krestos", in: *VarAeth* 317–22.

Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner

Śämrä Krəstos

Abunä Ś.K. (**ሠምረ ፡ ክርስቶስ**, lit. 'Christ was pleased'; fl. 14th cent., b. ᶜAdwa) was a monk and saint of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church.

Information on Ś.K. is scarce. The only definite source on his life is his Vita (↗*Gädl*) and the collection of the miracles (↗*Täᵓammər*) attributed to him; both texts are still unedited and are preserved together in a single manuscript (ANLin 88, fols. 56ra–70rb, StrANL 231-35). This manuscript, which also contains the Vita of *abba* ↗Libanos, is a very recent copy, produced in 1939 (s. also Bausi 2003: IX).

According to Ś.K.'s hagiography (StrANL 231), his parents were Yaᶜəqob and Maryam Śämrä. He was initiated into monastic life by Bənyam of Däbrä Wifat (StrANL 231). Moreover, he is considered a contemporary of Metropolitan *abba* ↗Sälama.

Strelcyn (StrANL 231–34) gives a detailed description of the 21 miracles performed by Ś.K. during his lifetime and after death. Among the miracles are such curious ones as the stoning of three ravens who were sitting on the roof of the church of *abba* Mäṭaᶜ (Libanos), or the reviving of a cow which had died after it licked the saint's bowl. Two miracles mention a king and a queen, whose names are, however, not given.

The references to *abba* Mäṭaᶜ in the text possibly indicate a connection with Libanos' monastic foundations. In the Vita of ↗Samuᵓel of Däbrä Wägäg a disciple named Ś.K. is mentioned (Kur 1968, s. index), yet any identification is only speculative. Ś.K. should not be confused with a homonymous 15th-cent monk and teacher of *aṣe* ↗Ǝskəndər (s. EMML no. 1942, fol. 82r; EMML no. 2275, fol. 233v).

Src.: ms. ANLin 88 [StrANL 231–35]; mss. EMML nos. 1942 [EMML V, 445–46], 2275 [EMML VI, 353]; ALESSANDRO BAUSI (ed.), *La «Vita» e i «Miracoli» di Libānos*, Lovanii 2003 (CSCO 595 [SAe 105]), IX (text); STANISLAS KUR (ed., tr.), *Actes de Samuel de Dabra Wagag*, Louvain 1968 (CSCO 287, 288 [SAe 57, 58]).

Lit.: KinBibl 88, no. 132; OSVALDO RANIERI, "Śamra Krestos", in: *EncSan* vol. 2, 924–25.

Vitagrazia Pisani

Savouré, Armand

S (b. 7 April 1855, Lardy, Essonne, d. 19 February 1940, Grasse, Alpes-Maritimes) was a French merchant. As a reserve serviceman, in 1885 he went to ↗Obock. There he established a partnership with Léon Barral, founding the company A. Savouré et Compagnie (1848–85). Later he also associated with his friend Léon ↗Chefneux (1853–1927). With him S. took part in the early stages of the Compagnie impériale des chemins de fer éthiopiens (↗Railways) by having the track built between ↗Djibouti and ↗Dərre Dawa. Shortly after, he created his own company (Compagnie Franco-africaine), became the director of Moulins d'Addis Abéba and of the plantation of Awra Mälka, on the banks of the ↗Awaš River.

S. carried out several official and unofficial missions between the French and Ethiopian governments (↗France, relations with). In 1889, he delivered a letter from *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II to the president of the French Republic, Sadi Carnot. S. was convinced that Mənilək, with whom he had a close relationship, could be a good partner for France. Mənilək invited him regularly to his ↗*gəbbi* and he acted in Ethiopia as a French foreign trade advisor.

S. lived in Ethiopia with a local woman, with whom he had a son. A prominent descendant of this relationship was the writer and politician Ahadu Sabure from Dərre Dawa (b. 1925), who was nominated Minister of Information in 1974. He was, however, forced by *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I to resign after only two months, as he was actively campaigning for a free press in the foremath of the ↗Revolution. Ahadu also served as ambassador of Ethiopia.

S. returned to France in 1894 and married Noémie Le Baron (1864–1934), one of his cousins. The couple lived in Addis Abäba and had two daughters who married Léon Chefneux's two sons. S. had a business partnership with his brother-in-law, Jules-Georges Le Baron (1872–1938), who was well known in Ethiopia in the 1930s as the most senior member of the French colony and a close advisor of Ḫaylä Śəllase. In 1927, S. went back to France and settled in Grasse.

S. wrote several reports on Ethiopia, today kept at the Archives of the French Ministère des Affaires étrangères. He also authored some articles in contemporary newspapers and a book on Ethiopian agriculture (1912).

Src.: *L'Abyssinie agricole*, Addis Abeba, October 1912; Caen, Calvados, Municipal Archives, État civil; Grasse, Alpes-Maritimes, Municipal Archives, État civil.

Lit.: ROSANNA VAN GELDER DE PINEDA, *Le chemin de fer de Djibouti à Addis Abeba*, Paris 1995; JEAN-JACQUES LEFRÈRE, *Arthur Rimbaud*, Paris 2001; JEAN-GASTON VANDERHEYM, *Une expédition avec le Négous Ménélik: Vingt mois en Abyssinie*, Paris 1896; ZerÉth.

Lukian Prijac

Šäwarägga Mənilək

Wäyzäro Š.M. (ሸዋረጋ ፡ ምኒልክ; b. ca. 1860, d. December 1897, Däse [?]) is known in Ethiopian history as the daughter of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II and the mother of *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu.

Large parts of Š.M.'s story remain uncertain. Her origins, in particular, were already questioned during Mənilək's time. ↗Gäbrä Śəllase made mention of her existence suddenly in the chronicle of Mənilək II, whilst she was already a young woman. It seems that she was recognized as a daughter of the Emperor only at an advanced age (cp. also Bairu Tafla 1972: 15). Hugues ↗Le Roux, a French journalist who visited Mənilək's court at the end of the 1890s, gives the following information about her background: her mother was a servant of Mənilək II, chased from the court out of jealousy whilst she was pregnant. Š.M. then grew up anonymously as an orphan until, thanks to her talisman, she was recognized at the age of 18 by a monk who took her to the court of her father (Le Roux 1914: 54–61.) Although the historicity of his story is doubtful, nevertheless her late legal recognition by Mənilək II as an illegitimate child might have been used by the Emperor to increase his chances of having a male offspring and to settle the problem of his succession (Bairu Tafla 1972: 14f.).

Š.M. was married in the 1880s to *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wädaǧǧo Gobäna. They had a son in 1885, Wäsän Sägäd, but then divorced for unknown reasons. Š.M. was remarried by her father in 1892 to *ras* ↗Mikaᵓel ᶜAli, as a reward for his military help against the rebel *ras* Zäwde. The marriage had strategic advantages for both sides: Mikaᵓel gained in prestige by entering the family of the Emperor, whilst Mənilək II was able to reinforce the fidelity of the powerful chief of Wällo (Bairu Tafla 1972: 15). Two children were born from their union, Zännäbä Wärq and then Iyasu in 1897, six months before the death of Š.M (GebMolIyas 558).

Mənilək II gave political offices to his three grandchildren, who grew up at his court. Wäsän Sägäd was the first to be chosen as heir-to-the-throne, but he suffered from dwarfism and died of tuberculosis in 1908. At the age of ten, Zännäbä Wärq was married to *ras* ↗Bäzzabbəh Täklä Haymanot, son of *nəguś* ↗Täklä Haymanot, but died around 1903, perhaps in childbed. Iyasu was nominated heir-to-the-throne in 1909. The uncertainty surrounding the origins of his mother may then have been one of the arguments used by his opponents against his royal descent (Prouty 1986: 357).

The life of Š.M. is an example of the political role given to women and children and reveal the complexity of the connection between public and private life during Mənilək's time.

Src.: GebMolIyas 558, s. index; GueCopMen vol. 1, 314, 317, vol. 2, 397; HUGUES LE ROUX, *Chez la reine de Saba*, Paris 1914, 54–61.

Lit.: BAIRU TAFLA, "Marriage as a Political Device: an Appraisal of a Socio-political Aspect of the Menilek Period 1889–1916", *JES* 10, 1, 1972, 13–21; HERAN SEREKE-BRHAN, "Like Adding Water to Milk: Marriage and Politics in Nineteenth Century Ethiopia", *IJAHS* 38, 2005, 49–77; FanTarik 227; CHRIS PROUTY, *Empress Taytu and Menelik II: Ethiopia 1883–1910*, London 1986, 103ff., 219, 223; CHRIS PROUTY ROSENFELD, *A Chronology of Menilek II of Ethiopia, 1844–1913*, East Lansing, MI 1976, s. index; ESTELLE SOHIER, *Portraits controversés d'un prince éthiopien. Iyasu (1897–1935)*, Montpellier 2011, 11–14.

Estelle Sohier

Säyfä Śəllase Yoḥannəs

Mäggabe bəluy S. (**ሰይፈ ፡ ሥላሴ ፡ ዮሐንስ**; b. 1942/43, Dogäm Iyäsus, East Goğğam, d. 7 August 2010, Addis Abäba) was one of the most learned and prolific writers of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥədo) Church (EOTC) in the 20th cent.

Son of *ato* Yoḥannəs Räsᵓa and *wäyzäro* Ǝskäzziyaw Kasa, S. completed all levels of traditional church ↗education (↗*nəbab bet*, ↗*mäṣḥaf bet*, ↗*zema bet*, ↗*aqqʷaqʷam*, O.T. commentary tradition and ↗*qəne bet*) as a young man. In 1974/75, he attended theological courses in Preston Trinity College (UK) where he also studied Hebrew and Greek. He studied journalism in Kitwe (Zambia) in 1980.

From 1961 to 1965, S. taught ↗*qəne* in Qäčäne Däbrä Sälam Mädḫane ᶜAläm church. He was subsequently appointed in the Evangelization and Missionary Department (**ሐዋርያዊ ፡ ድርጅት**, *Ḥawaryawi dərəğğət*) as editor of its periodical publications including the journal **ትንሣኤ** (*Tənśaᵓe*) and the newspaper **ድምፀ ፡ ተዋሕዶ ፡ ጋዜጣ** (*Dəmṣ́ä täwaḥədo gazeṭa*). He was also teaching Gəᶜəz on the *Bəsratä Wängel* Radio Station. From 1981 to 1993, S. worked for the ↗Theological College of St. Paul, being at different times teacher, director and board member. For his contribution to the preparation of the college's O.T. manual, on 21 February 1985 he received the title *mäggabe bəluy* from the then patriarch *abunä* ↗Täklä Haymanot. In 1994, S. taught at the ↗Holy Trinity Theological College.

From 1995 to 2010 S. worked for the *Liqawənt gubaᵓe* ('Scholars' Council', cp. ↗*Liq*) in the Patriarchate, covering an array of posts: editor, translator and author. From May 2009 until his death in August 2010, S. was the chairperson of the Council. During this period, he represented the EOTC at a number of conferences of the World Council of Churches and the All Africa Conference of Churches. He was also a board member and the chair of the translation team in the Bible Society of Ethiopia (2005–10); member of general assembly (and head of Gəᶜəz and literature committee) in the Ethiopian Languages and Cultures Academy at ↗Addis Abäba University (2009–10). He was a delegate to two EOTC synods.

S. authored a number of works published under the auspices of the EOTC, most of which of high scholarly value. He was a co-author of the *Amharic Bible Dictionary* (1979) and a series of programmatic brochures (1986; 1990). His research was mainly dedicated to the *qəne* tradition (e.g., 2002; Admasu Ğämbäre 1998/99; tr. of *qəne* in Märsəᵓe Ḥazän Wäldä Qirqos 2009/10: 419–25) and the biblical interpretation (a series of articles in the *Ethiopian Review of Cultures* vols. 4–5, 12–13; also in *abunä* Gärima et al. 2007/08). An issue of the *Ethiopian Review of Cultures* (vol. 14, 2011) was dedicated to his memory.

S. was buried with great honours at the cemetery of the ↗Qəddəst Śəllase Cathedral.

Src.: for bibliography s. ḤENOK YARED 2011: 4; *mälᵓakä bərhan* ADMASU ĞÄMBÄRE, **መጽሐፈ ፡ ቅኔ ፡ ዝክረ ፡ ሊቃውንት** (*Mäṣḥafä qəne zəkrä liqawənt*, 'The Book of the *Qəne* [The Memory of the Scholars]'), ed. by SÄYFÄ ŚƎLLASE YOḤANNƎS, Addis Abäba 1991 A.M. [1998/99 A.D.]; MÄRSƎᶜE HAZÄN WÄLDÄ QIRQOS, **የዘመን ፡ ታሪክ ፡ ትዝታዬ** … 1896–1922 (*Yäzämän tarik təzzətaye … 1896–1922*, 'My Memories of the History of the Time … 1896–1922'), Addis Abäba ^{2}2002 A.M. [2009/10 A.D.], 419–25; SÄYFÄ ŚƎLLASE YOḤANNƎS et al., **የኢትዮጵያ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ትናንትና ፡ ዛሬ** (*Yäᵓityopya betä krəstiyan tənantənna zare*, 'The Church of Ethiopia Past and Present'), Addis Abäba 1979 A.M. [1986 A.D.]; ID., **የዛሬዋ ፡ ኢትዮጵያ ፡ የቅዱሳት ፡ መጻሕፍት ፤ የታሪክና ፡ የሥነ ፡ ጥንት ፡ ኢትዮጵያ ፡ ናት** (*Yäzarewa ityopya yäqəddusat mäṣaḥəft, yätarikənna yäśənä ṭənt ityopya nat*, 'Today's Ethiopia is Ethiopia of the Holy Scriptures, History and Antiquity'), Addis

Abäba 1982 A.M. [1990 A.D.]; Id. (ed.), **የግዕዝ ፡ ቅኔያት ፡ የሥነ ፡ ጥበብ ፡ ቅርስ** (*Yägəʿəz qəneyat: yäśənä ṭəbäb qərs*, ‘The Gəʿəz Qəne: Heritage of Fine Arts’), vol. 3, Addis Abäba 1995 A.M. [2002 A.D.].

Lit.: **ቤተ ፡ መጻሕፍቱ ፡** … (*Betä mäṣaḥəftu* … ‘The Library …’), documentary, Maḫbärä Qəddusan Audio Visual Center 2010; [EOTC], **የሊቁ ፡ መጋቤ ፡ ብሉይ ፡ ሰይፈ ፡ ሥላሴ ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ ሥርዓተ ፡ ቀብር ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ ወቅዱስ ፡ ፓትርያርክ ፡ በተገኙበት ፡ ተፈጸመ** (*Yäliqu mäggabe bəluy Säyfä Śəllase Yoḥannəs śərʿatä qäbər bəṣuʿ wäqəddus Patrəyark bätägäññubbät täfäṣṣämä*, ‘The Funeral of *Mäggabe Bəluy* Säyfä Śəllase Yoḥannəs held in the Presence of the Patriarch’), *Zena betäkrəstiyan* 114, *Mäskäräm* 2003 A.M. [2010 A.D.]; EOTC, **የክቡር ፡ መጋቤ ፡ ብሉይ ፡ ሰይፈ ፡ ሥላሴ ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ አጭር ፡ የሕይወት ፡ ታሪክ** (*Yäkəbur mäggabe bəluy Säyfä Śəllase Yoḥannəs aččər yäḥəywät tarik*, ‘Brief Biography of Honourable *Mäggabe Bəluy* Säyfä Śəllase Yoḥannəs’), Addis Abäba, 9 August 2010; *abunä* Gärima et al., **የኢትዮጵያ ፡ ኦርቶዶክስ ፡ ተዋሕዶ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ታሪክ ፡ ከልደተ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ እስከ ፡ ፳፻ ፡ ዓ. ም.** (*Yäʾityopya ortodoks täwaḥədo betä krəstiyan tarik kälədätä krəstos əskä 2000 A.M.*, ‘History of the EOTC from the Birth of Christ until 2000 A.M.’), Addis Abäba 2000 A.M. [2007/08 A.D.], 174–209; Ḥenok Yared, **የቀለሙ ፡ ቀንድ ፡ ተሰበረ** (*Yäqälämu qänd täsäbbärä*, ‘The Horn of the Ink is Broken’), *Ethiopian Reporter* 15, *Näḥase* 5, 2002 A.M. [2010 A.D.]; Id., **ዜና ፡ ሕይወቱ ፡ ለመጋቤ ፡ ብሉይ ፡ ሰይፈ ፡ ሥላሴ** (1935–2002) (*Zena ḥəywätu lämäggabe bəluy Säyfä Śəllase 1935–2002*, ‘Biography of Mäggabe Bəluy Säyfä Śəllase 1942/43–2010’), *Ethiopian Review of Cultures* 14, 2011, 3–7; Morgan Johnson, “In Memory of the Late Magabe Beluy Sayfa Selase Yohannes”, *ibid.* 9–12.

Amsalu Tefera

Schleicher, Adolph Walther

S. (also Adolf Walter S., b. 31 May 1854, in Antwerp, Belgium, d. 2 May 1894, Tanga, today Tanzania) was a trained engineer who became a linguist working primarily on North-east-African languages, notably ↗Somali.

S.’s interest in African languages and linguistics developed after a journey to Egypt in 1887. He enrolled at the Orientalisches Seminar in Berlin in 1889 and continued his studies in Vienna under Leo ↗Reinisch who became his friend and mentor. In the early 1890s S. wrote his Ph.D. thesis and subsequently published a small number of linguistic monographs, among which were an essay (in many ways debatable) in comparative linguistics (1891), a grammatical sketch of Somali with a commendable collection of texts (1892), and a notable first edition of ↗Baḥrəy’s history of the ↗Oromo (1893, s. also ↗*Zenahu lägalla*). In early 1894 he travelled via Massawa to the Swedish mission at ↗Əmkullu, where he compiled data on oral literature. They were later used by ↗Paulitschke for the second volume of his *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas.* S. then wanted to proceed to Zanzibar, but fell critically ill, and died shortly after arriving at the port city of Tanga, then German East Africa.

Adolph Walther Schleicher; photo ca. 1889, courtesy of Ekkehard Schnieber

In his short scholarly life S. established a basis for fundamental linguistic research in Somali and thereby motivated successive scholars to further work in this linguistic area (such as Leo Reinisch, Kurt Berghold, or John William Carnegie Kirk).

Scr.: Philipp Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, vol. 2: *Die geistige Cultur der Danâkil, Galla und Somâl*: *nebst Nachträgen zur materiellen Cultur dieser Völker*, Berlin 1896; Adolf Walter Schleicher, *Afrikanische Petrefakten*: *Ein Versuch die grammatischen Bildungen und Formwurzeln der afrikanischen Sprachen durch Sprachvergleichung festzustellen*, Berlin 1891; Id., *Die Somali-Sprache*, 1: *Texte, Lautlehre, Formenlehre und Syntax*, Wien 1892; Id., “Das persönliche Pronomen der Bantusprachen”, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 7, 1893, 218–225; Id. (ed., tr.), *Geschichte der Galla …*: *Bericht eines abessinischen Mönches über die Invasion der Galla im 16. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1893; Wien, Archiv der Universität, PH RA 785 Schleicher, Adolf Walther, 1893.06.01–1893.06.18 (Akt) [*http://scopeq.cc.univie.ac.at/query/report.aspx?rpt=1&id=208456*, last access 31 November 2011].

Lit.: Heinrich Bensch, “Biographie Dr. A.W. Schleichers”, in: Reinisch 1900, ix–xvii; Herrmann Jungraithmayr, “Schleicher, Adolf Walter”, in: Id. – Wilhelm J.G. Möhlig (eds.), *Lexikon der Afrikanistik*: *Afrikanische Sprachen und ihre Erforschung*, Berlin 1983, 210; Enno Littmann, “Zu A.W. Schleicher’s ‘Geschichte der Galla’”, *ZA* 11, 1896, 389–400; Leo Reinisch (ed.), *Dr. A.W. Schleichers Somali-Texte*, Wien 1900; Christian-A. Thiel, “Expedition nach

Toten Island", *Hamburger Abendblatt*, 12/13 October 2002, *Journal* [weekly supplement], 2.

Martin Haars

Səbḥat Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer

S. (**ስብሐት** [or **ስብሐት ፡ ለአብ**, Səbḥat Läʾab]: **ገብረ ፡ እግዚአብሔር**; b. 5 May 1936, Ruba [also Rəba] Gäräd, Təgray, d. 20 February 2012, Addis Abäba) was a prominent 20th-cent. journalist and author.

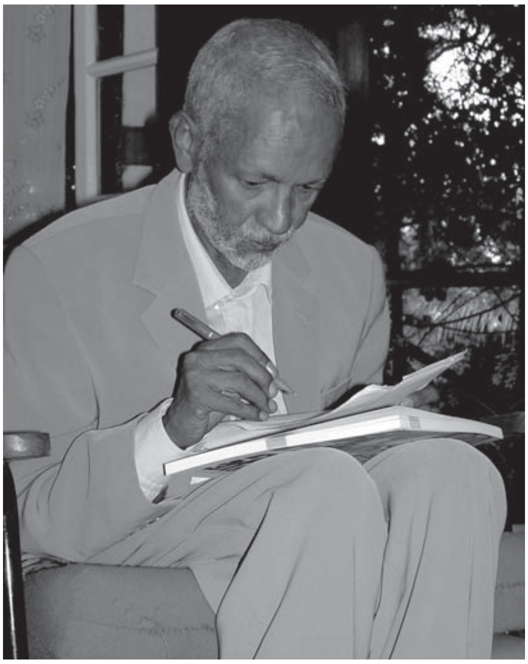
S.'s parents were *qes* Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Yoḥannəs, an Orthodox priest and farmer, and Mäᶜaza Täwäldä Mädḫən, daughter of the Protestant convert *aläqa* Täwäldä Mädḫən Gäbru. He started his education in church school under his father in 1945, in 1946 he became a boarding student at the Swedish Evangelical Mission school in Addis Abäba (directed by Sven Rubenson). He completed his secondary education in the Täfäri Mäkʷännən Secondary School. He subsequently enrolled at the University College (now ↗Addis Ababa University), getting trained as English teacher. In college, he became interested in world literature, first English (Stevenson, Maugham) but also Russian (Chekhov, Dostoevsky) and French (Maupassant, Proust, Zola, while the latter particularly influenced S.'s "naturalistic" view of man). While less interested in ↗Amharic literature, he did later acknowledge ↗Daññačč̣äw Wärqu as his mentor and one of the strongest influences, responsible also for his choice of writing in Amharic.

On graduation in 1958, S. taught for some months at Asfa Wäsän School and then worked in the scholarship department of the Ministry of Education. In 1960, he was sent to study library science in Washington, DC. In 1961, he resumed teaching in Ethiopia, and in 1962, with the help of Claude Sumner, then professor of philosophy at Addis Ababa University, S. got a UNESCO scholarship to go to Aix-en-Provence in France to study philosophy and sociology. S. dropped his studies after two weeks, but kept his scholarship, and used his two-year stay to complete his first novel, *Letum aynägalləññ*. As it described the life in the red-light district of Addis Abäba in colourful details, and was considered vulgar and obscene by many, it could not be published until many years later (2004; French tr. 2004).

After his return from France in 1965, S. worked for a year in the Ministry of Education. From 1966 to 1968, he was an assistant editor of the ↗*Mänän* magazine under ↗Bäᶜalu Gərma. During that period, S. wrote many articles as well as completed his second novel, *Təkkusat*, about an Iranian revolutionary who finds solace in sex (publ. 1997).

Next, S., together with Däräǧǧä Däressa, started a public relations firm, where S. took care of the firm's two publications, ↗*Ethiopia Mirror* (a quarterly) and the Amharic edition of *Mänän* (a monthly) for over six years, until the firm was closed down by the *Därg* in 1974 (↗Provisional Military Administrative Council). During his time in this firm, he married Hanna Yəlma, daughter of the Minister of Finance ↗Yəlma Däressa, by whom he had a son, Iyasu. Hanna and the child left Ethiopia following the Revolution of 1974. S. later had four more children by two other women.

S. continued writing short stories that could not be published for their explicit sexual content (↗Sexuality). His next job was to write a story every month for *Qum nägär*, a publication started by the actor Däbbäbä Ǝšätu. But due to interference from the censors, he resigned, and remained unemployed for almost a year, until he got a job with the Ministry of Information (1976/77–78/79). At this time, S. became close to Bäᶜalu Gərma, who depicted S. in his novel *Därasiw* ('The author', publ. 1979/80). S. next worked for a year for the Ethiopia Book Cen-



Səbḥat Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer; photo 2004, courtesy of Francis Falceto tre, a private publisher and distributor, and then joined the Tourism Commission, in charge of their publications. Then he was "selected" as one of a team to translate Karl Marx's *Das Kapital*, although he called himself an individualist without interest in ideologies or politics. From 1984 until 1991, S. was the chief editor of the *Kurraz* Publishing Agency. He was a regular contributor to the monthly *Yäkkatit*.

After the fall of the *Därg* regime, S. started to work for the ↗*Bərhanənna Sälam* Printing Press. He first became a columnist for the governmental ↗*Addis Zämän* daily. He was then the columnist for the *Addis Admas* private-run weekly newspaper and editor for *The* ↗*Ethiopian Herald*. During the last year of his life, S. also tried himself in a completely new role, starring in a film comedy *Mäfänqlä setoč̣č̣* ('Uprising of Women') by Mikaᵓel Ləᶜulsägäd (2011).

S., often addressed with the epithet *gaš* ('my beloved'), was both a popular and controversial writer due to his favourite theme (both in life and literature) of sex and his bohemian lifestyle. His funeral at the cemetery of the ↗Qəddəst Śəllase cathedral was reportedly attended by two to three thousand people.

S.'s younger brother Täwäldä Bərhan Gäbrä Ǝgziᵓabəḥer (b. 1940) is a prominent environmentalist and scientist, winner of the Right Livelihood and Champions of the Earth awards.

Src.: SƎBḤAT GÄBRÄ ƎGZIᵓABƎḤER, **ሌቱም ፡ አይነጋልኝ** (*Letum aynägalləññ*, 'I will Not See the End of the Night'), ms. 1965, publ. Addis Abäba 1997 A.M. [2004 A.D.] (French tr. SEBHAT GUÈBRÈ-EGZIABHÉR, *Les Nuits d'Addis-Abeba*, tr. by the author and FRANCIS FALCETO, Paris 2004); ID., **ትኩሳት** (*Təkkusat*, 'Fever'), Addis Abäba 1990 A.M. [1997 A.D.]; ID., **አምስት ፡ ስድስት ፡ ሰባት** (*Amməst, səddəst, säbat*, 'Five, Six, Seven'), Addis Abäba 1980 A.M. [1988 A.D.] (English tr.: *Seeds and Other Stories*, tr. by WENDY KINDRED Addis Ababa 2004); ID., **ሰባተኛው ፡ መላክ** (*Säbattäññaw mälak* ('The Seventh Angel'), Addis Abäba 1992 A.M. [1999 A.D.]; ID., **እግረ ፡ መንገድ** (*Ǝgrä mängäd*, 'On the Road', or 'Advance'), Addis Abäba 1996 A.M. [2003 A.D.]; ID., **የፍቅር ፡ ሻማዎች** (*Yäfəqər šamawoč̣č̣*, 'Love Candles'), Addis Abäba 2000 A.M. [2007 A.D.]; **እማሆይ ፡ ፅዳለ ፡ ማርያም** (**ና ፡ ባሎቻቸው**) (*Ǝmmahoy Ṣ́ədalä Maryam* [*ənna baloč̣č̣ač̣č̣äw*], 'The Nun Ṣ́ədalä Maryam [and her Husbands]'), ms.

Lit.: ABDÄLLA ƎZRA, "**የስብሐት ፡ ጉድጓዶች** (*Yäsəbḥat gudgʷadoč̣č̣*, 'Səbḥat's Ravines')" [review of *Amməst, səddəst, säbat*], *Bəlen*, [*Näḥase* / April] 1982 A.M. [1990 A.D.], 44–56; ALÄMAYYÄHU GÄLLAGAY, **ስብሐት ፡ ገ/እግዚአብሔር ፡ ሕይወትና ፡ ክህሎት** (*Səbḥat G/Ǝgziᵓabəḥer ḥəywätənna kəhlot*, 'Səbḥat Gäbrä Ǝgziᵓabəḥer's Life and Skill'), Addis Abäba 2000 A.M. [2007/08 A.D.]; FRANCIS FALCETO, "Un passant nyctalope", in: SEBHAT GUÈBRÈ-EGZIABHÉR – FALCETO op. cit. 2004, 9–19; MolLit 7, 48, 61, 204, 227f., 344f., 350, 353–61; REIDULF K. MOLVAER, "In memoriam Səbḥat Gäbrä Ǝgziᵓabeḥer (1936–2012)", *Aethiopica* 15, 2012, 245–47; ALAIN ROUAUD, [review of Sebhat Guèbrè-Egziabhér – Falceto op. cit. 2004], *Pount* 2, 2008, 127–37; TEWODROS GEBRE, "Myth and Sexuality: a Mythopoeic Reading of Létum Aynegalliñ", *Callaloo* 33, 1, June 2010, 136–45; ZÄNNÄBÄ WÄLA, **ስብሐት ፡ ገብረ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ማስታወሻ** (*Səbḥat Gäbrä Ǝgziᵓabəḥer mastawäša*, 'Səbḥat Gäbrä Ǝgziᵓabəḥer. Recollections'), Addis Abäba 1993 A.M. [2001 A.D.].

Reidulf Knut Molvaer

Səddät: Mäṣḥafä səddät

M.s. (**መጽሐፈ ፡ ስደት**, 'The Book of the persecution', also *Mäṣḥafä səddätomu*) is the phrase used in an incipit introducing in some manuscripts (e.g., Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bruce 88) a section of an account of the conquest of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Grañ). Kropp (s. KrLebD 12 [text] = 12 [tr.]) used the phrase as the title of the account.

Several moderately different versions of the M.s. exist (e.g., mss. BN Éth. 104, 106 in ZotBNat 212f., 215f., cp. Conti Rossini 1893: 671, n. 2). However, for reasons of style and composition, it can be treated as a distinct literary work. Thus, in ms. Bruce 88 (DillBodl 78ff., no. 29) it is not only clearly separated from the rest of the text, but also has its own introduction (where the phrase "M.s." appears). Kropp (KrLebD IX–XXIII [text]) lists 37 manuscripts that contain the M.s.

The M.s. covers the years 1529–43, i.e. the second half of *aṣe* ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl's reign and the early years of his son and successor *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos's reign. It describes largely the same events as the Arabic chronicle of Grañ's contest, the ↗*Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša* (s. BassHist), and was probably used for the passages in the "short chronicles" devoted to this period (s. BassÉt I, 327–34 [text]; BegCron 27–34; Perruchon 1893: 274–86, 1894: 155–66, 263–70; DombrChr 38–47 [text]). Since the climax of the work is the arrival of the Portuguese under Christovão da ↗Gama and the death of Grañ, it can clearly be seen as the account of the latter's invasion and not as a "chronicle" of the Ethiopian emperors. The author of the M.s. witnessed many of the events he relates, or at least relied on eye-witnesses. His writing style may suggest that he was a cleric at the royal court (KrLebD XXIVf. [tr.]). He was likely an Amhara, as he makes several disparaging remarks concerning Təgrayan lords (KrLebD 19 [text] = 18f. [tr.]; Conti Rossini 1894: 618).

The account of the M.s. is much more condensed than that of the *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*; it is also obviously Church-centred, as it provides significant detail on the destruction of churches by Grañ's army. Frequently, the exact date and names of the destroyed sites are given, e.g., ↗Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos on 7 December 1531 (KrLebD 13 [text]). Mention is also made of battles between the two parties, as well as of the Christian military leaders killed in action, e.g., *ras* ↗Ǝslam Sägäd or *ras* ↗Wäsän Sägäd (KrLebD 13 [text]). Some of the details in the M.s. are unique when compared to other chronicles, such as the date of the death (5 April 1536) of ↗Ǝslam Däḥar (KrLebD 15 [text]; cp. BassHist II, 242).

The records from the M.s. and the contemporary report of Miguel de ↗Castanhoso, however, not infrequently contradict each other, especially concerning dates and place names.

Src.: mss. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bruce 88 (DillBodl 78ff.), no. 29; mss. BN Éth. 104, 106 (ZotBNat 212f., 215f.); BassÉt I, 327–34 (text) = II, 97–106 (tr.); BassHist 36, 103, 155, 161, 178ff., 192, passim; BegCron 27–34; MIGUEL DE CASTANHOSO, *Dos Feitos de D. Cristovao da Gama em Etiopia*: *Tratado composto por Miguel de Castanhoso*, ed. by FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA, Lisboa 1883; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Storia di Lebna Dengel re d'Etiopia sino alle prime lotte conto Ahmad Ben Ibrahim", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 1894, 617–40; ConzGal; DombrChr 38–47 (text) = 158–74 (tr.); IGNAZIO GUIDI, "Di due frammenti relativi alla storia di Abissinia", *RRALm* 2^{a}, 2 1893, 579–605, here 579–96; KrLebD; JULES PERRUCHON, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie: le règne de Lebna Dengel", *RevSem* 1, 1893, 274–86; ID., "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie: le règne de Galâwdêwos (Claudius) ou Aṣnâf-Sagad", *RevSem* 2, 1894, 155–66, 263–70.

Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Pergamene di Debra Dammó", *RSO* 19, 1940, 45–57, here 48f.

Sophia Dege

Ṣəlalo

Ṣ. (ጽላሎ, also Däbrä or Gong Ṣ., in Jesuit sources Çalalô, Seladó, Zalalo; 11° 11' 29" N, 37° 42' 40" E) is an area in Yəlmanna Densa *wäräda* in western ↗Goǧǧam, prominent for the monastery of Ṣ. Amanuʾel. It lies half way between Moṭa and Adet and about 20 km from the River ↗Abbay. Nearby there is the mountain and monastery of Qʷat and its lands are crossed by the River Abäya, a tributary of the Abbay.

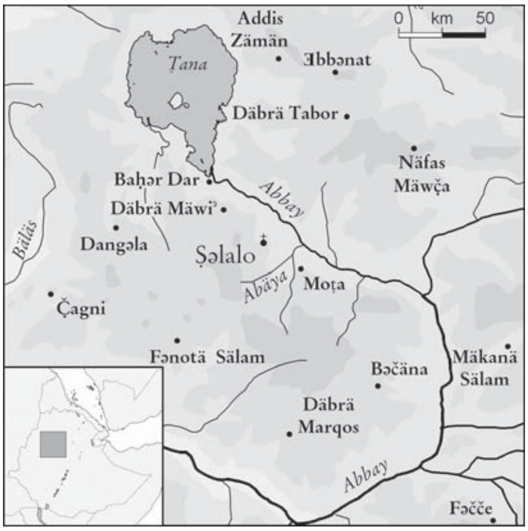
One of the earliest references to the church is that by Nəwayä Maryam, a monk from Ṣ. who on 2 June 1038 or 1114 headed to the Holy Places (cp. EAE 2, 243).

During the early modern period, the area and monastery of Ṣ. were frequently the scene of important historical episodes. Towards 10 August 1563 the young ↗Śärṣ̌ä Dəngəl and his brother Fiqṭor, fleeing the persecution of Ḥarbo, took refuge at Ṣ. The brothers stayed there for three weeks hosted by the abbot ᶜƎfrätä Giyorgis (CRHist 13f.).

Some time after the 16th or 17th cent., Ṣ. seems to have been included in the "northern" monastic network. A church called Ṣəᶜəlalo appears among the fiefs of ↗Aksum Ṣəyon in one of the documents of *Mäṣḥafä Aksum* (ascribed to ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa, CRAxum doc. II, 1; also BruNile III, 417). A certain *abba* Peṭros of Ṣ. appears in several monastic genealogies among the followers of ↗Absadi, a disciple of ↗Ewosṭatewos (s. Lusini 2004: 264, 267, 270).

In ca. 1607, *aṣe* ↗Yaᶜəqob sojourned with his army at Ṣ., shortly before he was killed by the army of ↗Susənyos in the battle of Qol near the River Yəbärt (PerChron 66f.). Later, Susənyos himself visited the area of Ṣ. on several occasions (e.g., BecRASO III, 344, 350; PerChron 81).

According to ↗Jesuit sources (not supported by any indigenous source), Ṣ. was one of the Goǧǧam monasteries that embraced ↗Catholicism. The monastery was supervised from the nearby Jesuit residence of ↗Qʷälläla and a number of its monks were active supporters of Catholicism (BecRASO IV, 15). Such was the case with *abba* Zäʾamanuʾel, *abba* Abalä Krəstos (Cohen 2009: 64; BecRASO IX, 445) and *abba* Zäśəllase. The latter was killed by the rebel ↗Śärṣ̌ä Krəstos on 24 May 1631 for refusing to profess the Alexandrian faith (BecRASO XII, 485, 492ff.; VII, 112). Reportedly, during this pe-



riod the monastery possessed extensive estates. In 1647, one *abba* Abalä Krəstos from Ṣ. was part of a small Catholic group of priests and faithful who took refuge in ↗Ṭaqussa (BecRASO XIII, 286). In ca. 1648 the death of one Ləbsä Krəstos, abbot of Ṣ., is recorded (BegCron 50f.).

In 1688, the abbot of Ṣ. Näbiyä Wängel was present at the religious council of ↗Yəbaba convened by ↗Iyasu I (GuiIohan 124 [tr.]). Later, during the reign of ↗Iyasu II the abbot of Ṣ. was one Tewodros, an influential figure in the kingdom. He was made ↗*ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz* and was one of those in charge of bringing a metropolitan from Egypt after the death of *abunä* ↗Krəstodolu III (GuiIyas 126–30).

Towards February 1770, a large area extending from Ṣ. to Qʷälläla was raided by *ras* ↗Mikaʾel Səḥul (BlunChr 6 [text] = 211 [tr.]). Later, towards July 1789, *nəguś* ↗Täklä Giyorgis camped there (BlunChr 185, 467).

The monastery of Ṣ. has a renowned religious ↗*qəne* school which is one of the three *qəne* centres in the country with its own distinct tradition. *Qəne*s which are composed according to the school's model are difficult to understand for the principles taught there prompt the author to use complicated concepts and images.

The church school was founded by Ṣadəqu Yoḥannəs, according to tradition a son of *aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs (*Ḥamär* 1994:23). The founder of the *qəne* school was Täwanäy who was originally from Däbrä Ṭəbäb in Goǧǧam. The reason for the establishment of Ṣ. and other *qəne* centres may have been the war of ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Admasu Ǧämbäre 1970/71:9–13; Academy of Ethiopian Languages 1980:20). Breaking communications between scholars, it disrupted the tradition of consultation in order to standardize *qəne* knowledge.

The famous *qəne* teacher *əmmahoy* ↗Gälanäš Ḥaddis was born in Ṣ., where she also taught for over 50 years. The current *qəne* master of Ṣ. is *liqä liqawənt* Yared Šəfärraw, a famous traditional scholar on *qəne* from the same area.

Src.: BecRASO III, 303, 323; IV, 15f.; VII, 112; IX, 445; XII, 485, 492ff.; XIII, 286; BegCron 50f.; BlunChr 185 (text) = 467 (tr.); BruNile III, 417; BTafA 191, 335, 968; CRAxum 20 (tr.), doc. 1; CRHist 10f. (text) = 13f. (tr.); GuiIohan 120 (text) = 124 (tr.); GuiIyas 116–20 (text) = 126–30 (tr.); GIANFRANCESCO LUSINI, "Per una storia delle tradizioni monastiche eritree: le genealogie spirituali dell'ordine di Éwosṭātēwos di Dabra Ṣarābi", in: UGO ZANETTI – ENZO LUCCHESI (eds.), *Aegyptus Christiana*: *Mélanges d'hagiographie égyptienne et orientale dédiés à la mémoire du P. Paul Devos, Bollandiste*, Genève 2004 (Cahiers d'Orientalisme 25), 249–72, here 264, 267, 270; PerChron 85, 104, 139, 157 (text) = 66f., 81, 107, 122, 281, 289 (tr.).

Lit.: ADMASU ǦÄMBÄRE (MÄLʾAKÄ BƎRHAN), **መጽሐፈ ፡ ቅኔ ፡ ዝክረ ፡ ሊቃውንት** (*Mäṣḥafä qəne zəkrä liqawənt*, 'The Book of *qəne* Memorial of the Scholars'), Addis Abäba 1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.], 9–13; *Academy of Ethiopian Languages* 1980, 20; *Ḥamär* (journal), 1994, 23; LEONARDO COHEN, *The Missionary Strategies of the Jesuits in Ethiopia* (*1555–1632*), Wiesbaden 2009 (AeF 70), 64; *Guida* 387; HuntGeogr 72, 139f., 142, 152, 158, 169, 176, 181, 190, 204, 207, 212.

Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner – Mersha Alehegne

Sinai

S. (Hebr. יניס, *Sînay*, Gr. Σινά, *Siná*, Ar. سيناء, *Sīnāʾ*, Eth. **ሲና**, *Sinā*) is a triangular peninsula in ↗Egypt, to the north of the ↗Red Sea, between the gulfs of Suez and ᶜAqaba. It forms a plateau with several high peaks and a few fertile valleys such as Pharán (modern Firān) and Rhaïthoû (aṭ-Ṭūr or Abū Zanīma) – in Late Antiquity, the seats of important urban and monastic settlement respectively.

Because of its strategic geopolitical position as a land bridge connecting Africa and Asia, this region has been disputed throughout the centuries. In medieval and modern times it was ruled by the subsequent governments of Egypt – Ayyubids, Mamluks and the dynasty of ↗Muḥammad ᶜAlī (s. EAE vol. 5) – and then controlled, like the rest of the country, by the ↗Ottoman Empire. It was later occupied by the ↗United Kingdom (1882–1956) and eventually became part of the Arab Republic of Egypt. Invaded by Israel during the Suez crisis (1956) and again during the Six Day War (1967), it was finally returned to Egypt in 1982, after the Israel–Egypt Peace Treaty of 1979. Across the different ages and circumstances, owing to the patronage of the Byzantine and then the Russian emperors, it remained an important symbol of Orthodoxy (s. Piatnisky et al. 2000).

Mentioned several times in the ↗Bible, both in the O.T. and in the N.T., the S.-complex is one of the most significant religious places for the Abrahamic faiths, the elevations of its southern massif being an early object of veneration: one of them, Mount S. (Ar. *Ṭūr Sīnāʾ* or *Ǧabal Mūsā*), was first identified by ↗Eusebius of Caesarea, in the 4th cent. A.D., as the actual place where Israel entered into a covenant with God after the Egyptian bondage. There, ↗Moses would have received from God the Law for his people

Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai (Egypt), view from south/south-west; photo courtesy of the DSAMS, Università degli Studi di Milano

before continuing on the wilderness journey (Ex 18–40; Lev 25:1–7, 7:38; Num 1–10; 33–49; and esp. Deut 1:6–18, 4:9–14, 5:2–31, 9:8–11) – a subject well represented in Byzantine (Aliprantis 1991) as well as in Ethiopian illuminations (s. ↗Octateuch).

Three biblical passages stage S., more generally, as the place where God "dwells" or whence "he comes" (Deut 33:2, Jud 5:5, Ps 68:9 and 18). Elsewhere in the Bible (Deut 1–28; Ex 3:1, 17:6, 33:6; 1 Kgs 8:9, 19:8; 2 Chr 5:10; Ps 106:9; Mal 3:22), the name Horeb seems to be used for S. (but s. Davies 1979: 68f.). According to St. Paul, S. is "foreshadowed by Agar", the slave, as the "Jewish Jerusalem" vs. the "heavenly Jerusalem", symbol of Christian freedom (Gal 4:24f.). In the extensive Christian pseudepigraphical literature about Moses, his encounter with God is frequently featured: in particular, in a medieval writing known as the *Colloquy of the Prophet Moses with God*, extant in Syriac, Arabic and Gəʿəz (↗*Motä Muse*), itself a translation from Arabic (Zuurmond in StudAeth, detailing the fortunes of the text in the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel tradition).

The identification enforced by Eusebius is clearly attested, between 381 and 384, in the travel book of the pilgrim Egeria (*Peregr.* 1, 2–2, 7, ed. Maraval 1982: 120–29; cp. *Peregr.* 4, 6–5, 10, *ibid.* 140–49). By then, Christian hermits had already settled in S., with several cells near the shrine of the *Bátos*, or "Burning bush", ordered to be built by St. Helena, the mother of Emperor Constantine, at the mouth of a gorge on the slopes of Mount S. This was considered to be the memorial of the theophany of Moses (Ex. 3:1–6; cp. Ac 7:30 and 38). It was here, on the "God-trodden" mountain, that Emperor ↗Justinian I, between 548 and 550/51 or 565/66, built a fortified monastery both for the shelter of the monks from Bedouin raids, which often ended in martyrdom, and for the defence of Palestine, in association with the (too far-away) Roman garrison at Klysma (Qulzum, Suez; s. Davies 1979: 30ff., and Pierre-Beylot 2011: 70–75).

Continuously occupied ever since, the monastery with its basilica was first dedicated to the *Theotókos* ('Mother of God'), the *Bátos* being treated as early as the 4th cent. as a "type" of the Virgin. It was only in the 10th or 11th cent. that the monastery was named after St. Catherine, when the remains of the Alexandrian martyr were miraculously shifted thereto from a chapel on a nearby peak. As a result of the Islamic conquest, the bishop of Pharán moved his seat to the monastery, but by the end of the 7th cent. the area fell to the Arabs, too (s. Pierre-Beylot 2011: 102–13).

Along with its many dependencies (*metóchia*) in the S. peninsula as well as in Cyprus and Crete (on the latter's artistic relations with S., s. Vassilaki 2009: 741ff. and n. 2), Saint Catherine's monastery forms the Orthodox Church of Mount Sinai, headed by an archbishop, i.e. the abbot of the monastery, who is consecrated by the Orthodox patriarch of ↗Jerusalem and, since a few centuries, has been usually residing in Cairo and more or less independent from that patriarch.

The monastery has preserved much of its 6th-cent. original features, including the outer walls and the basilica with the apse mosaic of the *Transfiguration* (the local patron feast) and the fine wood carvings on the entrance door and the ceiling beams (Guiglia Guidobaldi 1998: 691ff.). Thanks to its remote location, the place was untouched by Byzantine iconoclasm, and never sacked. It still houses a unique collection of over 2,000 icons, with extremely rare examples of the 6th and 7th cent. (Nelson – Collins 2006; Gerstel – Nelson 2011), and a library of some 7,000 old prints and more than 3,300 papyrus (s. EAE vol. 5), parchment and paper ↗manuscripts from the Late Antiquity to the Modern Age (Kamil 1970; Meimaris 1985; Hierà Monì kè Archiepiskopì Sinâ 1998): the famous 4th-cent. *Codex Sinaiticus* (S) of the Greek N.T., now divided between the British Library, the Leipzig University Library, Saint Catherine's Monastery and the National Library of Russia, was part of it until 1859. Some 1,200 manuscripts were discovered as recently as in 1975 within the northern walls of the monastery.

Saint Catherine's manuscripts are written in a number of languages, which reflects the variety of people who have lived in S. or passed thereby: Greek (two thirds of the collection), Latin, Hebrew, Arabic, Armenian, Georgian, old Udi (Caucasian), Syriac and Gəʿəz (for the latter, s. Kamil 1957 and 1970: 55, with one 14th- and two 15th-cent. exemplars: no. 6, ↗Psalter [*Dawit*] and Odes. *Hōrológion*. ↗*Wəddase Maryam*, and, resp., no. 4, Prayers, Song of Songs, Psalter [1429 A.D.], and no. 5, Psalms with *Kathísmata* and *Hōrológion*; a 13th-cent. Greek palimpsest on Ethiopic script – for which it would suggest a remarkable antiquity – is reported in Hierà Monì kè Archiepiskopì Sinâ 1998: 88 and 172: ms. M 90, *Hōrólogion*).

S. soon became a centre of Melkite culture, witnessing the activity of such authors as John Climacus, abbot of Rhaïthoû, and Anastasius of Sinai in the 7th cent. The deeds of the S. monks were recorded in several collections (e.g., by Nilus of Ancyra and Ammonius, s. Pierre-Beylot 2011: 76–93). The place of composition of the Greek *Martyrdom of ↗Arethas* (s. ↗Nağrān) is also likely to be located at S. (Fiaccadori 2010): a text for which an Ethiopic version quite different from the well-known *Acts of Ḫirut*, and more faithful to the Greek original, has now come to light (Bausi 2010a: 249ff.). This might also point to direct connections, in terms of literary relationships, between Ethiopia and Sinai – on the way to Jerusalem – in late Aksumite times (↗Aksum), as is more clearly the case for the major work of Climacus, the *Heavenly Ladder* (ca. 650 A.D.). Only the 5th section of this treatise is found, translated into Ethiopic from Greek (most likely at S. itself rather than in Aksum, where the knowledge of this language was already fading by the age of *nəguś* ↗Kaleb, s. ↗Monumentum Adulitanum), in the 14th/15th-cent. ms. EMML no. 1939, fols 102ra–13vb (Beylot 2009: 91–107, cp. Bausi 2010b: 242f. and Fiaccadori 2012, 277f.). A similar connection, next to those with Egypt and the Holy Land, cannot be excluded for the transmission, in later times, of Arabic (Melkite) texts to Ethiopic literature. Likewise, a bilingual (Greek and Arabic) milieu, to be most probably sought in the 8th/9th-cent. Melkite communities of S. or Palestine under Islamic rule might well account for the "Arabian" part of the Life of ↗Gregentios (Fiaccadori 2007: 80 and n. 205).

Ties of Ethiopia and S. might have entailed the Melkite interest in the country that, from the 10th cent. at least, occasionally surfaces in Arabic and Ethiopic sources: as late as 1622 a Melkite monk from S. succeeded in being appointed as "metropolitan of ↗Təgray" (Conti Rossini 1940: 75f. and n. 1). Such ties might well vindicate, however, the presence of new visual patterns, Byzantine in style, appearing, as recently pointed out (Heldman 2007: 101–05), in late 14th-cent. Ethiopian illuminated manuscript: e.g., those produced in the so-called scriptorium of *nəguś* ↗Dawit II, with an impact of contemporary – 13th- and 14th-cent. – Palaiologan models. The same relay might also apply, for the subsequent Ethiopian painting (with Nicolò ↗Brancaleone and his "Italianate school"), to later Cretan icon-production, so massively represented at S. (cp. Vassilaki 2009: 743 and nn. 5–6).

S., the position of which in relation to Alexandria and Cairo should also be emphasized, was a much longed for goal, mainly as an extension to traditional pilgrimages to ↗Jerusalem and the Holy Land, with which it had a special link, as with the acknowledged source of Orthodoxy.

Rock ↗inscriptions and graffiti, also in a number of languages, were scattered by pilgrims and visitors throughout the peninsula along most of the itineraries leading to Ǧabal Mūsā – esp. in the Wādi Ḥaǧǧāǧ, on the *Ḍarb al-arbaᶜīn* ('Forty days road'), the age-old route to ᶜAyla that crosses the Eastern S. (s. Stone 1982, 1992 and 1994). Here a vocalized inscription in Gəᶜəz was found incised on "rock 3" (Puech 1980, ignored in Stone 1992, vol. 2, 158, no. 5129: "unidentified inscription"). The short text has been dated by its editor to the 6th/7th cent. A.D. (Puech 1980). Left by a certain Agaton, "servant of Christ" (*gäbrä Krəstos*), i.e. a monk, from "Däbrä Manzo", it could be much less ancient, as this toponym points to the Lake ↗Ṭana region (cp. Bet Manzo, Ǝgr Manzo, Čeqla Manzo), where Christian communities seem not to be attested prior to the 11th/12th cent. (Fiaccadori in preparation).

The inscription confirms the traditional ties of Ethiopia with S., as reflected also in the name of the island of ↗Däbrä Sina in Lake ↗Zʷay and of the monasteries of ↗Däbrä Sina in Sänḥit (Eritrea, also called Däbrä Sihat, after the Egyptian desert of Scetis), said to have been founded by *abunä* ↗Yoḥanni who came from Egypt under *aṣe* ↗Gäbrä Mäsqäl I, and of ↗Däbrä Sina on the shores of Lake Ṭana (near ↗Gorgora), established by *abunä* Tomas under *aṣe* ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I, as well as of the more ancient church now usually called Betä Mikaᵓel, but formerly known as (Betä) Däbrä Sina, interconnected with Betä Golgota – and mirroring thereby S.'s link with Jerusalem – in the "northern complex" at ↗Lalibäla.

Src.: PAUL MARAVAL (ed., tr.), *Égérie, Journal de voyage*, Paris 1982 [corr. repr. 2002] (Sources chrétiennes 296), 120–29, 140–49; JOHN WILKINSON (tr.), *Egeria's Travels*, Warminster ^{3}1999, 107–14; ÉMILE PUECH, "Une inscription éthiopienne ancienne au Sinaï (Wadi Hajjaj)", *Revue biblique* 87, 1980, 597–601 [not in *RIÉ*]; MICHAEL STONE, *The Armenian Inscriptions from the Sinai*, Cambridge, MA 1982 (Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies 6); ID. (ed.), *Rock Inscriptions and Graffiti Project*, vols. 1–2 and 3, Atlanta, GA 1992 and 1994, here vol. 2, 158, no. 5129; IHOR ŠEVČENKO, "The Early Period of the Sinai Monastery in the Light of its Inscriptions", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 20, 1966, 255–64, pls. 1–18; ROBERT S. NELSON – KRISTEN M. COLLINS (eds.), *Holy Image, Hallowed Ground*: *Icons from Sinai*. [*Malibu, CA*], *The J. Paul Getty Museum, November 14, 2006–March 4, 2007*, Los Angeles, CA 2006 (Lit.); MURAD KAMIL, "Les manuscrits éthiopiens du Sinai", *AE* 2, 1957, 83–90; ID., *Catalogue of all Manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai*, Wiesbaden 1970, 55; IOANNIS EMM. MEÏMARIS, Κατάλογος τῶν νέων ἀραβικῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνης τοῦ ὄρους Σινᾶ ('Catalogue of the New Arabic Manuscripts of the Holy Monastery of St. Catherine of Mt. Sinai'), Athîne 1985; HIERÀ MONÌ KÈ ARCHIEPISKOPÌ SINÂ, Τὰ νέα εὑρήματα τοῦ Σινᾶ ('The New Findings of Sinai'), Athîne 1998 (Lit.); ROCHUS ZUURMOND, "The Colloquy of Moses with God on Mount Sinai", in: *StudAeth* 127–38; ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "The Massacre of Najrān: the Ethiopic Sources", in: JOELLE BEAUCAMP – FRANÇOIS BRIQUEL-CHATONNET – CHRISTIEN JULIEN ROBIN (eds.), *Juifs et chrétiens en Arabie aux V^{e} et VI^{e} siècles: regards croisés sur les sources = Le massacre de Najrân*: *Religion et politique en Arabie du sud au VI^{e} siècle*, vol. 2, Paris 2010a (Collège de France – CNRS. Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance. Monographies 32), 241–54, here 252ff. ("Addendum"); ROBERT BEYLOT, "Un témoin éthiopien inédit du Gradus 5 de Jean Climaque, Collegeville EMML no. 1939, folio 102°–113°", in: MOHAMMAD ALI AMIR-MOEZZI et al. (eds.), *Pensée grecque et sagesse d'Orient. Hommage à Michel Tardieu*, Turnhout 2009 (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Science religieuses 142/ Histoire et prosopographie 5), 89–115, here 91–107.

Lit.: THEOLÓGOS CHR. ALIPRÁNTIS, Ὁ Μωϋσῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους Σινᾶ ('Moses on Mt. Sinai'), Thessaloníki 1991; ALESSANDRO BAUSI, [review of MOHAMMAD ALI AMIR-MOEZZI et al. 2009], *Aethiopica* 13, 2010b, 242–43; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Sulle missioni domenicane in Etiopia nel secolo XIV", *Rendiconti della R. Accademia d'Italia* ser. 7^{a}, 1, 1940, 71–98, here 75f. and n. 1; GRAHAM IVOR DAVIES, *The Way of the Wilderness*: *a Geographical Study of the Wilderness Itineraries in the Old Testament*, Cambridge 1979 (Society for Old Testament Study. Monograph series 5), 30ff., 68f.; ID., "Sinai, Mount", in: DAVID NOEL FREEDMAN (ed.), *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, New York, NY 1992, vol. 6, 47b–49b (Lit.); ROBERT DEVREESSE, "Le christianisme dans la péninsule sinaïtique des origines à l'arrivée del Musulmanes", *Revue biblique* 49, 1940, 205–23; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Gregentios in the Land of the Homerites", in: ALBRECHT BERGER (ed., tr.), *Life and Works of St. Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar*, Berlin 2006 (Millennium-Studien 7), 48–82, here 80 and n. 205; ID., "On the Place of Composition of the *Martyrion of Arethas*", in: BEAUCAMP et al. 2010, 191–96; ID., "Ad Martyrium Arethrae", *La*

Parola del Passato 67, 2012, [2014], 277–78; ID., "Sull'iscrizione etiopica del Sinai" (in preparation); GEORGE H. FORSYTH – KURT WEITZMANN, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mt. Sinai: the Church and Fortress of Justinian*, Ann Arbor, MI 1973; JOHN GALEY, *Sinai and the Monastery of St. Catherine*, London 1979; SHARON E.J. GERSTEL – ROBERT S. NELSON, *Approaching the Holy Mountain: Art and Liturgy at St. Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai*, Turnhout 2011 (Cursor mundi 11); ALESSANDRA GUIGLIA GUIDOBALDI, "Sinai", in: *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale*, vol. 10, Roma 1999, 691–98; MARILYN E. HELDMAN, "Metropolitan Bishops as Agents of Artistic Interactions between Egypt and Ethiopia during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries", in: COLUM HOURIHANE (ed.), *Interactions: Artistic Interchange between the Eastern and Western Worlds in the Medieval Period*, Princeton, NJ – Philadelphia, PA 2007 (Index of Christian Art. Occasional Papers 9), 84–105, here 101–05; ERNEST W. NICHOLSON, *Exodus and Sinai in History and Tradition*, Oxford 1973; LOTHAR PERLITT, "Sinai und Horeb", in: HERBERT DONNER – ROBERT HANHART – RUDOLF SMEND (eds.), *Beiträge zur Alttestamentlichen Theologie*, Göttingen 1977, 302–22; MARIE-JOSEPH PIERRE-BEYLOT, "Raïthou, Pharan, la Sainte Montagne et les trois Moïse: Eléments d'histoire monastique à l'époque de Jean Climaque", in: FLORENCE JULLIEN – MARIE-JOSEPH PIERRE (eds.), *Monachismes d'Orient: Images, échanges, influences. Hommage à Antoine Guillaumont*, Turnhout 2011 (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Science religieuses 148/Histoire et prosopographie 6), 65–122, here 70–93, 102–13 (Lit.); YURI PIATNISKY – ORIANA BADDELEY – EARLEEN BRUNNER – MARLIA MUNDELL MANGO (eds.), *Sinai, Byzantium, Russia. Orthodox Art from the Sixth to the Twentieth Century: the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, June–September 2000, the Courtauld Gallery, London, October 2000–February 2001*, London 2000 (Lit.); MARIA VASSILAKI, "Commissioning Art in Fifteenth-century Venetian Crete: the Case of Sinai", in: CHRYSSA MALTEZOU – ANGELIKI TZAVARA – DESPINA VLASSI (eds.), *I Greci durante la Venetocrazia: Uomini, spazio, idee (XIII–XVIII sec.). Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Venezia, 3–7 dicembre 2007)*, Venezia 2009 (Istituto Ellenico di studi bizantini e post-bizantini di Venezia. Convegni 13), 741–48, here 741ff. and nn. 2, 5–6; KURT WEITZMANN, *Studies in the Arts at Sinai*, Princeton, NJ 1982 (Princeton Series of Collected Essays).

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Sinoda

Abba S. (**ሲኖዳ**; fl. first half 15th cent.) was the founder of Däbrä Ṣəmmuna (BassÉt I, 352; PerChron 16), a monastery located in eastern ↗Goǧǧam, close to ↗Däbrä Wärq (Conti Rossini 1894: 47; TadTChurch 202).

The only source on S.'s life is his Vita (↗*gädl*; attested in an uncatalogued manuscript in ↗Dima Giyorgis, fols. 1–25), which is still unpublished.

In the 20th-cent. manuscript EMML no. 1601, S.'s *gädl* is mentioned in a list of 652 books as part of a group of "Acts of Ethiopian Saints" (fols. 14r–16r). The manuscript was allegedly written by a certain *däbtära*, probably *liqä ṭäbbäbt* Aklilä Bərhan Wäldä Qirqos, who seems to have visited remote churches and monasteries. It is, however, uncertain if he really read S.'s Vita – as with the other books listed – or if he simply copied the list found in the margins of some manuscripts (cp. EMML V, 81–87).

According to the manuscript of Dima Giyorgis (TadTChurch 202, n. 2, 303), S. was born in ↗Wäǧ, in Šäwa, and received traditional education at a monastery on Lake ↗Zʷay, where he was later ordained monk. Traditions collected in Däbrä Wärq associate S. with Ǝndrəyas, a disciple of ↗Gäbrä Iyäsus of ↗Däbrä San. However, S.'s Vita contains no references to Däbrä San: it only states that S. was a disciple of Ǝndrəyas of Zʷay (fol. 3r; TadTChurch 217, n. 1).

S. moved to Goǧǧam during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Yəsḥaq, where he established Däbrä Ṣəmmuna. Later on, during the reign of Ḥəzbä Nañ (↗Täklä Maryam), he was involved in the conflict of succession between Ḥəzbä Nañ and his younger brother *aṣe* ↗Zärʾa Yäʿəqob: S. was accused by the king of being a supporter of Zärʾa Yäʿəqob and to favour the latter's accession to the throne. S. was consequently exiled to the island of ↗Däq in Lake ↗Ṭana where he died after being tortured and having his hands and feet amputated (ms. Dima Giyorgis, fols. 20–21; TadTChurch 202, n. 4, 278f.; Taddesse Tamrat in PICES 4, 514f.).

Src.: ms. Dima Giyorgis, *Gädlä abunä Sinoda*; ms. EMML no. 1601 [EMML V, 81–87]; BassÉt I, 352; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Catalogo dei nomi proprî di luogo dell'Etiopia contenuti nei testi giʿiz ed amhariña finora pubblicati", in: *Estratto degli Atti del Primo Congresso Geografico Italiano*, Genova 1894, 47; DillmLex 1271f.; PerChron 16.

Lit.: KinBibl 90, no. 143; OSVALDO RANIERI, "Sinodā di Dabra Ṣemmunā", in: *EncSan*, vol. 2, 1055; TADDESSE TAMRAT, "Problems of Royal Succession in Fifteenth Century Ethiopia: a Presentation of the Documents", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 501–35, here 514f.; TadTChurch 202, 217, 278f., 303.

Vitagrazia Pisani

Smith, Arthur Donaldson

S. (b. 27 April 1866, Andalusia, PA, d. 16 February 1936, Philadelphia, PA) was an American physician, big game hunter (↗Hunting) and explorer. In 1895 he headed a self-sponsored expedition to reach Lake ↗Turkana (then Lake Rudolf). This expedition was the first to access

Arthur Donaldson Smith; from Smith, 1897: frontispiece

the lake from a northern (Ethiopian) direction. Previous expeditions like those of Count Teleki and ↗Höhnel approached the lake from the southern (Kenyan) side.

S. was born into a wealthy American family of German descent. In 1881 he enrolled at the University of Pennsylvania and later studied chemistry at Johns Hopkins University. In 1889 he graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in medical studies. After this, he undertook postgraduate studies at the University of Heidelberg in Germany. He practised as a surgeon in Pennsylvania until the death of his father, after which he began using the wealth inherited to follow international hunting trips (cp. Imperato 1998: 104ff.).

S.'s first encounter with Africa was through an invitation to a hunting trip to ↗British Somaliland with William Lord Smith (Smith 1897: 1ff.). S. used this trip to evaluate the pre-conditions for an expedition into the Northeast African interior "to pass through the country laying between Somaliland and Lake Rudolf" (Smith 1897: 2). Eventually, in 1884, this expedition took him from ↗Zaylaᶜ to ↗Berbera and then inland via ↗Hargeisa, crossing the ↗Wabi Šäbälle, through ↗Bale across ↗Šayḫ Ḥusayn towards the ↗Omo River. The Royal Geographical Society supported his journey with some instruments for scientific purposes, and S. hired the British taxidermist Edward Dodson to gather specimens on the way.

S.'s journey was blocked by the men of *däǧǧazmač* ↗Wäldä Gäbrəᵓel at Šayḫ Ḥusayn, whom S. then visited in his residence in ↗Ginnir to negotiate a trespass through Abyssinian controlled territory (for a description of the court of the *däǧǧazmač* s. Smith 1897, ch. 5). Waiting for consultation of his case and a letter of *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II he visited and described the caves of ↗Soof Omar, which he named "Caves of Wyndlawn" (Smith 1897: 88). Mənilək's letter was negatively misinterpreted by Wäldä Gäbrəᵓel, and S. was ordered to go back. In reality, Mənilək only advised S. to postpone his travels, since the Emperor was about to go on an expedition to the Turkana region and feared S. would get between the lines of fire (the letter is reprinted in Smith 1897: 103). S. thus changed his initial route, went back and took a passage further south through ↗Boorana lands.

S.'s account is a vivid one, sometimes the ethnographic relevance is blurred with misinterpretations (e.g., about the pygmy "Dume") and adventure and hunting scenes. Nonetheless, his travel report offers interesting insights into the politics of the expanding Ethiopian empire and the peoples he encountered, such as the Boorana and ↗Arbore.

One of the endeavours of S.'s journey was to clarify the question whether the Omo fed the Turkana Lake which was not resolved even on S.'s second journey from Turkana to the Nile valley in 1900 (for S.'s conclusions cp. also Imperato 1998: 117).

S.'s rich ethnographic, zoological and geological collection is preserved by the University of Pennsylvania Museum and the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia.

Today "Mount Smith" (Ğimša) is the only physical reminder of S.'s travels.

Src.: Arthur Donaldson Smith, "Expedition through Somaliland to Lake Rudof", *Geographical Journal* 8, 1896, 221–39; Id., *Through Unknown African Countries*: *the First Expedition from Somaliland to Lake Lamu*, London — New York 1897, frontispiece (ill.) et passim; Id., "An Expedition between Lake Rudolf and the Nile", *Geographical Journal* 16, 1900, 600–25.

Lit.: Pascal James Imperato, *Arthur Donaldson Smith and the Exploration of Lake Rudolf*, New York 1987, passim; Id., Quest *for the Jade Sea, Colonial Competition around an East African Lake*, Boulder, CO 1998, s. index; David Turton, "Explorations in the Lower Omo Valley", in: Maria Caravaglios (ed.), *L'Africa ai tempi di Daniele Comboni*, Roma 1983, 202–16; Ludwig von Höhnel, "The Lake Rudolf Region: its Discovery and Subsequent Exploration, 1888–1909, Part II", *Journal of the Royal African Society* 37, 147, 1938, 206–26.

Alexander Meckelburg

Soba Noba

S.N. (**ሶባ ፡ ኖባ**) is a composite assonant denomination created by Ethiopian popular tradition and interpreted with different meanings. It is attested: (1) in two passages of the ↗*Kəbra nägäśt* as a place-name (BezKebr 109 [text]) and as a toponym (Soba, the capital of the kingdom of ᶜAlwa, in Southern ↗Nubia) and an ethnonym (↗Noba) (BezKebr 127 [text]); (2) in two passages of the Ethiopic legend of the ↗Maccabees as a toponym (Horovitz 1905–06: 224 and 225); (3) in a 15th-cent. polemic writing, reported by Páez, where St. Mark is called "master of Nobâ and Sobâ and of Ethiopia" (BecRASO II, 49); (4) in Ethiopia's geographic description provided by Bermudez (16th cent.), where it is called "Çubia Nubia" and is located "to the west of Dämbəya" (Bermudez 1875: 114); (5) in the *Gädlä* ↗*Yoḥanni of Däbrä ᶜAśa* as a toponym, while hinting at Ethiopian expeditions against *bəḥerä Noba wäsaba*, 'the land of Noba and Saba', most plausibly Soba (Basset 1885: 443, s. Fiaccadori 1992: 17f. n. 52).

S.N. is also attested in a proverb widespread in the northern provinces of Təgray: "[time of] Qiyat Miyat elapsed; [time of] Soba Noba elapsed; [time of] Bäläw Käläw elapsed! Times are different now". According to some Təgrayan traditions, the proverb refers to the first groups that ruled over the country, before the Təgrayan people (Conti Rossini 1912: 365ff.).

Furthermore, S. and N. are known from an episode narrated in the late recension of *Gädlä* ↗*Afṣe* as two brothers of Sabaean origin who ruled over Ethiopia (a story somehow parallel to, or reminiscent of, that of ↗Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa). In the Year of the World 3510 (1990 B.C.), they built their residence in ↗Yəḥa: a big stone-wall tower covered with gold, silver and precious stones. Some time later, to efface the memory of the two brothers, the people of Kusa, sons of Kam, destroyed the tower (Schneider 1985: 109).

Src.: Rene Basset, "Vie d'Abbâ Yohanni", *Bulletin de Correspondence Africaine* 5–6, 1884, 433–53; BecRASO II–III; João Bermudez, *Breve relação da embaixada que o patriarcha D. João Bermudez trouxe do Imperador da Ethiopia* …, Lisboa 1875; BezKebr 109, 127 (text); Josef Horovitz, "Das äthiopische Maccabäerbuch", *ZA* 19, 1905–06, 194–233; Roger Schneider, "Les Actes d'Abba Afṣē de Yeḥa", *AE* 13, 1985, 105–18, here 109.

Lit.: Carlo Conti Rossini, "Piccoli studi etiopici", *ZA* 27, 1912, 358–78, here 365–68 (§ 2. "Sobā Nobā nella tradizione abissina"); Gianfranco Fiaccadori, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992 (Biblioteca di «Felix Ravenna» 7), 17f. n. 52.

Antonella Brita

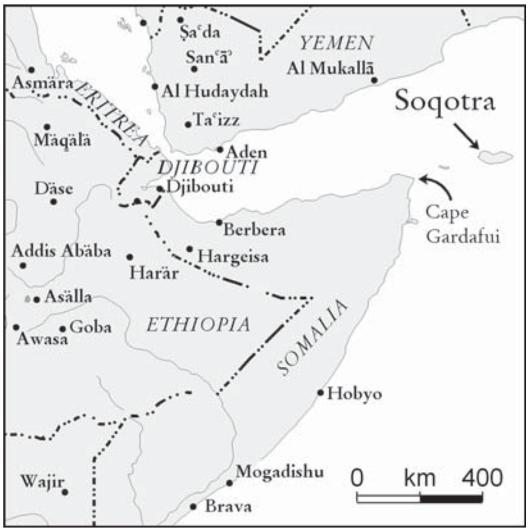
Soqotra

S. (also Socotra, Suquṭra, Suqaṭrāʾ, Suqūṭarāʾ, Usquṭrā; 12° 30' 36" N, 53° 55' 12" E) is a small archipelago of four islands in the Indian Ocean, today part of the Republic of ↗Yemen. The largest island, also called S., lies 230 km east of Cape ↗Gardafui and about 400 km south of the Arabian Peninsula. The three smaller islands are ᶜAbd al-Kūrī, Samha and Darsa. The larger island extends 133 km from east to west and 49 km from south to north and has a surface of 3,600 km². The highest elevations in the Hağeher mountains, in the centre of the island, reach 1,500 m A.S.L. The bulk of the population lives along the northern coast, within its capital Ḥadibū and a few cultivated areas. In 2004 the population of the island was 43,000, largely living from date harvesting, fishing and animal husbandry (Naumkin 1993; Guébourg 1998; Wranik 1999).

Due to its isolation, the island has developed a biodiversity unique in the Arabian Sea. Botanical field surveys indicate that 307 out of the 825 (37 %) plant species on S. are endemic. Its special fauna and flora were the source of products and essences that were highly valued in the past: dragon's blood (also called cinnabar), aloe, ↗zibeth, ambergris, incense and nacre (obtained from turtle carapaces; Simeone-Senelle 1994).

The natives of S. speak Suquṭri, one of the Modern South Arabian languages (Porkhomovsky 1995). The old name of the island in the local languages (Ḥaḍramī and Sabaic) could have been S³KRD, which is found in two 6th cent. A.D. inscriptions among the titles of the Yazʾanides (BR-Yanbuq 47/5–6 and CIH 621/5), a princely lineage of the ↗Ḥaḍramawt that dominated Ḥaḍramawt and Mahra (Müller 1884–91, col. 714; Robin 2012: 443–46).

Non-Arabic sources refer to S. as *Dioskoridēs*, thus not so dissimilar from S³KRD (↗*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* §§ 30–31 [tr. Casson 1989]; Ptolemaeus VI, 7, 45, VIII, 22, 17 [Ptolemaeus 1843]; ↗Cosmas Indicopleustes [ed. Wolska-Conus 1973: 65]; Stephanus of Byzantium [ed. Meineke 1849: 233]; Pliny the Elder [tr. Rackham 1969: 153]; Ammianus Marcellinus [tr. Rolfe 1940]



XXIII, 6, 47). The name Dioskoridēs could be a hellenized form of S³KRD or *ḏ-S³KRD (modern places in S. are similarly preceeded by the prefix *di*), which would be further supported by local traditions reporting of two brothers recalling the story of the *Dioskouroi*. Similarly, in Arabic the dragon's blood is called "blood of the two brothers" (*damm al-aḫawayn*) and the two islands west of S., Samha and Darsa, are called the "Brothers" (alternatively also the "Sisters") (Hugh Scott et al. 1949: 609 and images 353–54). Such identification must have been helped by the fact that the apparition of the two twin stars, Castor and Pollux, was seen as a favourable omen for navigation. Another, less likely etymology, would derive the name from Sanskrit *Dvipa sukhatara* ('happy island'; cf. Tkatsch 1913–34: 497). Yet, there is no mention of such an island in Indian literature (Strauch 2012: 397–403).

The island might have also been known by other names in the past. In Agatharchides of Cnidus the S. archipelago is called "lucky islands" (*nêsoi eudáimones*; ed. Burstein 1989: 5, 105, 169). Some scholars have also identified S. with the mythological island of the phoenix, called *A-a-penenka* or *Pa-anch* ('island of the Genius') in Egyptian or *Pancheia* in Greek (cf. Tkatsch 1913–34: 498; Ziegler 1949). S. was also identified with the island of Dibous, the homeland of Theophilos the Indian (Philostorgius [ed. Bidez-Winkelmann 1972] III, 4–6). But this hypothesis is rendered difficult by the fact that all the sources from the Christian era (↗Christianity) refer to the island as *Dioskoridēs*. Dibous has been alternatively identified with the Maldives (Fiaccadori 1992: xvi et passim) or Dēb, in the estuary of the Indus (Tardieu 1994: 61f. and nn. 11 and 13).

Two ancient texts shed light on the early settlements on S. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* informs that the inhabitants of S. were settlers of Arabic, Indian and Greek origin and concentrated in the north of the island (Casson 1989, § 30). The island was under the kingdom of Ḥaḍramawt and trade was carried on with the ports of "Mouza" (Mocha) and "Limyrikè" and "Barygaza" (both near modern Mumbay) (Cuvigny 2010).

In the 6th cent. Cosmas Indicopleustes related that "the inhabitants, settlers who came with the Ptolemeans, successors of Alexander of Macedonia, speak Greek; there are priests ordained in Persia and sent to these regions as well as many Christians" (Wolska-Conus 1973: 65). Later references to a Christian presence on the island date to the 10th cent., with the Yemenite writer al-Ḥasan al-Hamdānī (ed. Müller 1884–91: 52f.), and the end of the 13th cent., with Marco ↗Polo. Polo added that the archbishop stayed in "Baudac [= Baghdad]", which would indicate that the island was under the Nestorian church (ed. Moule – Pelliot 1989, § 191; cf. also Ibn al-Muǧāwir, ed. Löfgren 1951–54: 266; Smith 1985). In the 16th cent. some Christian communities might still have existed but in the course of the 17th cent. they converted to Islam (Pereira 1923; cf. also Beckingham 1983; Müller 1999, 2001).

Until the recent findings at the cave of Ḥōq, the island's archaeological heritage was believed to be modest. These comprise tombs, some ruins and rock paintings (↗rock art; Doe 1992; Naumkin – Sedov 1993; Weeks et al. 2002). None of the ruins could be identified as a church, with the exception of a building that could have been a Portuguese church.

In 2000, the Belgian Socotra Karst Project-team directed by Peter De Geest explored the cave of Ḥōq, near the northeastern coast (Robin – Gorea 2002; Dridi 2002; 2012). The cave comprises two connecting galleries. In the first, remains of pottery and charcoal were found. The second produced more important findings, including a wooden tablet 50 cm x 20 cm, on which a text of 11 lines was written in the Palmyrene language and dating to July 258 (25 *Tammûz* 569; Gorea 2012); dozens of graffiti and signs produced on the rock and stalactites with the help of stones and charcoal; and about 20 incense burners and other tools.

The majority of the ↗inscriptions found at Ḥōq use Indian scripts (Strauch – Bukharin 2004; Strauch 2012) whilst about ten appear to be written in ↗Gə^{c}əz. Another ten are written in South Arabian (↗Epigraphic South Arabian) and four in Greek (Robin 2012; Bukharin 2012). Most of the texts are personal names. The findings date to ancient times and none is in Arabic or refers to Islam. They would have been produced over several centuries. A graffito in the Ḥaḍramī language is written in boustrophedon (from right to left in the first line and left to right in the second), which seems to point to an early date of composition.

Three Gə^{c}əz graffiti can be read: 'It is written: Blessed', *ṣḥ*(*f*)|*bṣ́*^{c} (2:25); *bṣ́*(^{c})|*ṣḥ*(*f*) (2:27); and (*ṣ*)*ḥf*|*bṣ́*^{c} (2:34). The interpretation is based either on the inscription of ↗Ham (RIÉ no. 232/7): *bäkä*^{6}*mä ṣəḥuf bəṣ́u*^{c} *zäyətwällä*^{7}*d* ᵓ*əm-*ᵓ*anəst*, 'as it is written: "Blessed he who is born of woman"', or on the *Gädlä* ↗*Libanos* (ᵓ*əsma halläwä ṣəḥifo Bəṣ́u*^{c}*an ḫabä mədrä Dəgśa*, 'since it was written, "Blessed" in the land of Dəgśa': Bausi 2003: 169ff. [text]), which probably refer to the message in the Gospels on the Beatitudes (Mt 5,1–12; Lk 6:20–23). According to this interpretation, these texts would have been written by Christians and at a late date, in the 4th cent. at the earliest. This dating could be further supported by the presence of such phenomena as the alternance *ḍ*/*ṣ́* in the writing of *bḍ*^{c}/*bṣ́*^{c}, which is not widespread till post-Aksumite Gə^{c}əz. It is also in accordance with the name "Petros", probably Christian, found in one of the Greek graffiti. Together with the Palmyrene tablet, the numerous graffiti and inscriptions attest the use of the cave since ancient times. The site could have been associated with cults of the gods and spirits that would have been practiced by visitors in order to gain protection for forthcoming sea journeys.

Src.: [Epigraphical]: BR-Yanbuq 47 = MUḤAMMAD BĀFAQĪH – CHRISTIAN ROBIN, "Inscriptions inédites de Yanbuq (Yémen démocratique)", *Raydān* 2, 1979, 15–76 and pls. 1–5; CIH 621 = CHRISTIAN JULIEN ROBIN, "Qāniᵓ et le Ḥaḍramawt, à la lumière des inscriptions sud-arabiques", in: JEAN-FRANÇOIS SALLES – ALEXANDER VSEVOLODIVITCH SEDOV (eds.), *Qāni*ᵓ: *Le port antique du Ḥaḍramawt entre la Méditerranée, l'Afrique et l'Inde. Fouilles russes 1972, 1985–1989, 1991, 1993–1994,* Turnhout 2010, 403–18 (German tr. by NORBERT NEBES, "VII. Sabäische Texte", in: BERND JANOWSKI – GERNOT WILHELM [ed.], *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*, vol. 2: *Staatsverträge*, *Herrscherinschriften und andere Dokumente zur politischen Geschichte*, Gütersloh 2005, 331–67, here 359–62); Ḥōq 2:25, 2:27 and 2:34; RIÉ no. 232. [Literary]: AGATHARCHIDES OF CNIDUS, *On the Erythraean Sea*, tr., ed. by STANLEY M. BURSTEIN, London 1989, 5, 105, 169; AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *Rerum gestarum Libri*, tr. by JOHN C. ROLFE, vol. 2, Cambridge, MA 1940; AL-HAMDĀNĪ, *Ṣifat Ǧazīrat al-*^{c}*Arab. al-Hamdânî's Geographie der arabischen Halbinsel*, ed. by DAVID HEINRICH MÜLLER, Leiden 1884–91 [repr. 1968], 52f.; IBN AL-MUǦĀWIR, *Descriptio Arabiae meridionalis* …, ed. by OSCAR LÖFGREN, Leiden 1951–54 (Eng. tr.: GERALD REX SMITH, *A Traveller in Thirteenth-Century Arabia – Ibn al-Mujāwir's Tārīkh al-mustabṣir*, London 2008), 266; WANDA WOLSKA-CONUS (ed., tr.), *Cosmas Indicopleustès*: *Topographie chrétienne*, vol. 3, Paris 1973 (Sources chrétiennes 197, 65; MARCO POLO, *Le devisement du monde*: *Le livre des merveilles*, ed. by ARTHUR-CHRISTOPHER MOULE – PAUL PELLIOT, Paris 1989, vol. 2, § 191; LIONEL CASSON (ed., tr.), *The Periplus Maris Erythraei*, Princeton 1989, §§ 30–31; *Philostorgius. Kirchengeschichte* …, ed. by JEAN BIDEZ – FRIELDHELM WINKELMANN, Berlin 1972 (Eng. tr.: *Philostorgius*: *Church History*, ed., tr. by PHILIP R. AMIDON, Atlanta, GA 2007); PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History*, tr. by HARRIS RACKHAM, vol. 2, London – Cambridge, MA 1969, 153; PTOLEMAEUS, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia*, ed. by KARL FRIEDRICH AUGUST NOBBE, Leipzig 1843–45 [repr. 1966]; STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS, *Stephani Byzantii ethnicorum quae supersunt*, ed. by AUGUSTUS MEINEKE, Berlin 1849, 233.

Lit.: ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "«Quando verrà …» (Mt 25,31): su un passo del *Gadla Libānos*", *Aethiopica* 6, 2003, 168–74; CHARLES FRASER BECKINGHAM, "Some Notes on the History of Socotra", in: ROBIN BIDWELL – GERALD REX SMITH (eds.), *Arabian and Islamic Studies, Articles Presented to R.B. Serjeant* …, London – New York 1983, 172–81; MICHAEL D. BUKHARIN, "The Greek Inscriptions at Hoq", in: STRAUCH 2012 op. cit. 494–500; CATHERINE CHEUNG et al. (eds.), *Socotra – A Natural History of the Islands and their People*, Hong Kong 2006; HÉLÈNE CUVIGNY, "Qāniᵓ chez les auteurs grecs et latins", in: SALLES – SEDOV op. cit. 2010, 419–36; BRIAN DOE, *Socotra, Island of Tranquillity*, London 1992; HÉDI DRIDI, "Indiens et Proche-Orientaux dans une grotte de Suqutrâ (Yémen)", *Journal asiatique* 290, 2002, 565–610; ID., "The Archaeological Remains in the Cave Hoq", in: STRAUCH 2012 op. cit. 219–30; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992 (Biblioteca di «Felix Ravenna» 7), xvi et passim; MARIA GOREA, "Palmyra and Suquṭra", in: STRAUCH 2012 op. cit. 447–92; JEAN-LOUIS GUÉBOURG, *Socotra, une île hors du temps*, Bordeaux 1998; WOLF LESLAU, *Lexique Soqoṭri*, Paris 1938; ANTOINE LONNET, "The Soqotri Language: Past, Present and Future", in: HENRI J. DUMONT (ed.), *Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Soqotra Island*: *Present and Future*, vol. 1, New York 1998, 297–308; WALTER W. MÜLLER, "Weihrauch: Ein arabisches Produkt und seine Bedeutung in der Antike", in: AUGUST PAULY – GEORG WISSOWA (eds.), *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Neue Bearbeitung*, Supplementband 15: *Acilius bis Zoilos*, München 1978, cols. 700–77; ID., "Zeugnisse über Sokotra aus antiken und mittelalterlichen Quellen", in: WOLFGANG WRANIK (ed.), *Sokotra*: *Mensch und Natur*, Wiesbaden 1999 (Jemen-Studien 14), 183–93; ID., "Antike und mittelalterliche Quellen als Zeugnisse über Soqotra, eine einstmals christliche Insel", *OrChr* 85, 2001, 139–61; VITALY V. NAUMKIN, *Island of the Phoenix*: *an Ethnographic Study of the People of Socotra*, Reading 1993; ID. – ALEXANDER V. SEDOV, "Monuments of Socotra", *Topoi* 3, 1993, 570–623; FRANCISCO-MARIA-ESTEVES PEREIRA, "La Chrétienté de l'île de Socotora",

Aethiops 2, 1923, 1–4; VICTOR PORKHOMOVSKY, “Modern South Arabian Languages from a Semitic and Hamito-Semitic Perspective”, *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 27, 1997, 219–23; CHRISTIAN ROBIN, “South Arabia, Ethiopia and Socotra”, in: STRAUCH 2012 op. cit. 437–46; ID. – MARIA GOREA, “Les vestiges antiques de la grotte de Ḥôq (Suquṭra, Yémen)”, *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Comptes rendus* 146, 2, 2002, 409–45; HUGH SCOTT et al., *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, [Oxford?] 1946 (Naval Intelligence Division), 207–10, 608–15, fig. 47 (map); MARIE-CLAUDE SIMEONE-SENELLE, “Suqutra: Parfums, sucs et résines”, *Saba, Arts – L ittérature – Histoire, Arabie méridionale* 2, 1994, 8–17; EAD., “Les langues sudarabiques modernes à l’aube de l’an 2000: évaluation des connaissances”, *Israel Oriental Studies* 20, 2002, 379–400; EAD., “Suḳuṭra: Langue”, in: *EI*^{2}, vol. 9, 1998, 806; GERALD REX SMITH, “Ibn al-Mujāwir on Dhofar and Socotra”, *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 15, 1985, 79–92 (repr. in: *Studies in the Medieval History of the Yemen and South Arabia*, Aldershot et al. 1997, III); INGO STRAUCH (ed.), *Foreign Sailors on Socotra*: *the Inscriptions and Drawings from the Cave Hoq*, Bremen 2012 (Vergleichende Studien zu Antike und Orient 3); ID. – MICHAEL D. BUKHARIN, “Indian Inscriptions from the Cave Ḥoq on Suquṭrā (Yemen)”, *Annali IUO* 64, 2004, 121–38; MICHEL TARDIEU, “L’Arabie du nord-est d’après les documents manichéens”, *Studia Iranica* 23, 1994, 59–75; JAROSLAUS TKATSCH, “Soḳoṭrā”, in: MARTIJN THEODOOR HOUTSMA et al. (eds.), *Encyclopédie de l’Islam*, Paris 1913–34, vol. 4, 497–503; LLOYD WEEKS et al. “A Recent Archaeological Survey on Soqotra: Report on the Preliminary Expedition Season, January 5th–February 2nd 2001”, *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 13, 2002, 95–125; WOLFGANG WRANIK (ed.), *Sokotra*: *Mensch und Natur*, Wiesbaden 1999; KONRAT ZIEGLER, “Panchāïa”, in: *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart 1949, vol. 36, 493–95.

Christian Julien Robin

Stone, Charles Pomeroy

S. *pasha* (b. 30 September 1824, Greenfield, MA, d. 24 January 1887, New York) was an American engineer, geographer and military commander in the services of the United States and Egypt. He played a crucial role during the ↗Egyptian–Ethiopian war of 1875–76. As president of the Société khédivale de géographie in Cairo he was responsible for important geographical expeditions which contributed to the exploration of north-eastern Africa.

S., the son of a medical doctor, in 1841 joined the United States Military Academy of West Point from which he graduated in 1845. He started his career as an ordnance officer at West Point where he taught geography and history. Later he participated in the Mexican war, but after 10 years of service left the US Army. He then worked several years for the Mexican government and as US consul in Guaymas, Mexico. In 1861 S. served in the Union Army in the American Civil War during which he was promoted to Brigadier General. After losing the Battle of Ball’s Bluff in October the same year, S. was imprisoned in 1862 for six months without any trial. This ended his military career and is regarded by military historians as being without precedence in American jurisprudence (Irwin 1887). S. was mustered out in 1864 and, thereafter, worked as an engineer.

In 1870, recommended by the US Commanding General, S. joined the army of *ḫidīw* ↗Ismāᶜīl *bāšā* as chief of staff and general aide-de-camp with the rank of lieutenant general (*fariq bāšā*). He also became the *ḫidīw*’s military advisor and in the same year started to train Egyptian staff. S. also established schools for Egyptian soldiers (among them North-east Africans) and their children whom he regarded as an important potential for the future modern Egyptian state. Starting from 1871 S. organized a dozen geographical expeditions to central and eastern Africa. They mapped wide regions, especially along the ↗Nile (Colston 1887; cp. Graves 1879 for a report on the ↗Mağeerteen). After the establishment of the Société khédivale de géographie by ↗Schweinfurth in 1875, S. became a member and later acted as its president.

In the Egyptian–Ethiopian war S. played a central role due to his position as chief of staff, together with several other Americans, such as ↗Loring and ↗Dye. The latter was appointed by S. adjutant general in that campaign and later also in the conflict with the ↗Mahdists.

Especially through his mapping and exploration activities, S. loyally supported the Egyptian efforts to expand into the Nile countries in order to create an economic basis for full Egyptian independence. After Ismāᶜīl had lost power, S. remained in the Egyptian army, now under *ḫidīw* Tawfīq. After Egypt with its dependencies became a British protectorate, however, S. returned to the United States in 1883 where he worked as an engineer on the foundation of the Statue of Liberty.

Src.: WILLIAM MCE[NTYRE] DYE, *Moslem Egypt and Christian Abyssinia, or, Military Service under the Khedive, in his Provinces and Beyond their Borders, as Experienced by the American Staff*, New York 1880, ^{2}1969; CHARLES GRAVES, “Le pays des Somalis Mijjertains, Appendice au rapport fait au Général Stone-Pacha le 4-7-1878”, *Bulletin de la Société khédivale de Géographie du Caire* 6, octobre 1879, 23–37; WILLIAM WING LORING, *A Confederate Soldier in Egypt*, New York 1884.

Lit.: RALEIGH EDWARD COLSTON, “Stone-Pasha’s Work in Geography”, *Journal of the American Geographical Society* 19, 1887, 48–50; PIERRE CRABITÈS, *Americans in the*

Egyptian Army, London 1938, 20, 52, 231; JOHN P. DUNN, “Americans in the Nineteenth Century Egyptian Army: a Selected Bibliography”, *The Journal of Military History* 70, 1, 2006, 123–36 (Lit.); RICHARD B. IRWIN, “Ball’s Bluff and the Arrest of General Stone”, in: ROBERT U. JOHNSON – CLARENCE C. BUELL (eds.), *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, New York 1887, vol. 2, 123–24; WILLIAM BEST HESSELTINE – HAZEL CATHERINE WOLF, *The Blue and the Grey on the Nile*, Chicago, IL 1961, index; ALICE MOORE-HARELL, “The Turco-Egyptian Army in Sudan on the Eve of the Mahdiyya, 1877–80”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 31, 1999, 19–37; EZRA J. WARNER, *Generals in Blue*: *Lives of the Union Commanders*, Baton Rouge, LA 1964, 480f.

Wolbert G.C. Smidt

Strabo

S. (Στϱάβων, *Strábōn*, ca. 64/63 B.C., Amasea, Asia Minor, d. before 23/24 A.D.) was a Greek philosopher, historian and geographer. He was born to a prominent family of Cretan origin, whose members had held a high-ranking position since the middle of the 3rd cent. B.C. Most probably a Roman citizen (his family ranked among the clients of the *gens Servilia*), he studied at Nysa under Aristodemus and later in Rome under Xenarchus of Seleucia and Tyrannio of Amisus. Stoic philosophy deeply influenced S.’s writings, but whether he personally met its leader, Posidonius of Apamaea, is uncertain.

Only a few fragments of S.’s 47-book *Historikà hypomnḗmata* (‘Historical Commentaries’) are extant. His 17-book *Geographiká* (‘Geography’) has been transmitted almost entirely: it deals with Europe (III–X), Asia (XI–XVI) and Africa (XVII) and is the largest such work surviving from classical antiquity.

S. lived for many years in Alexandria (↗Egypt), where he had the opportunity of perusing the sources of his *Geography*. In keeping with the *enkýklios paidéia* (‘all-round education’) ideal, which included both the Stoic principle of universal learning and the Alexandrine idea of erudition as a basis for specialist training, the *Geography* combines mathematics and physics with history and philosophy (cp. Isnardi 1961: 257ff.) and is meant to provide detailed geographical data for statesmen and military leaders of the Roman empire (I, 1, 18).

Although ↗Ptolemy did not know of S.’s work, Marcianus of Heraclaea (in the 4th cent. A.D.) and especially Stephanus of Byzantium (in the 6th cent. A.D.) were familiar with it. It is to the latter age, which witnessed a renewed interest in geographical studies, that such an important testimony of S.’s text as the palimpsest discovered in 1844 and kept in the ↗Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (mss. Vat. Gr. 2061 and 2306) should be probably dated. Excerpts, anthologies and précis of the *Geography* were compiled in Byzantian times (e.g., by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, 10th cent.); the original text was brought to Europe from Constantinople as early as 1423, and partially translated into Latin in 1453–58, its first printed edition appearing in 1516 (s. Lugato 1996: 20, no. XVI).

In books XVI and XVII of the *Geography*, devoted to the Middle East and to Africa, resp. (and preceded by book XV on the Far East), the bulk of the data are on ↗*Aithiopía*, a designation used for such countries of the ↗Red Sea and the ↗Indian Ocean as ↗Nubia and ↗Somalia, but sometimes for Ethiopia proper as well. The significance of S.’s work within the ↗Greek literature on those countries is manifold. In fact it preserves a good deal of contemporary geographical knowledge, but also, along with the author’s own notes, offers a selection of passages on “Ethiopia” from the lost works of his predecessors: Ephorus, Posidonius, Hipparchus, Eratosthenes and Artemidorus, the latter two being of special value for both the “supra Aegyptum” (i.e. beyond Nubia) and the South Arabian domains.

S.’s extensive sections on *Aithiopía* (esp. XVII, but s. also I, 2–5 and 3, 1–10) are intertwined with scholastic interpretations of descriptions found in Homer (I, 1, 3–6; 2, 3; 2, 20–28; 2, 31; VII, 3, 6; XVI, 4, 27), whose authority in geographical matters is very much emphasized by S. Noteworthy is, in particular, his commentary on the remote Homeric “Ethiopians”, living at the edge of the inhabited earth and “sundered in twain, the farthermost of men” (*Od.* I, 23). S. introduces several contemporary explanations for this image (I, 2, 20–28):

1) there actually are two different groups of “Ethiopians” in two different worlds (our own and a presumed one in the southern hemisphere), separated on the Equator by the Ocean;

2) the Indians (↗“India” is used as a name of Ethiopia) are the eastern, as opposed to the western, i.e. African, Ethiopians (s. Schneider 2004: 533f.);

3) the ↗Nile divides *Aithiopía*, and therefore its inhabitants, into two parts;

4) a distinction is implied between the “Ethiopians” living in the eastern and western parts of “Libya”, i.e. Africa, resp. S.’s own explanation, to

"set the poet [i.e. Homer] free from the charge of gross ignorance" (I, 2, 27), is that the name "Ethiopians" is given to two groups dwelling along the southern shore of the Ocean, yet separated from each other by the Arabian Gulf – which "constitutes a considerable part of a meridian circle" – as if by a river (I, 2, 28; cp. II, 3, 7f.).

S.'s *Aithiopía* has its northern boundaries in the area of Syḗnē (today's Aswān), with the island of Elephantínē in the centre of the Nile (it marked the original Egyptian border to the south), and shows "some continuity" (*koinà mèn gár tina*) with Egypt because of the Nile flowing through both: only the part that "is covered during the floods" (*tò kalyptómenon en taîs plēmmyrísi*) are habitable, whereas "the higher part that is at a greater altitude than its current" (*tò d'hyperdéxion kaì meteōróteron toû rheúmatos*) are uninhabited and desert (XVII, 1, 3). Following Eratosthenes, S. distinguishes *Trog(l)odytikḗ* from *Aithiopía* (XVI, 4, 4). He also focuses on the sources of the Nile (I, 1, 25; II, 3, 3; IV, 1, 7; XV, 1, 19), its stream to the Delta, with the tributary Astaboras (↗Atbara; XVII, 1, 2), as well as on the distances of Ethiopian locations from Egypt (XVII, 3, 1).

S. is one of the few ancient geographers who can claim to have reached the borders of *Aithiopía* (II, 5, 11). He did participate in the failed expedition of his patron Aelius Gallus, the Roman prefect of Egypt (26–24 B.C.) who was sent by Augustus to explore the coasts of Arabia (II, 5, 12). As an eye-witness, S. offers an important account of that expedition (XVI, 4, 22ff.). Yet, it was not his own experience, but the inconsistencies he found in the story of Eudoxus of Cyzicus that led S. to doubt the latter's account. In the 2nd cent. B.C., Eudoxus had attempted to circumnavigate Africa: according to him, on the western Libyan shores the same language was spoken as that of the Ethiopians (II, 3, 4–5).

As to the relationships with the Greek and Roman world, S. records a great increase of ↗trade in his times: from India and "the extremities [*tà ákra*] of *Aithiopía*" Egypt imported "the most valuable cargoes", with precious merchandises "brought down by the Arabian Gulf" and "carried to Coptus" (XVII, 1, 13 and 43, s. De Romanis 1996: 121ff.). At the end of his work he admits that the regions beyond *Aithiopía* are unknown (XVII, 3, 23).

The *Geography* yields information on ↗Napata as "the royal residence of (the) ↗Candace" (*tò basíleion tēs Kandákēs*): the former capital of the kingdom of ↗Kush, it had been long since superseded by ↗Meroë (XVII, 1, 53). S.'s text contains the report of a clash between the army of Queen Amanirenase – actually a Meroitic Candace – and Roman troops (1, 54). As a result, this part of *Aithiopía*, i.e. (Lower) Nubia, was put under the guard of three cohorts, based at Syḗnē (1, 12).

Other aspects of the political history of *Aithiopía* are found only in this work. E.g., the Egyptian pharaoh Sesôstris was "the first man to subdue the countries of the Ethiopians and the Troglodytes" and to "have traversed the whole of *Aithiopía* as far as the Cinnamon-bearing country", i.e. ↗Somalia (XVI, 4, 4f.). Meroë itself, "metropolis of the Ethiopians" (I, 2, 25), was named after the sister (or wife) of the Persian king Cambyses who occupied that area (XVII, 1, 4). Tarkos (i.e. Taharqa), the "Ethiopian" ruler of the 25th Egyptian dynasty (↗"Ethiopian dynasty"), advanced with his army as far as Europe (XV, 1, 6).

Along with portrayals of the country's fauna and flora (XV, 1, 22; XVII, 1, 40, 49; 2, 1–4; 3, 5), and with a notable mention of the ↗papyrus (s. EAE vol. 5) plant growing around a freshwater lake to be found on the Somalian coast (XVI, 4, 14, s. Lewis 1974: 5f.), there are a few ethnographic descriptions of the "Ethiopians" (the term being here broadly understood). S. mentions their nomadic way of life (XVII, 1, 3), their diet, based on millet, barley, grass and even meat and milk (2, 2), the weapons they use, i.e. clubs, ↗spears, bows and raw ox-hide shields (XVI, 4, 4; XVII, 1, 54; 3, 7), and the way they revere their kings as gods (2, 2). The distinctive black complexion of the "Ethiopians" is also mentioned (XV, 1, 24), as are a few other characteristics about them: they go naked or wear small sheep-skins round their loins, and most women have a copper ring through the lip (XVII, 2, 3). A recurrent motif is a comparison between these people and the Indians (II, 4, 7; XV, 1, 13, 19, 24). All such details reflect current Greek conceptions of the Ethiopians, and add to the work's invaluable importance.

In S.'s view, South ↗Arabia, opposite to *Aithiopía*, is shared by four great nations (XVI, 4, 2): the *Minaîoi* (Minaeans, i.e. "people of Maʿīn") on the Red Sea, whose capital is *Kárna* (Qarnaw), the Sabaeans (↗Sabaʾ), with their chief town at *Maríaba* (Maʾrib); the *Kattabaneîs* (Qatabanians, i.e. "people of Qatabān"), near the straits of Bāb al-Mandab, whose king resides in *Támna* (Timnaʿ); still farther east, the inhabitants of *Chatramōtîtis* (↗Ḥaḍramawt), with their city *Sábata* (Šabwa). The region of *Kattabaneîs* produces frankincense (↗Incense), whereas *Chatramōtîtis* is rich in myrrh, and an extremely lucrative trade in these and other spices flourishes there thanks to merchants journeying from *Áilana* (^{c}Ayla/^{c}Ēylāṯ) to the Minaean territory in 70 days; the *Gabaîoi* (Gabaeans, variant *Gerraîoi*) – a prominent group of Minaeans – reach *Chatramōtîtis* in 40 days.

Besides Eratosthenes, S.'s main source here was, avowedly, the 2nd cent. B.C. geographer Artemidorus of Ephesus, whose almost completely lost work included accurate descriptions of the same theme (book VIII). However, these descriptions were no longer applicable at the time of S.: the situation of South Arabian kingdoms had dramatically changed since the disappearance of Ma^{c}īn in the 2nd cent. B.C.

Src.: HORACE LEONARD JONES – JOHN ROBERT SITLINGTON STERRETT (ed., tr.), *The Geography of Strabo*, vols. I–VIII, Cambridge, MA – London 1917–32 (The Loeb Classical Library 49, 50, 182, 196, 211, 223, 241, 267); STEFAN RADT (ed., tr.), Strabons *Geographika*, vols. I–VIII, Göttingen 2002–09; NICOLA BIFFI (ed., tr.), *L'Estremo Oriente di Strabone*: *Libro XV della* Geografia, Bari 2005 (Quaderni di «Invigilata lucernis» 26); ID. (ed., tr.), *Il Medio Oriente di Strabone*: *Libro XVI della* Geografia, Bari 2002 (Quaderni di «Invigilata lucernis» 19); ID. (ed., tr.), *L'Africa di Strabone*: *Libro XVII della* Geografia, Modugno, BA 1999 (Quaderni di «Invigilata lucernis» 7); KAROLUS CONTI ROSSINI, *Chrestomatia Arabica meridionalis epigraphica*, Roma 1931 [repr. 1958], 9–17 (XVI, 4: excerpts in Lat. tr.).

Lit.: ERAN ALMAGOR, "Strabo's *Barbarophonoi* (14.2.28 C 661–3): a Note", *Scripta classica Israelica* 19, 2000, 133–38; ID., "Who is a Barbarian?: The Barbarians in the Ethnological and Cultural Taxonomies of Strabo", in: DANIELA DUECK – HUGH LINDSAY – SARAH POTHECARY (eds.), *Strabo's Cultural Geography*: *the Making of a Kolossourgia*, Cambridge 2005, 42–55; ALESSANDRA AVANZINI, "I regni sudarabici", in: *Il mondo antico*, vol. 1: *La preistoria dell'uomo. L'Oriente mediterraneo*, ed. by STEFANO DE MARTINO, Roma 2006 (= *Storia d'Europa e del Mediterraneo*, dir. by ALESSANDRO BARBERO, 2), part 2: *Le civiltà dell'Oriente mediterraneo*, 691–728, here 696, 698 and n. 4, 720; STANLEY BURSTEIN (ed.), *Ancient African Civilizations*: *Kush and Axum*, Princeton, NJ 1998, 29f., 134f.; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "La città di Deirē ed i due laghi di Strabone XVI, 4", *RRALm* ser. 5a, 29, 1920, 291–98; ID., "Antiche rovine sulle rore eritree (STRABONE XVI, 8; PLINIO VI, 1[7]1)", *ibid.* ser. 5a, 31, 1922 [1923], 241–78, here 241–74; ID., "Comenti a notizie di geografi classici sovra il Sudan Egiziano e l'Etiopia", *Aegyptus* 6, 1925, 5–26, here 5–11, 15–21; CRStor 56ff., 60, 63, 67, 107, 136; FEDERICO DE ROMANIS, *Cassia, cinnamomo, ossidiana*: *Uomini e merci tra oceano Indiano e Mediterraneo*, Roma 1996 (Saggi di storia antica 9), 121ff.; JEAN DESANGES, *Recherches sur l'activité des méditerranéens aux confins de l'Afrique* (*IIe siècle avant J.-C.–IVe siècle après J.-C.*), Rome 1978 (Collection de l'École française de Rome 38), 440 (index); CLAUDIO GALLAZZI – BÄRBEL KRAMER – SALVATORE SETTIS (eds.), *Il Papiro di Artemidoro* (*P. Artemid.*), Milano 2009, 109; IID. – AGOSTINO SOLDATI (eds.), *Intorno al papiro di Artemidoro*, I. *Contesto culturale, lingua, stile e tradizione. Atti del Convegno internazionale del 15 novembre 2008 presso la Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, Milano 2010; ERNST HONIGMANN – WOLFGANG ALY, "Strabon 3", in: *Pauly's Real-Encyclopaedie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 2nd ed., rev. by GEORG WISSOWA et al., vol. 4A, 1, 1931, cols. 76–155; MARGHERITA ISNARDI, "Techne", *La Parola del Passato* 16, 1961, 257–96, here 257ff.; NAPHTALI LEWIS, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity*, Oxford 1974, 5f.; ELISABETTA LUGATO, "Strabone", in: GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI – PAOLO ELEUTERI (eds.), *I Greci in Occidente*: *La tradizione filosofica, scientifica e letteraria, dalle collezioni della Biblioteca Marciana. Catalogo della mostra* (*16 ottobre–5 novembre 1996*), Venezia 1996, 20, no. XVI; MHAksum 47, 174; PIERRE SCHNEIDER, *L'Éthiopie et l'Inde: interférences et confusions aux extrémités du monde antique* (*VIIIe siècle avant J.C.–VIe siècle après J.-C.*), Rome 2004 (Collection de l'École française de Rome 335), 533f. (index); SerHist 48ff., 54ff.; ROBERT STIEHLE, "Der Geograph Artemidoros von Ephesos", *Philologus* 11, 1856, 193–244; AUGUST VOGEL, "Strabons Quellen für das siebzehnte Buch", *Philologus* 43, 1884, 405–16.

Agostino Soldati

T

Tädla ᶜOq̱bit

Lieutenant General T.ᶜO. (ተድላ ፡ ዖቕቢት; b. 1923 ᶜAddi Mängʷänti, near Mändäfära, d. 11 June 1963, Asmära) was a high ranking police officer and resolute advocate for the union of Eritrea with Ethiopia (↗Unionist Party).

T.ᶜO. entered public service in the immediate aftermath of the British military victory over the Italian colonial forces in Eritrea in 1941 (↗War of Liberation). After training at Däqqämḥare police academy, he worked as an assistant to Police Commissioner Colonel Wright during the ↗British Military Administration of Eritrea (B.M.A.). In preparation for the post-B.M.A. Eritrean assumption of command of the police, T.ᶜO. was dispatched to England in 1951 for training, together with six other young Eritreans. At the end of the B.M.A. and the onset of the ↗Ethiopian–Eritrean Federation in 1952, T.ᶜO. was among the highest-ranking officers whose promotion and appointment to active duty, however, was impeded by political wrangling surrounding the Federation.

The first few years of the doomed Federation saw the emergence of two political trends: on the one hand, there were Unionists who advocated complete merger with Ethiopia and, on the other hand, a new group of federalists determined to retain Eritrean autonomy against intensifying Ethiopian interference. Meanwhile, no sooner did ↗Tädla Bayru become the first Chief Executive of the Government of Eritrea than he was accused of nepotism and regionalism. As the Chief Executive became embroiled in political squabbles with the judiciary, opposition parliamentarians, and the all-powerful representative of the Crown, T.ᶜO. openly sided with the Unionists and blamed the blocking of his promotion to Commander of the newly constituted Eritrean Police on Tädla Bayru.

These two realities did not escape to Addis Abäba, which forced the Chief Executive to reinstate T.ᶜO., who then became Deputy Police Commissioner. In September 1955, he succeeded the outgoing Police Commissioner David Cracknell as a full Colonel.

Around the same time, ↗Asfəḥa Wäldä Mikaʾel replaced Tädla Bayru as Chief Executive. With a like-minded Unionist at the helm, T.ᶜO. gained direct access to the highest centres of power in Asmära and exercised unrestrained authority. Held in great awe by his subordinates and the public at large, T.ᶜO. was at the forefront of every major political event in Eritrean politics during his time in office.

He is blamed for harassing non-Unionists during the 1956 parliamentary elections, which helped secure a Unionist majority in the new Eritrean Parliament. He (along with Asmära Police Commissioner Colonel Goytom Gäbräʾəgzi) was instrumental in the brutal suppression of the March 1958 labour strikes across Eritrean towns.

After a spontaneous student protest in September 1960, T.ᶜO. personally interrogated some of the organizers whom he suspected of conspiring with the abortive ↗Coup d'état 1960 in Addis Abäba (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081f.). It is reported that ↗Gärmame and ↗Mängəśtu Nəway had sought T.ᶜO.'s assistance in securing Asmära for the coup, but T.ᶜO. remained loyal to *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I.

Although T.ᶜO. was promoted to Lieutenant General of the police, his position started to deteriorate after the appointment of the Šäwan General ↗ᶜAbiyy Abbäbä (s. EAE vol. 5) as Imperial Representative in Asmära in 1959. After the beginning of the Eritrean armed struggle in September 1961, and the official dissolution of the Federation in November 1962, ᶜAbiyy Abbäbä was appointed Governor General of Eritrea, and T.ᶜO. (like many Eritreans who had previously advocated union with Ethiopia) became redundant to the central government in Addis Abäba.

Meanwhile, T.ᶜO. is believed to have refused to report to the new regional minister of the interior, which put him on a collision course with the new power structure. Against the instructions to report to Addis Abäba for a transfer, he sought to mobilize his subordinates in Asmära. He reportedly started agitating against Addis Abäba, ordering his officers to raise the Eritrean flag, secure the arms depot and prepare for any eventuality. It is rumoured that on 10 June 1963 he even tried to contact the ↗Eritrean Liberation Movement which had been struggling for independence through a "revolutionary coup d'état" with the support of the police. The next day he was found dead in his office with a pistol in his hand.

The official explanation is that he committed suicide, which many dismiss out of hand. Once held in as high esteem by some as others feared him, T.ᶜO. was quietly buried the next day in his home village with a small family funeral.

He was survived by his wife and six children.

Lit.: ALÄMSÄGÄD TÄSFAY, "A Bit of Eritrean History at Bridport, UK", *Eritrea Profile* 11 August 2002; ID., **ፌደረሽን ፡ ኤርትራ ፡ ምስ ፡ ኢትዮጵያ ፡ ካብ ፡ ማትየንሶ ፡ ክሳብ ፡ ተድላ** 1951–1955 (*Fädäräšən Erətra məs Ityopya*: *kab Matyänso kəsab Tädla*, *1951–1955*, 'The Eritrean–Ethiopian Federation: from Matienzo to Tädla, 1951–1955'), Asmära 2005; TEKESTE NEGASH, *Eritrea and Ethiopia*: *the Federal Experience*, New Brunswick, NJ 2005, 102f., 116ff.; KilHDic 340ff.; GERALD KENNEDY NICHOLAS TREVASKIS, *Eritrea*: *a Colony in Transition*, *1941–1952*, Oxford 1960, 125.

Awet Tewelde Weldemichael

Täsfa Ṣəyon

T.Ṣ. (**ተስፋ ፡ ጽዮን**; b. 1508–10, Ethiopia, d. 28 August 1550 [or 1552, s. Euringer 1926], Tivoli), better known by his monastic name Ṗeṭros (hence *Petrus Aethiops* or *Ethiops*, *Ethyops*, 'Peter the Ethiopian', and *Pietro Indiano*, 'Peter the Indian'), was an Ethiopian monk renowned for his activity in Rome, at ↗Santo Stefano dei Mori – as early as 1536, according to Sebastian ↗Euringer's chronology (Euringer 1926). His other names were "Tesfa Zeon Malezo" (i.e. "T.Ṣ. Malḫəzo", as in the autograph note of ms. VatLib Aeth. 16, fol. 61v, cp. GréTisVat I, 65) and "Tesfa Zior Malbazo" (rather a misspelling for "T. Zion Malhazo"), occurring in his edition of the Ethiopic ↗New Testament, and, resp., in his Latin/Ethiopic epitaph of 28 August 1550 (Malḫəzo might be an official title assumed as a [nick]name, *malḥaza*/*-əzo* appearing as an ecclesiastical title, however obscure, in a 1225 document of the Golden Gospel of ↗Däbrä Libanos of Ham, ed. CRDLib 190, no. 7A: cp. Ar. *mulāḥiẓ*, 'overseer'?). This famous epitaph is still visible at Santo Stefano dei Mori (Euringer 1926; CRStor tav. I, fig. 3; Levi Della Vida 1939: 140f. n. 6) and was copied, among others, by Johann Michael ↗Wansleben (cp. Bausi 1991: 20).

T.Ṣ. played a pivotal role in the two-year long preparation of one of the most important Ethiopic ↗incunabula: the Roman *editio princeps* of the ↗Gəᶜəz N.T. His *Testamentum Novum* was printed in two volumes: vol. 1 (with the ↗Gospels, the ↗Revelation, the ↗Epistle to the Hebrews, the Acts of the ↗Apostles, as well as the Mass ritual [*Mäṣḥafä* ↗*qəddase*] and three Ethiopic anaphoras and a prayer, cc. 1–12 not numbered + 1–176) appeared in 1548, vol. 2 (with the other Pauline Epistles obtained only later from ↗Cyprus, cc. 177–226), in 1549 (s. Raineri 2000: 410–14, no. 117; Fiaccadori 2009: 34f.). This work was carried out within the framework of the so-called Catholic reformed circle – inspired mainly by Cardinals Reginald Pole and Niccolò Ridolfi – and its interests in Oriental languages and cultures relevant to biblical studies, and with the assistance of other fellow monks from Santo Stefano dei Mori and such learned men from the Papal Curia as Pietro Paolo Gualtieri, later archdeacon of the Cathedral of Arezzo (Levi Della Vida 1939: 144f. n. 5; Messina 1943: 86f.), Mariano ↗Vittori from Rieti (Wilkinson 2007: 69 and n. 23) and Canon Bernardino Sandri from Cremona (cp. Kristeller 1965: 209).

However, very little information is available on T.Ṣ.'s career and education in Ethiopia. In the Latin part of his epitaph, reportedly dictated by Gualtieri himself, he is labelled as *eremita Aethiopos*, 'Ethiopian hermit', and said to be *nobiliss*(*imis*) *pare*(*n*)*ti*(*bus*) *natus*, 'born to most noble parents' – possibly a topos or a simple boasting. From the remarks printed at the end of each book of his 1548 N.T. edition, it seems that his life was severely troubled by the Muslim wars waged by ↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (Aḥmad Grañ) against Christian Ethiopia (cp., e.g., Petrus Ethiops 1548, c. 110, on Grañ's devastation; for further references, Lefevre 1970, *passim*). In the first colophon of the same edition (c. 6t), as well as in other documents, T.Ṣ. is said to belong to "the monastic family of *abunä* [↗]Täklä Haymanot of [↗]Däbrä Libanos" and ranks as ↗*qomos* ("impensis Petri Comos Ethiopis"). In a brief (*breve*) of 14 September 1548, Pope Paul III styles T.Ṣ. as a *familiaris* of *aṣe* ↗Gälawdewos (ibid. 93); and T.Ṣ. claims to be a "secretary" to this emperor in a 1547 Gəᶜəz letter to his friend Gualtieri (whom he addresses calling himself his "servant") on the progress of the N.T. edition (Guidi 1886: 275). Yet, Gälawdewos ascended the throne in 1540, i.e. at least four years after T.Ṣ.'s arrival in Rome.

T.Ṣ.'s preface to his N.T.'s edition as well as other sources report the fact that he spent a few years as a pilgrim in ↗Jerusalem, which he had reached with two fellow monks. It was only then that he moved to Rome, probably via Venice: following Euringer's sound chronology, this would have been 1536 at the latest, as, in that year, he had already translated the Ethiopic letters brought by João ↗Bermudez on the occasion of his visit to Pope Paul III in order to be appointed patriarch of Ethiopia (cp. Pennec 1999: 211 and n. 39). However, T.Ṣ.'s 1550 epitaph, attributing his death to "a long illness" (*longo morbo confectus*, possibly tuberculosis, s. CRStor 11), says that he spent 12 years in Rome and lived for 42 years, thus placing his arrival in Rome in 1538.

T.Ṣ. was able to finance in full his publication of the N.T. Only too aware of a few misprints in his edition, he rightly attributed them to the pioneering character of the enterprise. In 1549, he also published Gualtieri's Latin translation – reprinted several times thereafter (cp. GréTisVat I, 61f.) – of the baptismal order (*Mäṣḥafä ↗krəstənna*) and of the Mass ritual (this had been already included in the 1548 N.T. edition). The translations were followed by a letter of Gälawdewos to Pope Paul III (cf. Duensing 1904 and Raineri 2005: 79–83, no. 13) and some notes concerning the books T.Ṣ. had already printed (s. mss. VatLib Aeth. 16 and 75, GréTisVat I, 61–65 and 283; cp. also Wilkinson 2007: 70 and n. 29).

An expert in ↗Amharic, Gə^{c}əz and Arabic, as well as in Italian and Latin, the most learned T.Ṣ. afforded constant inspiration for new studies on Ethiopia. He participated in the revision of the Italian version of Francisco ↗Alvares's report that was prepared by the Italian humanist and archbishop Ludovico Beccadelli (Raineri 2007: 13f., 177f., cp. BeckHuntAlvar 110 n. 2) and gave information on Ethiopia to Paolo ↗Giovio. Moreover, the first Gə^{c}əz grammar, with a short historical sketch, written by Mariano Vittori in 1552, draws on information provided by T.Ṣ., who financed the publication of this book, too.

T.Ṣ. was also instrumental both in the definitive establishment of a Vatican hospice for Ethiopian monks and pilgrims under the pope's auspices at Santo Stefano dei Mori and in directing the attention of the Catholic Church to the faith, customs and doctrine of Christian Ethiopians. A few manuscripts owned or annotated by him that were already in Santo Stefano dei Mori (and partly used for his editions) are now kept in the ↗Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: VatLib Aeth. 5, 15, 23, 25 and, resp., 16 (fol. 61v), 68 (fols. 125v–26r, s. GréTisVat I, 20f., 45–61, 116, 127–31 and 65, 249f.; cp. Raineri 2000: 167f., no. 18).

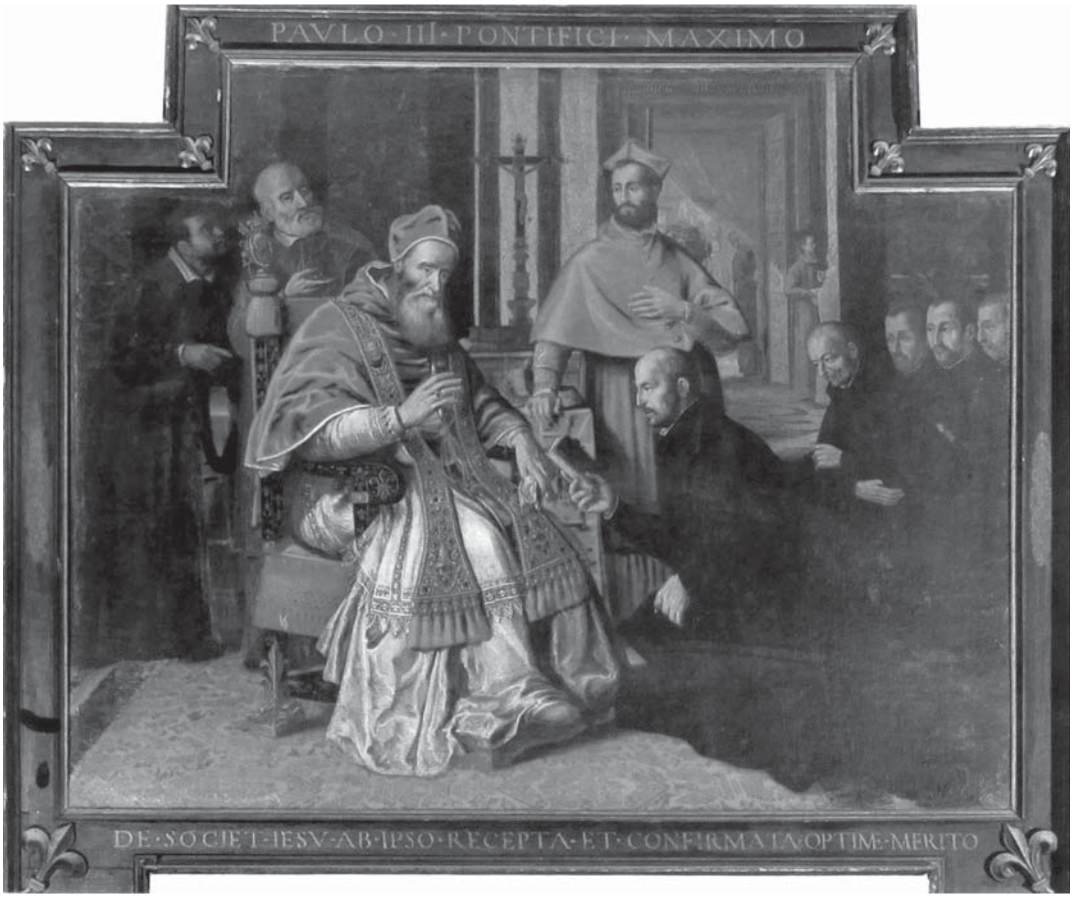
In keeping with his Roman activity, T.Ṣ. also insisted on the need of appointing a Catholic patriarch to Ethiopia and, no later than January 1549, met ↗Ignatius of Loyola, who eventually was to establish a ↗Jesuit mission to Christian Ethiopia (Ignatius de Loyola 1904:304ff., cp. Lefevre 1970:98ff. and Pennec 1999:211ff. and n. 40).

T.Ṣ. enjoyed close relationships with several prominent figures in Rome, including Pope Paul III (whom he tried to persuade to build a temple dedicated to the Virgin and the Seven Angels, i.e. the future basilica of Santa Maria degli Angeli), the pope's spiritual daughter Girolama Orsini Farnese, mentioned as a benefactress of T.Ṣ. in the N.T. edition, and Cardinal Pietro Bembo. With Cardinal Marcello Cervini (later Pope Marcel II) he conceived new editorial projects, which were never realized due to his premature death, as stated in his epitaph: "… perfecturu(s) si vixisset" (cp. Levi Della Vida 1939: 140f. and Wilkinson 2007: 69 and n. 26).

In Rome, he was also in contact with such scholars as the famous Orientalist and Cabbalist (and former Jesuit) Guillaume Postel, deeply interested in "Chaldaean", i.e. Ethiopian culture. T.Ṣ. might well be the *noster Niger* ('our Black [man]') who accompanied him in his 1549 journey to the East, namely to Jerusalem (Kuntz 1981: 99 n. 316, but s. Wilkinson 2007: 68 and n. 21, 114 n. 62).

Before 1548/49, T.Ṣ. befriended the ↗Jacobite priest, Moses of Mārdīn, who was sent to Rome by his patriarch, Ignatius ^{c}Abdallāh of Antioch to procure Syriac printed Bibles. Moses soon established relationships with representatives of the Catholic reformation – besides Gualtieri and Vittori, also Cardinals Pole and Cervini (Levi Della Vida 1939: 142ff. and n. 5).

At Santo Stefano dei Mori, on commission by T.Ṣ. (the senior scholar there), Moses prepared a copy of the Roman Missal in Syriac script, with rubrics in Arabic (now ms. BritLib Harley 5512), and with a colophon, also in Arabic (*ġaršūnī*), fol. 174v, mentioning "Bishop Ṣayhūn [*usquf Ṣ.*, likely to be read *Tasfā Ṣ.*, i.e. T.Ṣ.] the Abyssinian, son of the great Levi(te) prince [*ibn al-amīr al-kabīr lāwī*] <from among> the relatives of the sultan [= king] of the land of (the) Abyssinia(ns)" (Levi Della Vida 1939: 142ff. and n. 5: "figlio del


PAVLO·III·PONTIFICI·MAXIMO
DE·SOCIET·IESV·AB·IPSO·RECEPTA·ET·CONFIRMATA·OPTIM·MERITO

Ignatius of Loyola, assisted by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, presents for approval to Pope Paul III the Formula of the Institute, i.e. the foundational document of the Society of Jesus, 1540. On the left, behind the pope and next to Msgr. Filippo Archinto, then vicar-general of Rome, the black-bearded figure of Täsfa Ṣəyon; anonymous painting in the antesacristy of the Chiesa del Gesù in Rome, ca. 1615–25; photo courtesy of the DSAMS, Università degli Studi di Milano

grande principe Lāwī"; cp. Wilkinson 2007: 68 n. 20). This source actually reports the profession, rather than the name, of T.Ṣ.'s father: a "priest" of princely family – in accordance with T.Ṣ.'s own assertion of nobility, eventually mirrored in his epitaph.

Evidence of T.Ṣ.'s prestigious position is the variety of titles with which he is referred to in the documents of the papal chancellery, such as "professor" and "abbas", while the 1548 pontifical brief (already inspired by Moses?) mentions T.Ṣ.'s appointment to "Comos ecclesiae maioris [i.e. the cathedral] civitatis Mardin, ac Abbatem monasterii Montis Libani [i.e. Däbrä Libanos] totiusque praedictae provinciae Sceua [↗Šäwa]" by an otherwise unknown "Armenian" archbishop named "Martinus" (Lefevre 1970: 93f.; on T.Ṣ.'s activities and acquaintances in Rome, s. Guidi 1886). He also attended the 1549/50 conclave, in which Pope Julius III (d. 1555) was elected.

T.Ṣ.'s historical importance is clearly reflected in his portrait as it appears in two paintings of the Roman churches of Il Gesù (antesacristy, anon., ca. 1615–25) and Santa Maria degli Angeli (chapel of the Saviour, by Giulio Mazzoni the "Piacentino", shortly after 1574) that show him next to the pope. In the former (s. ill.), T.Ṣ. is seen, together with Bishop Filippo Archinto (vicar-general of Rome) and Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, next to Paul III (1534–49) who is receiving for approval, from Ignatius of Loyola, the Formula of the Institute, i.e. the foundational document of the Society of Jesus, in 1540 (this episode seems to suggest a *terminus post quem* for the saint's acquaintance with T.Ṣ.). In the latter painting, T.Ṣ. stands next to Pius IV (1559–65) who is praying before prominent people – among them Girolama Orsini Farnese – connected with the foundation of Santa Maria degli Angeli (ordered by the pope in 1561) and distinguished members of the confraternity in charge of the Saviour's chapel.

↗Bible: Gəᶜəz Bible editions; ↗Ethiopian studies; ↗Philology; ↗Research: historical

Src.: mss. VatLib Aeth. 15, fol. 150v; 16, fols. 1, 61v; 5; 23; 25; 29 (V), fols. 35v–45; 68, fol. 82v (s. GréTisVat I, 20f., 45–65, 116, 127–31, 283, 249f.); BritLib Harley 5512, fol. 174v; CRDLib 190, no. 7A; Petrus Ethiops [Täsfa Ṣəyon] (ed.), *Testamentum Novum, cum epistola ad Hebraeos tantum …*, Romae 1548 [I] and 1549 [II]; Petrus Ethyops [– Petrus Paulus Gualterus] (tr.), *Modus baptizandi … item Missa, qua communiter utuntur, quae etiam Canon universalis appellatur, nunc primum ex lingua Chaldaea sive Aethiopica in Latinam conversa*, Romae 1549; Sebastian Euringer, "Das Epitaphium des Tasfa Sejon (Petrus Aethiops) und seine Chronologie", *OrChr* 16, 1926, 49–66; Alessandro Bausi, "I manoscritti etiopici di J.M. Wansleben nella Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze", *RSE* 33, 1989 [1991], 5–33, here 20 (ms. Magl. cl. III Cod. 1, fol. 101v); Renato Lefevre, "Tasfā Seyon e la concessione ufficiale di S. Stefano agli Etiopi nel 1548", *Debre K. Stifanos* (Città del Vaticano) 8, 15, 1968, 62–64; Id., "Documenti e notizie su Tasfā Ṣeyon e la sua attività romana nel sec. XVI", *RSE* 24, 1969–70, 74–133 (Lit.); Ignazio Guidi, "La prima stampa del Nuovo Testamento in etiopico, fatta in Roma nel 1548–1549", *Archivio della Reale Società romana di Storia patria* 9, 1886, 273–78; Hugo Duensing, "Ein Brief des abessinischen Königs Aṣnāf Sagad (Claudius) an Papst Paul III. aus dem Jahre 1541", *Nachrichten der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen,* Philol.-histor. Kl. 1, 1904, 70–93; Osvaldo Raineri, *Lettere tra i pontefici romani e i principi etiopici* (*sec. XII–XX*): *Versioni e integrazioni*, Città del Vaticano 2005 (Collectanea Archivi Vaticani 35), 79–83, no. 13; Id. (ed.), *La Historia d'Ethiopia di Francesco Alvarez ridotta in italiano da Ludovico Beccadelli*, Città del Vaticano 2007 (Studi e testi 437), 13f., 177f.; BeckHuntAlvar 110 n. 2; Ignatius de Loyola, *Monumenta Ignatiana, ex autographis vel ex antiquioribus exemplis collecta. Series prima: Epistolae et instructiones*, vol. 2, Matriti 1904 (Monumenta historica Societatis Iesu 26), 304ff.

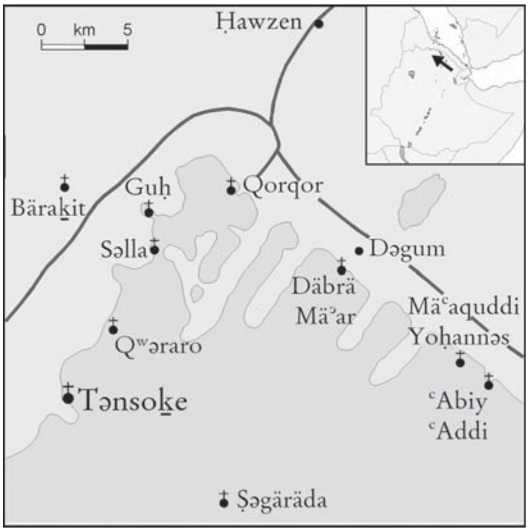
Lit.: Francesco Barberi, "I Dorico, tipografi a Roma nel Cinquecento", *La Bibliofilía* 67, 1965, 221–59, here 237 and n. 26; CRStor 11 and tav. I, fig. 3; Sebastian Euringer, "San Stefano dei Mori in seiner Bedeutung für die abessinische Sprachwissenschaft und Missionsgeschichte", *OrChr* nova ser. 10, 1935, 38–59; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Venezia, l'Etiopia e l'Europa", in: Giuseppe Barbieri – Gianfranco Fiaccadori (eds.), *Nigra sum sed formosa*: *Sacro e bellezza dell'Etiopia cristiana* (*Venezia, Ca' Foscari Esposizioni 13 marzo–10 maggio 2009*), Crocetta del Montello (TV) 2009, 27–48, here 34f.; Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, vol. 1: *Italy* (*Agrigento to Novara*), London – Leiden 1965, 209; Marion Kuntz, *Guillaume Postel, Prophet of the Restitution of All Things: his Life and Thought*, La Haye 1981, 99 n. 316; Giorgio Levi Della Vida, *Ricerche sulla formazione del più antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Città del Vaticano 1939 (Studi e testi 92), 21, 140f., 144 n. 5, 178; Giuseppe Messina, "Un Diatessaron persiano del secolo XIII tradotto dal siriaco", [II], *Biblica* 24, 1943, 59–106, here 86f.; Hervé Pennec, "Ignace de Loyola et le royaume du Prêtre Jean. Project et malentendus", *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Italie et Méditérranée* 111, 1999, 203–29; Delio Vania Proverbio, "Santo Stefano degli Abissini: una breve rivisitazione", *La parola del passato* 66, 2011, 47–61; Osvaldo Raineri, "Tetravangelo. Etiopico" and "Nuovo Testamento. Etiopico", in: Francesco D'Aiuto – Giovanni Morelli – Ambrogio M. Piazzoni, *I Vangeli dei Popoli*: *la Parola e l'immagine del Cristo nelle culture e nella storia*, *Città del Vaticano, Palazzo della Cancelleria, 21 giugno–10 dicembre 2000*, Città del Vaticano – Roma 2000, 167f., no. 18 (ms. VatLib Vat. Aeth. 16; Lit.), and 410–14, no. 117 (*Novum Testamentum* 1548–49; Lit.); Samuel Asghedom, "Contributo dell'Ospizio di Santo Stefano degli Abissini agli studi etiopici in Europa", in: *PICES* 4, vol. 1, 389–404; Robert J. Wilkinson, *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation*: *the First Printing of the Syriac New Testament*, Leiden 2007 (Studies in the History of Christian Traditions 137), 68f. and nn. 20–22 and 26, 70 n. 29, 114 n. 62.

Alessandro Bausi – Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Tənsoḵe

T. (ትንሶኬ) in ↗Gärᶜalta is the site of two ↗rock-hewn churches. They are cut in the southern part of the massif which rises south-west of the road connecting Ḥawzen and Tämben.

The first church was visited by David Buxton and Ruth ↗Plant. According to their report (plan in Plant – Buxton 1970: 206), it is dedicated to the Archangel Michael (Tənsoḵe Mikaᵓel) and is composed of three parts: pronaos, mid-room and



sanctuary. The pronaos, accessible from the west, is rectangular and circa 10 m wide, partly hewn (northern and north-eastern wall and northern part of the ceiling) and partly constructed (western and southern walls, a fragment of eastern wall and the remaining part of the roof). Two openings in the eastern wall (the northern one screened) lead eastwards to a room similar to the pronaos in form and size but entirely cut into the rock. Its southern side is prolonged eastwards by an ambulatory closed from the south by a constructed wall axing the wall of the pronaos. This wall is pierced in the middle by a large, but blocked entry and three windows. The sanctuary is the easternmost room and is entirely hewn. It is accessed by two doors, from the west and from the south. The southern door, with a step, has a framing of Aksumite type. It is possible that on the list of Tewelde Medhin Joseph (in PICES 3) this church appears as the one dedicated to the Four Heavenly Creatures (Tənsok̠e Arbaᶜətu Ǝnsəsa).

The second church, unexplored to date, is dedicated to *abunä* Zämikaᵓel Arägawi (Tənsok̠e Arägawi, s. Plant – Buxton 1970:182).

Lit.: RUTH PLANT – DAVID BUXTON, “Rock-hewn Churches of the Tigre Province”, *EthObs* 13, 3, 1970, 157–268, here 182, 185 [map], 206; RUTH PLANT, *Architecture of the Tigre, Ethiopia,* Worcester 1985, 30 [map], 32, 70; ROGER SAUTER, “Les églises rupestres du Tigré”, *AE* 10, 1976, 157–75, here 166; TEWELDE MEDHIN JOSEPH, “Introduction générale aux églises monolithes du Tigray”, in: *PICES* 3, vol. 1, 83–98, here 96.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Tərdaᵓ Gäbäz

T.G. (**ትርዳእ ፡ ገበዝ**) was a legendary princess connected with the transition from the ruling house of Aksum to the new dynasty of the ↗Zagʷe through her marriage into this family.

A document at ↗Däbrä Libanos of Ham has it that she succeeded to the last Aksumite king, Ḥəzbänay, i.e. Ḥəzbä Nañ, and handed the throne over to the Zagʷe (Conti Rossini 1922:280f.; cp. Huntingford 1965:1). In other versions of the same episode, echoed by Mariano ↗Vittori (Victorius 1522, fol. H = [37]v: “Tredda gabez”, cp. Conti Rossini 1895–96:145–51), she appears as the daughter of Ḥəzbä Nañ and the spouse of a chief of ↗Bugna, the ↗Agäw district the Zagʷe originally came from. Upon her father’s death, she seized power in the interest of her son; she killed all the members of the legitimate ↗Solomonic dynasty but one, who fled to ↗Šäwa, establishing there a branch of the family from which *aṣe* ↗Yəkunno Amlak was to descend (Belaynesh Michael in DicEthBio 162).

The stories about T.G. – sometimes confused with Queen Gudit (↗Ǝsato) in modern scholarship – show a curious resemblance with the well-known and much more detailed lore on Mäsobä Wärq, the daughter of King ↗Dəlnaᶜod, also featuring as the last Aksumite ruler (Conti Rossini 1903:5f. and Id. 1917:707; cp. Belaynesh Michael in DicEthBio 111f.). Under the latter’s reign, in either 870/71 or 975/76 A.D., the kingdom is said to have moved “from Aksum [*Akʷəsəm*] to the land of the east [*bəḥerä məśraq*]”, i.e. to the Lake ↗Ḥayq zone (KurMoa 18, s. TadTChurch 36 n. 3).

According to various traditions associated, again, with Däbrä Libanos, but also with Däbrä Ḥayq, Mäsobä Wärq married one of her father’s generals, (Mära) Täklä Haymanot of the family of Ḥepaṣa (from Bugna), who later defeated and slew Dəlnaᶜod assuming power with the royal name of *Zawge*, sc. *Zagʷe* (traced to a hypocoristic form of a more familiar *Zäwgä Mikaᵓel*, ‘Companion of [St.] Michael’, or a similar name, s. CRStor 305), and becoming thereby the first ruler of this line (SerHist 235f., 242; Belaynesh Michael in DicEthBio 156) – which more likely started, though, in the first half of the 12th cent.

Such a chronology would also be fitting for Mäsobä Wärq, should she actually be the wife of Täklä Haymanot and the mother of his sons: Ṭänṭäwəddəm, Gərma Śəyyum, Žan Śəyyum and ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos (cp. SerHist 242).

Now, the name *Tərdaᵓ Gäbäz*, ‘May the ↗*Gäbäz* [i.e. the Cathedral of ↗Aksum (Ṣəyon) or the Virgin ↗Mary as the latter’s patron] give help’ (Conti Rossini 1922:375), is possibly a war-cry, given as a nickname (Belaynesh Michael in DicEthBio 162); and it has been suggested that it was a byname for Mäsobä Wärq, the two princesses being thus one and the same person.

Albeit confused and uncertain, all sources, however, agree that a woman was instrumental in the transfer of power to the Zagʷe, who based their legitimacy on marriage to a member of the Solomonic family.

Src.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, “La caduta della dinastia Zagué e la versione amarica del Beᶜela Nagast”, *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 31, 1922, 279–314, here 280f.; ID., *Ricordi di un soggiorno in Eritrea*, Asmara 1903, 5f.; ID., “Il libro delle leggende e tradizioni abissine dell’ecciaghé Filpòs”, *RRALm* ser. 5ª, 26, 1917 [1918], 699–718, here 707; MARIANUS VICTORIUS, *Chaldeæ, seu Æthiopicæ linguæ Institutiones*, Romae 1552, fol. H = [37]v; KurMoa 18, 21f. (text) = 15, 25ff. (tr.).

Lit.: BELAYNESH MICHAEL, “Masoba Warq”, in: *DicEthBio* 111–12; EAD., “Täklä-Haymanot or Mära T.-H.”, *ibid.* 156–

57; EAD., "Terdeʾa-Gäbäz", *ibid.* 161–62; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Appunti ed osservazioni sopra i re Zāguē", *RRALm* ser. 5^{a}, 4, 1895, 341–59, here 347, 353; ID., "Sulla dinastia Zâguê", *L'Oriente* 2, 1895–96 [1897], 144–59, here 145–51; ID., "Aethiopica [I^{a} Serie]", *RSO* 9, 1922, 365–81 and 449–68, here 374f. (§ 8. "Sul nome proprio di donna *Terdāʾ Gabaz*"); CRStor 304f.; GEORGE WYNN BRERETON HUNTINGFORD, "'The Wealth of Kings' and the End of the Zāguē Dynasty", *BSOAS* 28, 1965, 1–23 and pls. i–vi, here 1; SerHist 235f., 242; TadTChurch 36.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Theophilus the Indian

Th. (b. 320 ca., d. after 364), also called "the Ethiopian" or "the Blemys" (↗Blemmyes, s. EAE vol. 5), here possibly a derogatory term (for the confusion involved s. ↗"India" as a name of Ethiopia), was an Arian bishop and missionary (↗Arius). His personal circumstances are chiefly known from the surviving fragments of the *Historia ecclesiastica* by his contemporary, the Arian Philostorgius (II, 6; III, 4–6a and 15; IV, 1 and 7–8; V, 4; VII, 6; VIII, 1–2; IX, 1, 3, and 18; s. ↗Historiography: Ancient Greek and Roman Historiography).

Th. is said to be originally from the island of *Dibē*(*s*). This has been variously identified with ↗Diu (on the Cambay Gulf), Ceylon, ↗Soqotra (s. EAE vol. 5), ↗Dahlak, etc., but can more safely be equated to the Arab *Dībā* or *Dīwa Maḥall* (the present-day Malé/Māle atoll[s]) in the Maldives (Malé Diva), off the Kerala coast (for its ancient history, based on scant external reports, s. Fritz 2002: 4f.). Still a young man, Th. was sent as a hostage to the court of Emperor Constantine by his compatriots, also "known as Indians". This suggests that he belonged to a prominent, if not princely, family of *Dibē*(*s*), and was probably sent there in order to guarantee local ↗trade by Roman merchants. At the court in Constantinople, Th. was then instructed about ↗Christianity by the Arian Eusebius of Nicomedia, bishop of that city from 338/39 to ca. 342, who later ordained him deacon. By that time, Th. must have been at least 20 years old.

Th. soon became a confidant of the young Constantius II, who had him appointed bishop at an unknown age and, between 341 and 346 (probably before 344), sent him as an ambassador to the "ethnarch of the Sabaeans", i.e. the king of ↗Ḥimyar, with 200 horses and other gifts. This diplomatic mission took place during the reign of Malkīkarib Yuhaʾmin (*Mlkykrb Yhʾmn*) or of his father Ṯaʾrān Yuhanʿim (*Ṯʾrʾn Yhnʿm*), both known from South Arabian ↗inscriptions. The purpose of such religious diplomacy – indeed part of a wider plan by Constantius himself (cp. Fernández 1989) – was the spread of Christianity in its Arian mould as imposed then by Byzantium (↗Byzantine Empire) on Alexandria (↗Egypt).

During his journey, falling within the first period of hostility between Constantius and the Sasanian emperor Šābur II (↗Iran), and politically aimed at neutralizing any Persian intervention in the region, Th. founded no less than three churches: in Ḥimyar's capital city, *Tápharos* or Ẓafār; in the *Rhōmaikòn empórion* ('Roman trading centre'), i.e. ʿAden (↗Yemen); and in the *Persikòn empórion* ('Persian trading centre') "at the mouth of the Persian Gulf", which is perhaps the old Hurmūz rather than ʿAyn Ḥumrān or Ṣuḥār, both along the coast of today's ↗Oman (s. Clapp 1998:212 and, resp., Bowersock 2004: 264f.). The Metaphrastic version of the *Martyrdom of ↗Arethas* and, earlier, its *Vorlage* (BHG^{3} 167 and 166z) make him an "Orthodox" and the chief evangelizer of South Arabia, from ↗Nağrān to the Persian Gulf.

From the land of the Ḥimyarites Th. then returned to his native *Dibē*(*s*) and to the "other India", i.e. to Malabar, where Arian communities seem to have settled prior to his visit. In his double capacity of legate and presumably bishop, he limited himself to confirming them in their faith ("as they had, since the very beginning honoured the heteroousia", i.e. the Trinitarian [↗Trinity] doctrine denying the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son) and to amending the "liturgical" errors and deformations they had acquired, such as hearing the Gospel and worshipping seated – which is, however, in the Hindu tradition (Poggi 1995: 608).

Later, in the age of King ↗ʿEzana and his brother ↗SʿZN(H) (the addressees of a famous letter by Constantius II, s. ↗Athanasius), and after a second journey to Ḥimyar, "from this great Arabia", Th. "reached the Ethiopians called Aksumites" (↗Aksum), on the opposite shore of the Red Sea. He is unlikely to have attained diplomatic or confessional successes there, where Frumentius (↗Sälama Käśate Bərhan) was already a bishop appointed by Athanasius of Alexandria. Nonetheless, the local diffusion of Arian and neo-Arian elements as well as the inscriptional evidence for an anti-Arian ↗Christology should be carefully evaluated in this connection (Fiaccadori 2003: 251–55; cp. Black 2008: 104–08 and 110).

Th. eventually went on to Antioch, "where he stayed", being held in honour at the court of Caesar Gallus. The latter was put to death in Istria (today's Croatia) by the emperor who, doubting his loyalty, had him come there from Antioch, with Th., in 354.

Banished as a supporter of Gallus, Th. was soon recalled to the Byzantine capital because of his fame as a miracle-worker: at Antioch he had reportedly raised a man from dead; in Constantinople he healed Empress Eusebia from a serious distemper or mental disease. Yet, alternately in and out of favour with the court, he was again banished by Constantius II, who exiled him to Heraclea Pontica in 359/60, on account of the "insinuations" of Basil of Ancyra regarding his deeper involvement in the "plot" of Gallus. These were equally directed against the bishop of Antioch Eudoxios and the neo-Arian theologian Aetius, the founder and head of the "Anomoeans", an offshoot of the Arians that was strongly disliked by the emperor. Th. was doubtlessly linked on both personal and doctrinal grounds; in 360, when he was already a bishop, Th. witnessed the enthronement of Eudoxius and refused to sign the "anti-Aetian" document as exacted by Constantius.

In 362, the exiles having been recalled by Emperor Julian the Apostate, Th. took part in the synod at Constantinople that sanctioned both the return of Aetius, who was immediately made a bishop, and the legitimacy of his creed. Thus, in the time of Emperor Jovian, between 27 June 363 and 17 February 364, "on his own initiative", Th. returned to Antioch in order to obtain the complete rehabilitation of Aetius (d. 365/66). In so doing, by then under Emperor Valens, he brought upon himself and his friend the anger of the local bishop Euzoius (361–76), forced to fight against a strenuous faction of Anomoeans.

Src.: Joseph Bidez – Friedhelm Winkelmann (eds.), *Philostorgios, Kirchengeschichte. Mit dem Leben des Lucian von Antiochien und den Fragmenten eines ariannischen Historiographen*, Berlin 1981^3 (Griechische christliche Schriftsteller 21), 18, 32–36, 44, 56f., 61f., 69, 84, 104f., 116, 125; Symeon Metaphrastes, "Martyrium sancti et magni martyris Arethae", in: Jacques-Paul Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae Grecae cursus completus*, vol. 115, cols. 1249–90, here 1252B (BHG^3 167, §II); François Halkin (ed.), "Le martyre d'Aréthas et de ses compagnons himyarites", in: Id., *Six inédits d'hagiologie byzantine*, Bruxelles 1987 (Subsidia hagiographica 74), 133–78, here 135, 158 (BHG^3 166z, §2).

Lit.: Stephanie L. Black, "'In the Power of God Christ': Greek Inscriptional Evidence for the anti-Arian Theology of Ethiopia's First Christian King", *BSOAS* 71, 2008, 93–110, here 104–08 and 110; Glen W. Bowersock, "The Ḥaḍramawt between Persia and Byzantium", in: *Convegno internazionale*: *La Persia e Bisanzio* (*Accademia Naz. dei Lincei, 14–18 ottobre 2002*), Roma 2004 (Atti dei convegni lincei 201), 263–73, here 264f.; Nicholas Clapp, *The Road to Ubar*: *Finding the Atlantis of the Sands*, Boston, MA 1998, 212; Riccardo Contini [review of Fiaccadori 1992], *Quaderni di studi arabi* 12, 1994 [publ. 1995], 217–21; Marina Detoraki, "La métaphrase du Martyr de S. Aréthas (*BHG* 166y): Entre les Actes anciens (*BHG* 166) et Syméon Métaphraste (*BHG* 167)", *ABoll* 120, 2002, 72–100; Albrecht Dihle, "Die Sendung des Inders Theophilos", in: Peter Steinmetz (ed.), *Politeia und Res publica*: *Beiträge zum Verständnis von Politik, Recht und Staat in der Antike – Dem Andenken Rudolf Starks gewidmet*, Wiesbaden 1969 (Palingenesia 4), 330–36; Id., "L'ambassade de Théophile l'Indien ré-examinée", in: Toufic Fahd (ed.), *L'Arabie préislamique et son environnement historique et culturel*: *Acts du colloque de Strasbourg, 24–27 Juin 1982*, Leiden 1987 (Travaux du Centre des recherche sur le Proche-Orient et la Grèce antiques 10), 461–68; Wilhelm Ensslin, "Theophilos der Inder", in: *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 2. Reihe, vol. 5, Stuttgart 1934, 2167–68; Gonzalo Fernández, "The Evangelizing Mission of Theophilus 'The Indian' and the Ecclesiastical Policy of Constantius II", *Klio* 71, 1989, 361–66; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, *Teofilo Indiano*, Ravenna 1992 (Biblioteca di «Felix Ravenna» 7; Lit.); Id., "Un'epigrafe greca aksumita (*RIÉth* 274)", in: Vincenzo Ruggieri – Luca Pieralli (eds.), Εὐκοσμία. *Studi miscellanei per il 75° di Vincenzo Poggi S.J.*, Soveria Mannelli, CZ 2003, 243–55, here 251–55; Sonja Fritz, *The Divehi Language*: *a Descriptive and Historical Grammar of Maldivian and its Dialects*, Heidelberg 2002 (Beiträge zur Südasienforschung 191), vol. [1], 4f.; Theresia Hainthaler, *Christliche Araber vor dem Islam*: *Verbreitung und konfessionelle Zugehörigkeit – Eine Hinführung*, Leuven 2007 (Eastern Christian Studies 7), 116f.; Alexander P. Kazhdan – Leslie MacCoull, "Theophilos the Indian", in: *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, Oxford – New York, 1991, vol. 3, 2067; Gianfrancesco Lusini [review of Fiaccadori 1992], *Cristianesimo nella storia* 19, 1998, 209ff. = *Graeco–Arabica* 7–8, 1999–2000, 333–38; Andrews Mekkattukunnel (ed.), *Mar Thoma Margam*: *the Ecclesial Heritage of the St. Thomas Christians,* Kottayam 2012, 823–39, here 837ff.; MHAlex [I] 19, 66ff.; PhilAfrCiv 94f. and n. 23; Vincenzo Poggi [review of Fiaccadori 1992], *OrChrP* 61, 1995, 607f.; Irfan Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century*, Washington, DC 1984, 86–104; Klaus-Peter Todt, "Theophilos der Inder", in: *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 9, 1996, 1030–33.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Titles, ranks and functions

The complex history of the Horn of Africa has known a wide range of state, religious and ethnic formations. All of these used different terms for the endless list of functions and offices existing in that specific society.

Brief information on various titles and offices is presented in the overview table printed on pages 580–90 of this volume.

Red.

Topography, historical

Historical T. (from Greek *tópos* 'place' and *gráphein* 'to write, to describe') is, in its broader sense, the scientific investigation of places in their historical development, and thus overlaps at large with historical ↗geography. T. is intended here instead in its narrower sense of scientific investigation of place names as such – i.e. under the linguistic point of view as well as from that of their documentation.

There have been very few systematic topographic surveys of Ethiopia or Eritrea. The exceptions were attempts at investigations of a specific topographic character in very specific areas or periods (s., e.g., Beckingham 1959; Fauvelle-Aymar et al. 2006). Most of these focused on ↗Aksum or are of archaeological character (s. DAE I [*Reisebericht der Expedition*: *Topographie und Geschichte Aksum*]; Monneret de Villard 1938, which is one of the very few rigorous essays in historical T. proper, s. Littmann 1939; Fattovich et al. 2000).

As to topographic documentation, already in 1894 Conti Rossini produced a general catalogue of all place names occurring in Ethiopic texts (in Gəᶜəz, to a much more limited extent in Amharic). His small, but remarkable, index was later resumed by Huntingford (1962, 1969, HuntGeogr) – with substantial limitation to the same classes of texts, i.e. the historiographical and hagiographic, with consideration of a few documentary ones. This remains the largest collection of historical place names with sources references available so far. Indexes of non-indexed specific historical texts have also been compiled in recent years, e.g., the three Chronicles of Tewodros II (Sokolinskaia 2004), the *Mäṣḥafä Aksum* (Bausi 2006), the documentary texts from the Golden Gospel (↗*Wängelä wärq*) of Däbrä Libanos (Id. 2007), and the Royal Chronicle for the years 1769–1840 (Raineri 2010). The large documentary body of land grants and feudal deeds (↗*gʷəlt*), which is an essential source for the historical documentation of place names since the 13th cent. at the latest, has received considerable attention in the last decades (cf., e.g., CrumLand), but it has not yet received a general systematization in a comprehensive catalogue.

The colonial Italian occupation of Eritrea and later of Ethiopia provided the occasion for collecting extensively place names, even though no systematic and exhaustive large scale enterprise resulting in a general catalogue was ever undertaken by Italian authorities either. Just to mention some essays and efforts in the course of time, Perini (1903) published a valuable collection of Eritrean settlements; Cerulli (1928) dealt with Ethiopian place names collected in the course of his ethnographic research in Southern Ethiopia in 1927; Bombaci et al. (1937), in a propagandistic perspective, published a survey of Ethiopian place names on the base of the 1:1,000,000 map (occasionally of the 1:400,000 map) of the Istituto Geografico Militare; and the Ministero dell'Africa Italiana (n.d. [ca. 1938]) provided a list of place names contained in the A.O.I. 1:200,000 map. Years later and within a different context, a dictionary of Ethiopian geographical names was compiled by Gorovaja (1974) and a comprehensive list of place names (*Gazetteer of Ethiopia*) by the U.S.A. Defence Mapping Agency (1982), the latter actually still being the most extensive collection of place names ever published so far.

Linguistic interpretation of place names – one of the main tasks of historical T. – has been proposed mostly for the northern areas: for Eritrea, cf., e.g., Conti Rossini's (1938), which can be considered a small, yet unparalleled masterpiece in the genre, and then Ricci (1960, 2000), Franchini (1982–1983), Voigt (1999); for Beǧa place names, cf. Zaborski (1970) and Bechhaus-Gerst (2000); for Təgray cf. Tubiana (1956). The interpretation of Eritrean and northern Ethiopian place names has also played a role in the discussion of the "Ethiopian origins", since a connection with South Arabian place names clearly appears (CRStor 91–106; Marrassini 1985; 2003). Particular attention has received the name of Aksum, on which very different hypotheses have been advanced (cf. Tubiana 1958; Schneider 1994; Müller 1998), even though it will be difficult to deny any connection with the Gəᶜəz root **ksm* as suggested by Ricci (in Schneider 1994: 188ff.; s. also Kropp 2010). Adulis has also been early discussed (cf. Praetorius 1893). Much less has been done for central and southern Ethiopia (cf. Cerulli 1971; Tubiana 1958; 1987; Little 1978).

Src.: I. place-names in texts: Alessandro Bausi, "Un indice del *Liber Aksumae*", *Aethiopica* 9, 2006, 102–46; Id., "Un indice dell'*Evangelo d'oro* di Dabra Libānos (Šemazānā, Akkala Guzāy, Eritrea)", *ibid.* 10, 2007, 81–91; Charles Fraser Beckingham, "A Note on the Topography of Aḥmad Grañ's Campaigns in 1542", *JSS* 4, 1959, 362–73;

Carlo Conti Rossini, “Catalogo dei nomi propri di luogo dell’Etiopia contenuti nei testi giᶜiz e amhariña finora pubblicati”, in: *Atti del I Congresso dei Geografi Italiani*, vol. 2, 1, Genova 1894, 387–439; CrumLand; DAE I; Rodolfo Fattovich et al., *The Aksum Archaeological Area: a Preliminary Assessment*, Napoli 2000 (Working Paper 1); François-Xavier Fauvelle-Aymar et al., “A Topographic Survey and Some Soundings at Nora, an Ancient Muslim Town of Ethiopia”, *JES* 39, 2006, 1–12; HuntGeogr; George Wynn Brereton Huntingford, “Ethiopian Place-names”, *African Languages Studies* 3, 1962, 182–94; Id., “Indices to Five Ethiopian Chronicles Published in the ‘Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium’, Volumes 20–25”, *Annali IUO* 19, 1969, 281–316; Enno Littmann, [review of Monneret de Villard 1938], *Orientalia* n.s. 8, 1939, 391–98; Ugo Monneret de Villard, *Aksum: Ricerche di topografia generale*, Roma 1938 (Analecta Orientalia 9); Osvaldo Raineri, “Herbert Weld Blundell: «The Royal Chronicle of Abyssinia 1769–1840». Indice dei nomi e delle citazioni bibliche”, *OrChrP* 76, 2010, 57–83; Evgenia Sokolinskaia, “From Qwara to Mäqdäla: Index of Proper Names from the Three Chronicles of Emperor Tewodros II’s Reign”, in: *StudAeth* 269–90; J.A. Thomopoulos, “L’onomastique en Éthiopie (anthroponimie, zoonymie, toponymie)”, *Revue Internationale d’Onomastique* 8, 1956, 43–57; Id., “Contribution à la bibliographie onomastique d’Éthiopie”, *Onoma* 11, 1964–65 [1966], 294–97.

II. General place-names documentation: Ruffillo Perini (ed.), *Colonia Eritrea: Indice delle località abitate della Colonia Eritrea*, Asmara 1903; Enrico Cerulli, “Per la toponomastica etiopica”, *Oriente Moderno* 8, 1928, 328–36; Alessio Bombaci et al., *Elementi per la toponomastica etiopica*, Napoli 1937; Ministero dell’Africa Italiana, Ufficio Studi, Servizio Cartografico, *Indice dei nomi contenuti nella III edizione della carta dell’A.O.I. a 1:2.000.000*, Bergamo [ca. 1938]; E.V. Gorovaja, *Slovar’ geografičeskih nazvanij Efiopii* (‘Dictionary of Ethiopian Geographical Names’), Moskva 1974; Defence Mapping Agency, *Gazetteer of Ethiopia: Names Approved by the United States Board on Geographic Names*, Washington D.C. 1982.

Lit.: Studies on place-names interpretation: Enrico Cerulli, “Il sultanato dello Scioa nel secolo XIII secondo un nuovo documento storico”, in: *CerIslam* 207–43; Carlo Conti Rossini, “Saggio sulla toponomastica dell’Eritrea tigrina”, *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* ser. 7ª, 3, 1938, 785–816; CRStor 91–106; Vincenzo Franchini, “Contributo alla toponomastica dell’Eritrea tigrina”, *QSE* 3–4, 1982–1983, 163–75; Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst, “A Study of Beja Place-names”, *AAP* 61, 2000, 145–70; Greta Dubose Little, “Internal Grammar in Amharic Place-names”, *Names* 26, 1978, 3–8; Manfred Kropp, “»Gesondert, gestiftet und geheiligt«: Hierapolis in Äthiopien. Zur Deutung des Namens Aksum”, *OrChr* 94, 2010 [2011], 176–98; Paolo Marrassini, “Ancora sulle ‘origini’ etiopiche”, in: Sandro F. Bondì et al. (eds.), *Studi in onore di Edda Bresciani*, Pisa 1985, 303–15; Id., “The Semites in Abyssinia: Onomastic and Lexicographical Notes”, in: Leonid Kogan (ed.), *Studia Semitica*, Moscow 2003 (Orientalia: Papers of the Oriental Institute 3), 141–51; Walter W. Müller, “Südarabisches zum Namen Aksum”, *Aethiopica* 1, 1998, 217–20; Franz Praetorius, “Der Name Adulis”, *ZDMG* 47, 1893, 396; Lanfranco Ricci, “Di due toponimi dell’Eritrea”, *RSE* 16, 1960, 124–26; Id., “Zĕbȁn bur, Zĕbȁn Abȕr”, in: *MiscKur* 235–39; Roger Schneider, “Remarques sur le nom ‘Aksum’ (con ‘Postscriptum’ di Lanfranco Ricci)”, *RSE* 38, 1994 [1996], 183–90; Joseph Tubiana, “Éléments de toponymie éthiopienne (Tigré)”, *JA* 244, 1956, 101–10; Id., “Les noms de Gondar et d’Aksum”, *Comptes rendus du Groupe linguistique d’études chamito-sémitiques* 8, 1958, 25–26; Id., “Nouveaux éléments de toponymie éthiopienne (région de Gondar)”, *Bulletin des études africaines d’INALCO* 7/13–14, 1987 [1989], 187–202; Rainer Voigt, “Κολόη und Ḳoɦaito (‘Auf-/Ausblick’): Studien zur äthiopischen Toponomastik. 1”, *Aethiopica* 2, 1999, 90–102; Andrzej Zaborski, “Some Eritrean Place-names in Arabic Medieval Sources”, *Folia Orientalia* 12, 1970 [1971], 327–37.

Alessandro Bausi

Transcription systems

This entry presents an overview of systems used for the transcription of languages used in Ethiopia and Eritrea. It does not aim at completeness but rather is meant to assist the users of the EAE and other publications in the field to understand the motivations behind the choice of a certain system. Naturally, every transcription system has only access to a limited pool of characters and diacritics, be that due to technology (typewriter, ASCII) or due to economy.

Transcription of Epigraphic South Arabian

The transcription of ↗Epigraphic South Arabian (ESA) orientates itself very strongly towards Arabic. This becomes obvious in the treatment of the voiceless emphatic interdental (proto-Semitic **ṯ̣*), which converged in Hebrew and Ethiopic (↗Ethio-Semitic) with the voiceless emphatic sibilant (ጸ *ṣ*). The traditional representation *ẓ* of this sound in Modern ↗Arabic does not reflect the phonetic reality, since the reflex of proto-Semitic **ṯ̣* is in Arabic Bedouin dialects**ḏ̣* and in sedentary dialects *ḍ*. The pronunciation *ẓ* occurs in loans from the literary language.

The voiceless emphatic lateral *ṣ́*, which in Hebrew, e.g., has converged with the voiceless emphatic sibilant *ṣ*, has been preserved in ESA and Classical Ethiopic (↗Gəᶜəz) as *ṣ́* (ፀ *ṣ́ä ṣ́äḥay*). In Modern Arabic this sound has developed into a voiced emphatic dental (*ḍ*). This transcription is simply not feasible for Epigraphic South-Arabian. Instead of the Arabicising *ḍ*, the EAE uses the more exact *ṣ́*. Within Ethiopic laterality (marked by ´) is abandoned and thus ፀ *ṣ́* coincides in modern languages with ጸ *ṣ* in [ᵗs’].

The traditional Arabicising transcription *š́* (so in Leslau) of the voiceless non-emphatic lateral ሠ

ś has been given up in favour of *ś*. Therefore *ṣ*:*ṣ́* relate to each other in terms of laterality like *s*:*ś*.

proto-Sem.	Arab.	ESA	Leslau	EAE
*ṯ̣	ظ ẓ	ẓ (better ṯ̣)	–	–
*ṣ́	ض ḍ	ḍ (better ṣ́)	ፀ ḍ	ṣ́
*ś	ش š	s^2, š, ś	ሠ š	ś

ESA is particularly important for the reconstruction of sibilants since it is only here that we find an extra sibilant compared to Arabic. The *s* of Arabic and Classical Ethiopic is the result of the merger of proto-Semitic and ESA s^1 and s^3, due to the loss of affrication in s^3, i.e. *$^t s$ > *s*. In a further development Classical Ethiopic *s* and *ś* converged in modern Ethio-Semitic because of the loss of laterality.

In Sabaic studies one encounters a confusing multitude of transcriptions, all of which cannot be reproduced here. This may serve as an example: *š* is used for s^1, because this sound corresponds to *š* in Hebrew, but also for s^2, because this sound is *š* in Arabic.

Because of the persistent discussion concerning these phonemes the transcription $s^{1–3}$ is recommended. s^1 can be simplified to be written *s* as e.g. in *sbʾ* for s^1*bʾ* 'Saba'.

proto-Sem.	Arab.	ESA	EAE
*s^1 [*s*]	س *s*	𐩦 s^1, *s*, *š*, *ś*	s^1, *s*
*s^3 [$^t s$]	س *s*	𐩯 s^3, *ś*	s^3
*s^2 [^{t}ł]	ش *š*	𐩪 s^2, *ś*, *š*	s^2, *ś*

Transcription of Ethiopian languages

The early grammars of Gə^{c}əz, ↗Amharic and ↗Təgrəñña do not usually offer any transcriptions due to the transliteration difficulties of the Ethiopic alphabet, only providing some words in Ethiopic ↗script, cf. for example Ludolf (1698; 1699; ^{2}1702), Praetorius (1871; 1879; 1886) as well as Dillmann (1857; ^{2}1899; DillmLex). Similarly absent are transcriptions even in more recent works such as Goldenberg (1966) and Kapeliuk (1988).

In works of a later date a transcription is usually added as in parts of Gebre Jesus Afevork (1905) and Guidi (1952; but not 1940), Armbruster (1908), Cohen (1936). But on the other hand works do exist that only offer the language in transcription, e.g., Leslau (1941; LesCDic), Voigt (1977), Weninger (2001).

However the situation is different concerning the presentation of hitherto unwritten languages. In the early transcriptions the recorders tried to portray the sounds they heard from the mouths of the indigenous people of the Horn of Africa in an impressionistic fashion.

When recording, e.g., Təgrəñña at the end of the 18th/beginning of the 19th cent., as documented by Adelung – Vater (1812: 120f.), a short vowel was indicated by doubling the following consonant (as in "Middrih", i.e. *mədri* 'earth', a convention adopted from German orthography), a voiceless *s* was shown by "sz" (e.g., "Szebbéy", i.e. *säbʾay* 'man'), and *č̣* was transcribed with "kj" (e.g., "Affinkjáha", i.e. *ʾafənč̣a-ḵa* 'nose' (sc.: 'your nose'); *č* can be transcribed with "tj" (s. below).

When presenting Amharic a mechanical transliteration was often used orienting itself on written texts (ʾ of the first order = *ä*; *nĕ* also for *n*), e.g. "Äbatatjĕnĕ", i.e. *abbatačč̌ən* 'Our father' (Adelung – Vater 1812: 113).

In other cases people either did not hear the phonetic differences or did not want to hear them, because on the whole speakers rarely ventured outside the sound system of their mother tongue. Thus no distinction was made between the glottal stop and ^{c}, or between glottalized and non-glottalized sounds. At times even vowel length was ignored.

With the Standard Alphabet by Carl Richard Lepsius (1855, improved 1863) and the numerous works by Leo Reinisch, who composed grammars and dictionaries for 13 East African languages (↗^{c}Afar, Barea [↗Nara], Beḍauye [↗Beğa], ↗Bilin, Chamir [Ḫamta], Dschäbärti-Somali [↗Somali], Irob-Saho [↗Irob], Kafa [↗Käfiččo], ↗Kunama, Nuba, Quara [↗Agäw], Saho [↗Sāho] and Somali, which were published between 1873 and 1911), linguists now had a fully developed and proven transcription system at their disposal, which since has undergone only minor changes.

Most changes that have been introduced since the days of Lepsius and Reinisch up to the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) system are only of a stylistic nature without achieving any greater phonetic precision, e.g. *š* > *ʃ*, *ž* > *ʒ*, *ṅ* > *ŋ*, *ñ* > *ɲ*, *'* > *ʔ*, *ḥ* > *ħ*. Only in a few cases can one speak of a true improvement. As is obvious, the representation of the spirant sound *ḵ* (*x*, χ) with *ḫ*^{c} or *kh* makes little sense.

Because of the large Italian contribution to the linguistic literature of the ↗Orbis Aethiopicus I include for comparison the Italian consonantal transcription system as manifested in the numerous works by Guidi and Conti Rossini. The transcription system of the EAE follows closely with few exceptions, taking up the system used by Leslau. In more recent issues of the *JES* a transcription is suggested for the emphatic (glottalised) phonemes, where glottalisation is to be marked by a following apostrophe (or gravis) as in the IPA. This system is used in some more recent publications.

In the table below, Lepsius's transcription is the one advocated in his work of 1863 (in brackets that of 1855).

	Lepsius	Reinisch	Italian school	EAE	JES
ሐ	*h^c*	*ḥ*	*ḥ*	*ḥ*	
ሠ	*š*		*ś*	*ś*	
ቀ	*q*	*q*	*q*	*q*	
ኀ	χ	χ	*ḫ*	*ḫ*	
ዐ	ᵓ	ʿ	ʿ	ʿ	
ጠ	*t'*	*ṭ*	*ṭ*	*ṭ*	*t'*
ጸ	(*ts*) *ţ*	*ṣ*	*ṣ*	*ṣ*	*s'*
ፀ	(*ts'*) *ţ'*			*ṣ́*	
ጰ	*p'*	*ṗ*	*p̣*	*p̣*	*p'*
ቈ	(*qw*) *k̇'*	*qŭ*	*qu*	*q^w*	
ኈ	(χ*w*) χ̇	χ*ŭ*	*ḫu*	*ḫ^w*	
ኰ	(*kw*) *k̇*	*kŭ*	*ku*	*k^w*	
ጐ	(*gw*) *ġ*	*gŭ*	*gu*	*g^w*	
ሸ	*š*	*š*	*š*	*š*	
ቸ	(*ḱ*) *č*	*c*	*č*	*č*	
ኘ	*ń*	*ñ*	*ñ*	*ñ*	
ኸ	(χ^c) *ḥ^c*	χ	*k^h*	*ḵ*	
ዠ	ž	*ž*	*ž*	*ž*	
ጀ	(*ǵ*) *ǰ*	*j*	*ǧ*	*ǧ*	*ǰ*
ጨ	(*ḱ'*) *č'*	*c̣*	*č̣*	*č̣*	*č'*

It is evident that there is great continuity in the representation of consonants. Lepsius's suggestion to mark labialisation by a dot above the basic sign was not taken up after him. Even though marking with superscript ^{w} offers more information, the disadvantage is that putting ^{w} after the consonant does not reflect the phonetic reality. This diacritic ought to – just as with Lepsius – be placed above the basic sign. Similarly the diphthongal *ţ* of the Romanian orthography has found few friends. But marking glottalisation with an apostrophe, as in *t'* (= *ṭ*), has recently become very popular.

Marking the spirantisation of *b*, which is sadly entirely ignored in the newer transcriptions, is achieved by Guidi either very rarely or it is shown somewhat awkwardly with *bh* e.g. *kĕbhū́r*. Conti Rossini (1940) indicates the Təgrəñña spirantisation of *b*, *k* and *q* occasionally in the form of *bh*, *kh* and *q̇*.

The important difference between the Italian school and the EAE concerns the vowels. First, the traditional opposition between *a* : *ā* is now shown as *ä* : *a*. In this case marking the length is more beholden to the phonetic reality (v. the transcription in Klingenheben 1966). This is in contrast with Leslau's categorical judgment (1995: 33): "The Amharic vowels are short". It is also useful to mark the long vowel *ē*, which takes the palatalisation of the preceding consonant into account, e.g. *B^{e}lāttiēnā*.

An advantage of the old transcription is that the *a* that follows laryngeals **አ/ዐ** and **ሀ/ሐ/ኀ** is not marked as a long vowel, because it is a vowel of the first order, as in (ᵓ)*akāl* 'body' and *har* 'silk'. The opposition between short and long *a*-vowel after non-laryngeal (e.g., *ba* : *bā*, now rendered as *bä* : *ba*) applies to post-laryngeal vowels as well, e.g., *ḫams* ('five [fem.]') vs. *ḫāməs* ('fifth [masc.]'), both given as *ḫa* in EAE. Contrary to the opposition of the first and the fourth orders *bä* : *ba*, in a laryngeal context the transcription *ḫa* (< *ḫä*) = *ḫa* (< *ḫā*) does not clearly explain this difference.

A further advantage lies in the marking of the position of the stress, now abandoned, e.g., *šammā́*, *aggā́ri*, although in many cases the last *ā*-vowel bears the stress (but cf. *qalṭā́ffā*) and many forms that have not been transcribed.

The biggest difference is found in the notation of the two central vowels, which are not rendered as nowadays phonemically but phonetically. In the old Italian system, the high central vowel is indicated with *e*, ^{e}, *ĕ*, *ĭ*, *ŭ*, e.g. *dĕngĕl*, *tĭnnĭš*, *'ĕnnĭ́st*, *guendĭl*, *šĕkĭrkĕrit*, *berŭndó* and the low central vowel with *a*, *ⱥ*, *å*, e.g. *dⱥ́ndⱥs*, *dⱥ́nbi*, *sⱥ́ffi*, *zanⱥggā*, *anṣabārā́qi*, *guǻlbā́č*. Since no phonetics of Amharic has been published so far, there is no way of checking this data. Similarly there is no comprehensive explanatory publication from the Italian side. It seems however plausible to assume that the velar [ŋg] in *dĕngĕl* 'virgin' triggers the lower allophonic pronunciation of the high central vowel and that the post-alveolar *š* in *tĭnnĭš* triggers a frontal (palatal) allophone of the high central vowel. Word-initially and in a pre-tonic position, if this is of relevance, this central vowel seems to be more likely to have a lower articulation. The transcription of the personal prefix of the 3rd pers. masc. sg. and 3rd pers. pl. *ī*- (as in *īnnággⱥrā́ll*, Guidi ^{3}1924: 38) portrays the real pronunciation to a greater degree than the phonetic pronunciation [jɘ] or [jɨ] of the phonemically notated /*yə*/. Also in the vicinity of labials the notation *kŭfú* 'bad' is exemplary. Ricci (1995) adds to the phonetic realisations of /*ə*/ the form *ă*, e.g. *brăhắn* (= *bərhan*).

Here is a table showing the different transcriptions of the vowels:

	Lepsius	Reinisch	Ital. school	EAE	JES
	ā	*ā*	*ā*	*a*	*a*
	ē	*ē*	*ē*	*e*	*é*
	ī	*i*, *ī*	*i*	*i*	*i*
	ō	*ō*	*o*	*o*	*o*
	ū	*ū*	*u*	*u*	*u*
Central vowels	*e̥*	*e*, *i*, *o̱*, *u̱*	*ᵉ*, *ĕ*, *ĭ*, *ŭ*	*ə*	*ɨ*
	a	*a*	*a*, *a̵*, *å*	*ä* (*a* after laryngeals)	*ä*

In today's transcription, which is based on the works by Leslau, sounds are written purely phonemically, i.e. concerning the central vowels a distinction is only made between *ə* and *ä*. A practical consequence of such a simplified transcription is an increasingly bad pronunciation of Amharic, where e.g. the palatal (*ĭ*) and velar (*ŭ*) allophonic realisation of /*ə*/ as well as the rounding of /*ä*/ are disregarded. However, for a correct pronunciation compliance with stress, vowel length and the spirantisation of *b* after a vowel (and occasionally after a consonant) is essential.

Some symbols have been displaced in the course of time like indicating shortness (or centralisation respectively) by the lower segment of a circle, known as the *breve* (*ĭ*, *ŭ*). The symbol *a̵*, which was previously commonly used for the low central vowel, has now been replaced by *ä* (with the *trema* indicating centralisation). The dash in *a̵* is however contained in today's phonetic symbols for the two high central vowels *ɨ* and *ʉ*; here *a̵* would have fitted in well. These deliberations are fully justified for a narrow and consistent phonetic transcription; however, they are of no import at all for a phonemic transcription. There the aim must be to unambiguously identify and pay attention to oppositions. As long as there is no opposition between *e* and *ɛ* or *t* and *th* there is no need in a phonemic transcription to indicate the degree of opening or aspiration respectively. It is justifiable to mark these distinctions as well, if the target is to attain a better pronunciation. However, this will not be achieved by replacing the traditional symbols one by one with "more modern" symbols.

It would be desirable, if in a transcription of Amharic – at least in works dedicated to Amharic – for once more consideration is given to the phonetic side of language.

More recent transcription systems

It seems that in some more recent transcription systems the authors are less interested in the phonetic realisations but rather in a superficial phoneticisation of a phonemic transcription. The more recent transcriptions differ in the following points from the transcription used in the EAE and in most recent works in Ethiopian linguistics, especially those by Leslau.

a) Glottalised sounds are marked by an apostrophe, a diacritic that represents the glottal stop in the IPA system.

p̣	*p'*	*č̣*	*č'*
ṭ	*t'*	*q* (*ḳ*)	*k'*
ṣ	*s'*		

The advantage of the traditional transcription consists in having the dot under the consonantal symbol (for this reason *ḳ* is preferable to *q*) as a marker of an emphatic pronunciation. This is a phonemic marking, the phonetic interpretation is left to the individual Semitic languages as to whether glottalisation, velarisation or pharyngalisation or any other realisations are applicable. Because of these many realisational possibilities, which must of course be stated for each individual language, a broad phonemic transcription is most suitable. This is the general principle for choosing a certain transcription. As long as there is no phonemic distinction between e.g. an open or a closed *o* or between a more or less rounded (open) *ɔ*, hardly any other symbol but *o* will be used in a normal transcription.

b) The affricates, for which the IPA has no special symbol, are portrayed by their constituent parts, as is the case in the Stardard Alphabet.

č	*tʃ* or *ʧ*
č̣	*tʃ'* or *ʧ'*
ǧ	*dʒ* or *ʤ*

These symbols may be acceptable for the description of recently recorded languages, whose phonemic system is not yet fully analysed, but it is less acceptable for languages or language groups that use affricates frequently and where they are phonemic, nor for languages that have affricates and glottal stop. Then these transcriptions become preposterous when the rendering of geminates is attempted; the representation *ʧʧ* for *čč* no longer corresponds with phonetic reality, because although the phoneme is repeated the sound sequence is not.

c) The two central vowels are rendered by other symbols:

‘traditional’	‘modern’
ə	*ɨ*
ä	*ə, ɜ*

The high central vowel is written *ɨ*, because of the belief it is articulated at the height of *i* (and *u*). But this is not the case as shown in the works by Sumner (1957), Bender (1969) and Devens (in SegBodLes). Though the traditional *ə*, when defined as a phonetic symbol, has a place of articulation that is too low, I see no advantage in replacing a commonly used symbol by another that is phonetically even less precise. Also bear in mind that a vowel’s place of articulation is not narrowly fixed to one point, and it would constitute some progress, if more were said about the phonetic realisation in different contexts. A superficial replacement of one symbol by another does not mean any improvement.

This is also the case concerning the use of *ə* instead of the *ä* for the low central vowel. The use of *ə* “traditional” for the high central vowel as well as “modern” for the low central vowel is confusing for every scholar of matters Ethiopic. The symbol *ä* is preferable because it contains a *trema*, which according to the IPA indicates centralisation. Consequently the symbol *ë* (so already in Westermann – Ward 1966: 40) would be well suited for the notation of the higher central vowel, just as *ï* (following Appleyard) would be.

Another tendency, which goes contrary to the principle one phoneme = one symbol, is the introduction of English spelling habits (*sh*, *ny*, *kh*), even in languages in which *s*, *h*, *y*, and *k* occur as phonemes – this constitutes a turning back to transcriptional practices of the early 19th cent.

Great progress has been achieved in recording languages by marking tones. Contrary to the marking of stress, which seems to have steadily decreased, tonal analysis of the ↗Cushitic, ↗Omotic and ↗Nilo-Saharan languages has made enormous progress. Let me only mention Kunama, whose tonal system is only now beginning to be understood.

Lit.: Johann Christoph Adelung, *Mithridates oder allgemeine Sprachenkunde mit dem Vater Unser als Sprachprobe in beynahe fünfhundert Sprachen und Mundarten*, […] fortgesetzt und […] bearbeitet von Johann Severin Vater, Dritter Th., erste Abth., Berlin 1812 (Repr. Hildesheim [u.a.] 1970); Gebre Jesus Afevork, *Grammatica della lingua amarica*, Roma 1905; Charles H. Armbruster, *Initia amharica,* Part I: *Grammar*, Cambridge 1908; Marvin Lionel Bender, “Two Problems in Amharic Phonetics: the Sixth Order Vowel and the Verb Suffixes”, *JES* 7, 2, 1969, 33–41; Marcel Cohen, *Traité de langue amharique* (*Abyssinie*), Paris 1936 (Travaux et memoires de l’Institut d’ethnologie 24); Carlo Conti Rossini, *Lingua tigrina*, Roma 1940 (Grammatiche e lessici delle lingue dell’Africa italiana); Id., *Grammatica elementare della lingua etiopica*, Roma 1941; Monica S. Devens, “The Amharic First Order Vowel”, in: *SegBodLes* 115–22; DillmLex; Christian Franz August Dillmann, *Grammatik der äthiopischen Sprache*, 2. verb. u. verm. Aufl. v. Carl Bezold, Leipzig 1899 (repr. Graz 1959); Carl Faulmann, *Das Buch der Schrift enthaltend die Schriftzeichen und Alphabete aller Zeiten und aller Völker des Erdkreises*, Wien ^{2}1880 (repr. Nördlingen 1985); Gideon Goldenberg, *Ma^{c}areḵet hazzemannîm ha-ʾamharît*, Jerusalem 1966; GuiVoc; Ignazio Guidi, *Grammatica elementare della lingua amariña*, Roma 1889, ^{2}1892, Napoli ^{3}1924 (repr. Roma 1952); Id., *Supplemento al Vocabolario amarico-italiano*, compilato con il concorso di Francesco Gallina ed Enrico Cerulli, Roma 1940; Olga Kapeliuk, *Nominalization in Amharic*, Wiesbaden 1988 (AeF 23); August Klingenheben, *Deutsch-amharischer Sprachführer*, Wiesbaden 1966; Carl Richard Lepsius, *Das allgemeine linguistische Alphabet*: *Grundsätze der Übertragung fremder Schriftsysteme und bisher noch ungeschriebener Sprachen in europäische Buchstaben*, Berlin 1855; Id., *Standard Alphabet for Reducing Unwritten Languages and Foreign Graphic Systems to a Uniform Orthography in European Letters*, London – Berlin ^{2}1863; LesCDic; Wolf Leslau, *Documents tigrigna, grammaire et textes*, Paris 1941 (Société de linguistique de Paris 48); Id., *Reference Grammar of Amharic*, Wiesbaden 1995; Hiob Ludolf, *Grammatica linguæ amharicæ*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1698; Id., *Lexicon æthiopico-latinum*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1699; Id., *Grammatica aethiopica*, Francofurti ad Moenum ^{2}1702; Eugen Mittwoch, *Die traditionelle Aussprache des Äthiopischen*, Berlin – Leipzig 1926 (Abessinische Studien 1); Franz Praetorius, *Grammatik der Tigriñasprache*, Halle 1871; Id., *Die amharische Sprache*, Halle 1879; Id., *Grammatica aethiopica cum paradigmatibus, literatura, chrestomathia et glossario*, Karlsruhe [et al.] 1886; Lanfranco Ricci [review of Leslau 1994], *RSE* 41, 1997 [1998], 126–39; Claude Sumner, *Étude expérimentale de l’amharique moderne*, Addis Abeba 1957; Rainer Voigt, *Das tigrinische Verbalsystem*, Berlin 1977 (Marburger Studien zur Afrika- und Asienkunde A 10); Stefan Weninger, *Das Verbalsystem des Altäthiopischen*, Wiesbaden 2001 (Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission der Akademie Mainz 47); Dietrich Westermann – Ida C. Ward, *Practical Phonetics for Students of African Languages*, London [et al.] 1966.

Rainer Voigt

Treaties and conventions

Introduction

A T. is defined, in modern international law, as a formalized agreement between two actors in international law. These parties can be either independent states or recognized international organization. Other terms for T. are agreement (or international agreement), pact, protocol, or convention (in Ethiopia/Eritrea the terms are: (Amh. **ውል**, *wəl*; **ስምም(ነት)** *səməmm*(*ənnät*), Tgn.: **ስምምዕ** *səməmə*^{c} [‘treaty’, more formal], also **ውዕሊ** *wə*^{c}*li* or **ውዕል** *wə*^{c}*əl* [‘agreement’]). T. contain regulations either ensuring the *status quo ante* or creating a new relationship. Like ↗contracts, T. express obligations assumed by the parties of the T.; if a party fails to fulfil those obligations it can be held liable under international law. T. can be bilateral and multilateral.

Typically, T. covered diverging interests, mostly peace agreements, the creation of military or commercial alliances, or of respective confederacy, the *de jure* recognition of each other’s spheres of influence or territories etc.

By extension, the term T. can be also applied to pre-modern agreements between two or more political entities, in particular those transmitted in written form. T. feature most prominently in Antiquity (cp., e.g., the Graeco–Persian Peace of Callias of ca. 450 B.C., the Thirty-Years’ Peace signed between Athens and Sparta in 446 B.C., or the T. between Rome and Sassanian ↗Iran in the 3rd cent. A.D.). In the context of Northeast Africa, an example can be found as early as ca. 1258 B.C., with the Egyptian-Hittite peace T., signed between pharaoh Ramses II and king Hattusli II (or “III”; s. Breyer 2010: 227–47; Klengel 2002). Another famous T. in the ancient Northeast Africa was the *Baqt*, signed between the Christian state of Makuria (↗Nubia) and the Muslim rulers of ↗Egypt in 651 A.D.

In consideration of the customary ↗law, the term T. can be further extended to include orally transmitted agreements, including those between autonomous ethnic groups (↗inter-ethnic clan relations). For example, an oral peace agreement was allegedly concluded between the Sultanate of ↗Awsa and *aṣe* ↗Mənilək II in 1896; a military pact was agreed between the Leemo ↗Hadiyya and ↗Ǝndägañ before their incorporation into Ethiopia (Bustorf 2002, chs. 5–6). Mutual agreements between nomadic groups concerning the security of trade routes and either agreements on non-interference or the levying of taxes and ↗tributes can be mentioned in this context (cp. ↗Beǧa).

This article focuses on the modern definition of T. as an agreement endorsed in writing by at least two relatively autonomous parties. For land use agreements between emperors and subordinate lords (the most prominent form of contract in the “medieval” times, excluded here) see ↗*g*^{w}*əlt*, ↗land tenure. For an overview of international agreements focusing on territorial delimitations see also ↗boundaries. The complex problem of possible contrasts between modern international law as it is expressed in the T. and the traditional customary law and land use is left out of the scope of the entry.

Local T. of the *Zämänä mäsafənt*

With regard to Ethiopia’s T. history, the point of departure of the T. is the era of the ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*. At the time when governors and princes aspired to create their own quasi-independent territories formalized agreements between these dominions became increasingly necessary. The degree of autonomy of the territorial units may justify the use of term T. in this context. While it may be assumed that most such agreements were concluded in writing, very few documents have survived. A letter (scroll) written in an unknown script and an accompanying Arabic explanation by an Oromo prince of ↗Limmuu, Sanna Abbaa Rago (son of ↗Abbaa Bagibo I) and sent, ca. 1839, to the ruler of Goǧǧam, *däǧǧazmač* ↗Goššu Zäwde (RubActa I, 40f.), contains passages typical for a “T. of friendship”, such as: “I ask you to have affection for me and I shall have affection for you”. In addition, the protection of travellers, the exchange of goods and eventually Sanna’s marriage to Goššu’s daughter are discussed. No evidence exists, however, that Goššu endorsed the conditions, and thus this letter can be hardly viewed as a T.

An example of an alliance between leaders within the Christian Ethiopian realm is the agreement concluded between *ras* ↗Mikaʾel “Səḥul” and the Ethiopian ruler, as transmitted in a short chronicle (Kropp 1989: 70, 271). In order to underline its sacredness this alliance is termed ↗*kidan* and compared with the pact between God and Noah and with that between the first Solomonic ruler ↗Yəkunno Amlak and the saint ↗Täklä Haymanot (ibid.).

To some extent, the ↗Constitution of 1931 also follows the older pattern of T. between princes. *Ras* ↗Kaśa Ḫaylu of Šäwa, *ras* ↗Śəyyum Mängäša of Təgray and *ras* ↗Ḫaylu Täklä Haymanot of Goǧǧam refused to sign it because of the stipulation that the dynasty should continue in the line of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I. A compromise was only reached when Ḫaylä Śəllase assured them that the elevated status of their houses would never be contested.

International T. of the *Zämänä mäsafənt*

The first international T. were also concluded during the *Zämänä mäsafənt*, between the regional rulers and the European powers. The aims were usually trade opportunities, in particular the control over the trade routes in the ↗Red Sea.

Knowing of the interest of ↗France in the coastal regions, in the late 1850s *ras* ↗Nəguśe Wäldä Mikaʾel of Təgray and Səmen offered ceding coastal areas (not under his control) in exchange French protection (s. ↗Ǝmnätä Maryam). The T. was never ratified by France, as Nəguśe lost power shortly thereafter. Still, in the 1880s, France cherished the fiction that it was an internationally valid T.

On 11 May 1862, a T. was signed between France and the local rulers, negotiated by ↗Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm Šaḥīm, which ceded ↗Obock to France, the nucleus of ↗Djibouti.

The second major actor in the competition for the control of the Red Sea coast was the ↗United Kingdom. From 1855, British interests in the coastal region led to a variety of T. with Somali "coastal sultans" (cp. Prendergast Welsh 1932: 217), which also regulated ↗slavery (Miers 1975: 83; cp. also ↗Boundaries with Somalia). ↗Berbera became the principle station of the Egyptians (later of the ↗British Somaliland Protectorate); it was annexed by Egypt as early as 1867, followed by further annexations of Somali territories in northern Somalia. In a T. of 1877, Great Britain recognized these Egyptian possessions, and the Ottoman cabinet transferred the northern Somali coast to Egypt under Ottoman suzerainty in 1880 (Orhonlu 1974: 154f., 269f.). Throughout the colonial period the Somali region was marked by a high degree of continued consciousness of traditional independence, local legal systems remaining widely unchanged. This consciousness was also expressed through T., the most prominent being the Arabic T. of 1916/17 between Maḥammad ᶜAbdille Ḥasan (↗Muḥammad ᶜAbdullāh Ḥasan), the "*amīr*" of the Somali, perceived as a "rebel" by the British, and the ↗Ottoman Empire, represented by the Ottoman General of the Yemen, ᶜAlī Saᶜīd *pasha* in Lahagi. The T. regulated the formal incorporation of Somalia into the Ottoman Empire for protection against colonial troops (Hess 1964).

Britain and ↗Italy signed a contract over a strip of land, purchased by the ↗Rubattino Shipping Company in 1869/70, which laid the foundation of the ↗Colonia di Assab, starting point for all further Italian ambitions in the region. On 21 May 1883 a T. of friendship and commerce between Italy and *nəguś* ↗Mənilək of Šäwa was signed in ↗Ankobär to secure trade between Šäwa and ᶜAsäb. In addition, a T. of friendship with the *sulṭān* of the then independent sultanate of Awsa for free trade transit through his territory was concluded (cp. Darkwah 1975: 69f.; Rossetti 1910).

There are also examples of early T. with rulers of the Ethiopian interior, such as the British-Ethiopian T. of friendship between ↗Ali Alula and William Cornwallis ↗Harris in 1849, which in fact was not a T. concluded with Ethiopia, but with a regional lord controlling only the centre.

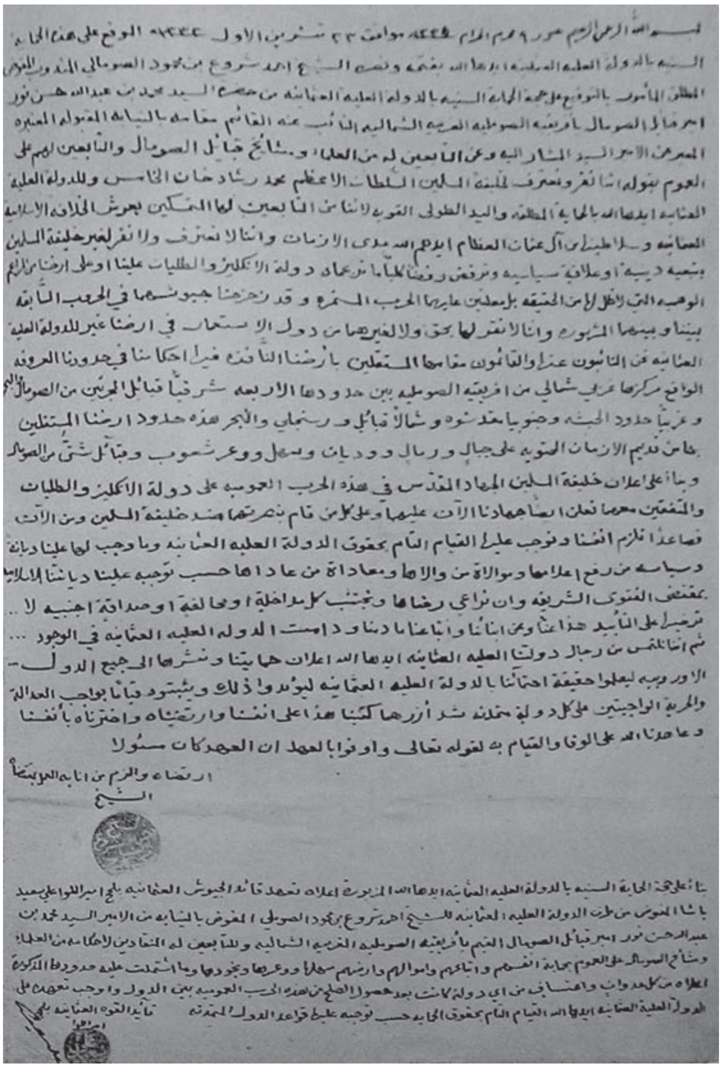
Later T. with local rulers, also usually involving "commerce and friendship", had additional protocols on slavery and its abolition (Darkwah 1975: 170f.). These were mostly without effect, and especially the British endeavours never led to a significant decrease in the slave trade.

The validity of such T. was not questioned by the foreign powers, with whose help the local rulers hoped to extend their fiefdoms. A notable example is, among others, Kaśa of Təgray (the future ↗Yoḥannəs IV), who agreed to non-interference to the passage through his territory of British-Indian troops during the Mäqdäla-campaign (↗Napier expedition), which led to the downfall of his enemy *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. Much later *ras* ↗Alula Ǝngəda signed a T. of friendship with the Italians against Šäwa.

T. of the Ethiopian Empire in the 19th–20th centuries

After the unification of most of Christian Ethiopia by Tewodros II, various T. between imperial powers and Ethiopia were concluded. The reigns of Tewodros II and Yoḥannəs IV were short and it was *aṣe* Mənilək II who brought Ethiopia to equal footing with expanding European powers and, especially after the Battle of ↗ᶜAdwa, was able to conclude various formal T. with those emerging imperial powers.

The ↗Hewett T., signed on 3 June 1884 between Egypt, Britain and Ethiopia, was *aṣe* Yoḥannes IV's only international T. For the British it was at that time a disengagement enterprise. They mobilised the Ethiopians to fight the Mahdīya while the Italians, from the London point of view, filled the vacuum created after the Egyptian retreat in order



Treaty of the *amīr* of Somalia, Muḥammad ᶜAbdallāh Ḥasan, with the Ottoman Empire, 1917; photo courtesy of Eloi Ficquet

to prevent a French domination at the Red Sea (cf. Rubenson 1966:226).

T. often entailed linguistic problems. When the ᶜAfar chiefs of ↗Raḥayta and ↗Tağūra ceded their territory to the French in the 19th cent., the T. was written in French and Arabic. In these languages, it clearly spelled out cession of territory. However, there is no such term in the ᶜAfar language, the corresponding word *lumo* meaning the right to use the land. Such (mis)interpretation potential did not affect their validity from the European point of view. The most prominent example is the ↗Italo–Ethiopian Convention of 1889, the so called T. of ↗Wəčale, in which article 17 reads as if Ethiopia was a quasi-protectorate of Italy; this led to the Battle of ᶜAdwa of 1896 (Elliesie 2008).

Less than two years after the Ethiopian victory, all the European powers had signed T. with Ethiopia, recognizing her independence, and stimulating commerce and trade.

Mənilək II used T. to counterbalance the increasing economic and territorial interests of the various powers, and their claims on Ethiopia. An important example is the Ethiopian-French Convention of 29 January 1896 negotiated by ↗Lagarde, making Djibouti Ethiopia's main outlet to the sea and, in return, ending French claims for the colony's hinterland. The Emperor reciprocated by signing an agreement to contain British influence in the Nile valley, which was Britain's main interest. Following the negotiations with the French, Britain sent the Rodd Mission to Ethiopia, to sign border-agreements with Ethiopia and the Anglo–Ethiopian settlement of 14 May 1897.

Despite the fact that Ethiopia had actively protected her independence through international T., the powers continued to pursue their economic interests with her in a most paternalistic way. This became obvious in the ↗Tripartite agreement of 1906 (Keefer 1981; Marcus 1964), which is a T. on Ethiopia without Ethiopia being a signatory (cp. also the secret T., Schwarz 1937:41). Between the victory of ᶜAdwa and World War I, Ethiopia signed numerous T. of friendship with other powers such as the United States (cp. ↗Skinner Mission), as well as Italy (↗Addis Ababa Treaty of 1896 [s. EAE vol. 5], the Italian–Ethiopian Treaty of Friendship and Arbitration of 1928), ↗France, ↗United Kingdom, ↗Austria, ↗Germany (T. of Friendship and Commerce of 1905, Friedrich ↗Rosen; for detailed lists s. Hertslett 1967; cp. Reischies 1937; Rossetti 1910). Further T. were concluded over specific questions, from postal services to the monopoly of Ethiopia over telegraphs (cp. the protest by *ləǧ* ↗Iyasu against the British violation of this T., Smidt in PICES 16).

While Ethiopia strengthened its independence and territorial sovereignty through T., several important T. on specific territories within Ethiopia were also concluded. The specific British interests in the Sudanese border areas, and Ethiopia's interest in having a commercial station linking it with the Sudan, motivated Mənilək II to conclude a "lease" T. relating to Itang on the ↗Baro River at the border, to be administered by the British. In this Anglo–Ethiopian T. of 15 May 1902, Art. IV permitted the British to establish a trading post on the frontier between the Sudan and Ethiopia on the Baro some 2,000 m long and not to exceed 4,000 acres. As Itang was found unsuitable for British settlement, the T. was instead applied on 8 October 1904 over ↗Gambella. It was administered by the Sudan Customs Department until Ethiopia unilaterally announced that it would take over the administration of the enclave on 30 October 1954. Thereafter a Sudanese–Ethiopian T. was concluded according to which Gambella was handed over to Ethiopia on 15 October 1956 (Birhanu Dibaba 1974; but cp. the disputed ↗Ilemi Triangle [s. EAE vol. 5], cp. also Mburu 2011). A comparable T. was concluded with the French on the ↗Chemin de fer franco-éthiopien, allowing French administration along the line. This subsequently led to the foundation of ↗Dərre Dawa within the French-administered strip of land. This assured that this line was closely connected with the colonial territory of Djibouti, which included the use of Djibouti ↗currency in that territory (until the 1950s).

After ↗World War II and the end of Italian colonialism in Ethiopia, a variety of T. have been concluded between western allies and Ethiopia, concerning her boundaries and sovereignty. Notable T. are the Anglo–Ethiopian Agreement of 1944, concerning Ethiopia's then restricted sovereignty under British control (↗United Kingdom). This was ended only in the 1950s when British-controlled territories in Somali (↗Ogaden) were handed back to Ethiopia. Further important border T. were the 1947 border agreement on the Kenyan border with Ethiopia or the Franco–Ethiopian Agreement of 1954, concerning the position of Lake Af^{c}ambo and the border with Djibouti (for details on the boundary T., s. Brownlie 1979).

Multilateral conventions

Starting from 1896 Ethiopia entered into the international concert of states in a Western sense, which immediately led to multilateral T. being signed, ratified, or both by accession; for example, Ethiopia entered into the Postal Union (↗Stamps) and signed T. with the International ↗Red Cross Society, Geneva. As an original founding member of the ↗United Nations in 1945, Ethiopia was one of the 51 signatories of UN-Charter and is also a founding member of the ↗Organisation of African Unity, meanwhile replaced by the African Union in 2002, hosting its headquarter in Addis Abäba. Subsequently Ethiopia became signatory to a number of different conventions, such as to the thematically relevant Vienna Convention of the Law of Treaties (signed 1970), the Geneva Conventions (signed 1969), the Genocide Convention (signed 1949), and a long series of multilateral T. created mostly within the framework of the UN (s., e.g., UN Depository Library 202 in Heidelberg, Germany, on file with the authors). It is, however, worth noting that Ethiopia does not rely on the 1949 Conventions. The T. excludes protections of political groups while Ethiopian domestic law on genocide and crimes against humanity contains a wider scope of application. It tries the accused, which criminalizes the destruction of groups on grounds of their political beliefs. Thus, unlike most other national penal laws the Ethiopian Penal Code of 1957 (↗Criminal codes) did not only adopt the major rules of the 1949 Convention eight years after ratification but was also used to charge Mängəśtu Ḫaylä Maryam and his co-accused, quite unique, beyond the scope of international law (Elliesie 2009: 40).

Src.: Manfred Kropp, *Die äthiopischen Königschroniken in der Sammlung des Däǧǧazmač Ḫaylu*: *Entstehung und handschriftliche Überlieferung des Werks*, Frankfurt am Main et al. 1989 (Heidelberger Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des modernen Vorderen Orients 13), 70, 271; Langton Prendergast Welsh, *Under the Flag, and Somali Coast Stories*, London 1932; RubActa I, 40f.

Lit.: Gideon Biger, *The Encyclopaedia of International Boundaries*, New York 1995; Birhanu Dibaba, *A Historical Study of Trade in North-Eastern Illubabor and South-Western Wallaga* (*ca. 1900–1935*), B.A. thesis, Addis Ababa University 1973; Francis Breyer, *Ägypten und Anatolien*: *Politische, kulturelle und sprachliche Kontakte zwischen dem Niltal und Kleinasien im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr*., Wien 2010; Ian Brownlie, *African Boundaries*: *a Legal and Diplomatic Encyclopaedia*, London 1979; Dirk Bustorf, *Leemo-Hadiyya und Indagayn-Gurage*: *Zur Geschichte und Gegenwart ihrer interethnischen Beziehungen*, M.A. thesis, Georg August-Universität Göttingen 2002, chs. 5-6; Richard Caulk, "*Between the Jaws of Hyenas*": *a Diplomatic History of Ethiopia* (*1876–1896*), ed. by Bahru Zewde, Wiesbaden 2002 (AeF 60); Kofi Darkwah, *Shewa, Menilek and the Ethiopian Empire 1813–1889*, London 1975; Wilhelm G. Grewe, "Vom europäischen zum universellen Völkerrecht: Zur Frage der Revision des 'europazentrischen' Bildes der Völkerrechtsgeschichte", *Zeitschrift für ausländisches öffentliches Recht und Völkerrecht* 42, 1982, 449–79; David Hamilton, "Schedule of International Agreements Relating to the Boundaries of Ethiopia", *EthObs* 16, 2, 1973, 58–69; Hatem Elliesie, "Amharisch als diplomatische Sprache im Völkervertragsrecht", *Aethiopica* 11, 2008, 235–44; Id., "Different Approaches to Genocide Trials under National Jurisdictions on the African Continent: the Rwandan, Ethiopian and Sudanese Cases", *Recht in Afrika* 12, 2009, 21–67; Id. "*Völkerrechtliche Beziehungen zwischen Äthiopien und Italien in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts im Lichte des Vertrages von* ውጫሌ (in preparation); Edward Hertslett, *The Map of Africa by Treaty*, rev. by Richard William Bryant – Harry Leslie Sherwood, vol. 2: *Abyssinia and Great Britain and France*, London 1967; Robert L. Hess, "The Mad Mullah and Northern Somalia", *JAH* 5, 1964, 415–33, here: 431; Edward C. Keefer, "Great Britain, France, and the Ethiopian Tripartite Treaty of 1906", *Albion*: *a Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 13, 4, 1981, 364–80; Horst Klengel, *Hattuschili und Ramses: Hethiter und Ägypter – ihr langer Weg zum Frieden*, Mainz 2002 (Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt 95); Harold Golden Marcus, "A Preliminary History of the Tripartite Treaty of Dec. 13, 1906", *JES* 1, 1, 1964, 21–41; Nene Mburu, "Delimitation of the Elastic Ilemi Triangle: Pastoral Conflicts and Official Indifference in the Horn of Africa", *African Studies Quarterly* [2011, online journal]; Negaso Gidada, *History of the Sayyoo Oromoo of Southwestern Wallaga, Ethiopia from about 1730 to 1886,* Addis Ababa 2001; Cengiz Orhonlu, "XVI. asrın ilk yarısında Kızıldeniz sahillerinde Osmanlılar", *Tarih Dergisi* 12/16, 1962, 1–24; Id., *Osmanlı İmperatorluğu'nun Güney Siyaseti*: *Habeş Eyaleti*, İstanbul 1974 (İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları No. 1856); Rita Pankhurst, "Art in the Service of Diplomacy in Shäwa in the Early Eighteen-Forties: a Treaty, and a Letter from King Sahlä Sellasé to Queen Victoria", in: *PICEA* 7, 23–48; Stephanos Pierre Pétridès, *Le livre d'or de la dynastie salomonienne d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1964, 153f., 158; Siegfried Reischies, *Abessinien als Kampfobjekt der großen Mächte von 1880–1916 auf Grund der diplomatischen Akten*, Nieft 1937; Carlo Rossetti, *Storia diplomatica della Etiopia durante il regno di Menelik II*: *Trattati, accordi, convenzioni, protocolli, atti di concessione ed altri documenti relativi all'Etiopia, corredati da note esplicative*, Torino 1910; Sven Rubenson, "The Adwa Peace Treaty of 1884", in: *PICES* 3, 1, 225–36; Id., *Wichale XVII*: *the Attempt to Establish a Protectorate over Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 1964; Carlo Giglio, *L'Articolo XVII del Trattato di Uccialli,* Como 1968; RubInd 129ff.; Herbert Schwarz, *Die Entwicklung der völkerrechtlichen Beziehungen Äthiopiens zu den Mächten seit 1885*, Breslau 1937 (Abhandlungen aus dem Staats- und Verwaltungsrecht mit Einschluß des Völkerrechts 58); Wolbert Smidt, "Friedensräume in Tigray unter Druck von kriegerischer Gewalt und Reform", in: Annette Hornbacher (ed.), *Ethik, Ethos, Ethnos, Aspekte und Probleme interkultureller Ethik*, Bielefeld 2006, 367–89; Id., "Unvereinbare Rechts- und Weltentwürfe: Grenzverläufe zwischen Äthiopien und Eritrea aus zwei Perspektiven – ein versteckter Kriegsgrund", in: Abdulkader Saleh et al. (eds.), *Friedensräume in Eritrea und Tigray unter Druck*: *Identitätskonstruktion, soziale Kohäsion und politische Stabilität*, Münster 2008 (Afrikanische Studien 39), 293–321; Id., "The Foreign Politics of Lij Iyasu in 1915/16 According to Newly Discovered Government Papers", in: *PICES* 16, 62–70; Edward Ullendorff, "The 1897 Treaty between Great Britain and Ethiopia", *RSE* 22, 1968, 116–34.

Wolbert G.C. Smidt – Hatem Elliesie

U

Ullendorff, Edward

U. (b. 25 January 1920, Berlin, d. 6 March 2011, Oxford) was a Semitist and leading British éthiopisant during the second half of the 20th cent. Though born in Berlin, U. often liked to recount that he was born in Zürich

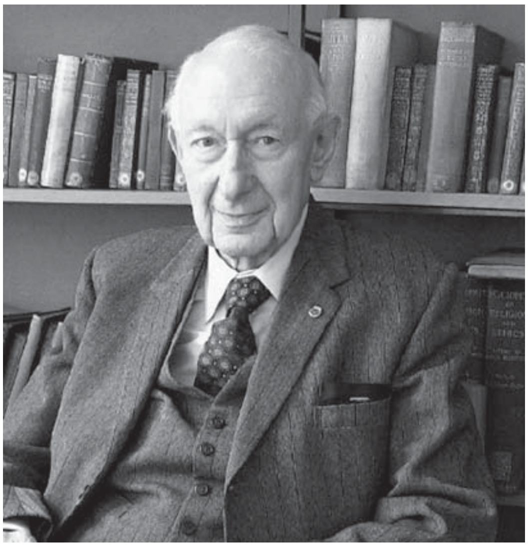
U. received his M.A. in Semitic languages from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in 1942, where he studied Ethiopian Semitic languages under Hans Jacob ↗Polotsky. His language skills led to various positions with the ↗British Military Administration in Eritrea and Ethiopia between 1942 and 1946, where he was also among the founding editors of the first Təgrəñña-language newspaper, the ↗*Eritrean Weekly News*.

After a short service in the Palestine Mandatory Government (1947–48), U. began his academic career in Oxford, tutoring Colonial Service cadets in Arabic. From Oxford he obtained his Ph.D. with a dissertation on the comparative phonology of Ethiopian Semitic (publ. 1955). In 1950 he was appointed Lecturer (and in 1956 Reader) in Semitic Languages at the University of St. Andrews. In 1959 he took up the Chair in Semitic Languages and Literatures at the University of Manchester. Finally, in 1964 he moved to the ↗School of Oriental and African Studies, taking the Chair in ↗Ethiopian Studies that had been specially created for him: the first Chair in Ethiopian Studies anywhere in the world. From 1979 until his retirement in 1982 U. held the Chair in Semitic Languages.

U.'s extensive œuvre includes over 600 works in the fields of both Ethiopian and Semitic studies, on philological and linguistic as well as non-linguistic themes. Major studies include the 1967 British Academy Schweich Lectures on Biblical Archaeology (published as UllBibl), and two jointly written works, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch* (1978, with Knibb) and *The Hebrew Letters of Prester John* (1982, with Beckingham). During his time in London, the study and teaching of Ethiopian languages acquired a regular basis, aided by his chrestomathies for Amharic (1965) and Təgrəñña (1985). Also of particular note are his translation of the first volume of *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I's autobiography (HSLife I) and his general survey *The Ethiopians …* (1960), as well as his account of his early adult years in Palestine and in Eritrea and Ethiopia, *The Two Zions …* (1988).

Alongside Ethiopian Studies, U. was particularly interested in Hebrew of all periods and its Near Eastern background, publishing a number of studies on that language.

U.'s contribution to the academic sphere in the ↗United Kingdom also included an active membership in various scholarly bodies, most notably as vice-president of the British Academy (1980–82), as well as serving as chair of the editorial boards of the *Journal of Semitic Studies* (1959–64) and the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (1968–78).



Edward Ullendorff; photo ca. 2000, courtesy of David Appleyard

In recognition of his scholarship U. was elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1965; in 1960 he was granted the Imperial Ethiopian Gold Medallion and in 1972 the Haile Selassie International Prize for Ethiopian Studies; in 1998 he received the rare honour of being one of the few British scholars to be elected a foreign associate of the Italian Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.

Ullendorff, Edward

Src.: for bibliography s. Hopkins 1989; Ullendorff 2000; Appleyard 2010 and 2011; HSLife I; UllBibl; EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *The Semitic Languages of Ethiopia: a Comparative Phonology,* London 1955; ID., *The Ethiopians: an Introduction to Country and People*, London – Oxford – New York 1960 [repr. 1966, 1973]; ID., *An Amharic Chrestomathy*, London – Oxford 1965; ID. [with MICHAEL A. KNIBB] (ed., tr.), *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: a New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*, Oxford 1978; ID. [with CHARLES FRASER BECKINGHAM] (ed., tr.), *The Hebrew Letters of Prester John*, Oxford 1982; ID., *A Tigrinya (Təgrəñña) Chrestomathy,* Stuttgart 1985 (AeF 19); ID., *The Two Zions: Reminiscences of Jerusalem and Ethiopia*, Oxford – New York 1988.

Lit.: DAVID L. APPLEYARD, "Edward Ullendorff", *Aethiopica* 13, 2010, 201–04; ID., "Edward Ullendorff (1920–2011)", *International Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 5, 2, 2011a, 178–81; ID., "Obituary: Edward Ullendorff, 1920–2011", *BSOAS* 74, 2011b, 463–68; SIMON HOPKINS, "Bibliography of the Writings of Professor Edward Ullendorff", *JSS* 34, 1989, 253–89; MICHAEL A. KNIBB, "In memoriam Edward Ullendorff (1920–2011)", *Aethiopica* 14, 2011 [2012], 221–26; DINA ULLENDORFF, "Bibliography of the Writings of Professor Edward Ullendorff (1988–99)", *JSS* 45, 2000, 131–36.

David L. Appleyard

V

Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland

The monographic series, generally referred to as VOHD, has been published in Germany since 1961 by the Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden (from 1988/89 Stuttgart). It is the largest worldwide series of catalogues of Oriental ↗manuscripts, and the second largest, after the ↗Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, of Ethiopic manuscripts.

Catalogues have been an essential tool for scholars of Oriental studies in Germany since mid-19th cent. (see e.g., Heinrich von Ewald's catalogues of Tübingen manuscripts of 1844 and 1847 and ↗Dillmann's Berlin catalogue of 1878, as the earliest examples of Ethiopian manuscripts). While German libraries – in particular the ↗Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, but also other institutions – continuously augmented their Oriental manuscript collections, few catalogue volumes were produced in the first half of the 20th cent. The vast majority of manuscripts thus remained uncatalogued and therefore to a large extent inaccessible to scholars.

The situation changed fundamentally when, in 1957, the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft (DMG, German Orientalist Society) proposed a new project, the Katalogisierung der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland (KOHD, Union Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts in German Collections). Funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation), the KOHD largely accepted for its VOHD series the cataloguing guidelines developed for cataloguing medieval (German) manuscripts, also funded by the DFG. In 1990 the project was taken over by the Göttingen Academy of Sciences and Humanities; since 1996 it has been also under the patronage of the Union Académique Internationale, Brussels. The head office remains at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, the holder of the largest Oriental manuscript collection in Germany.

The first KOHD director was Wolfgang Voigt, of the Oriental Department of the Westdeutsche Bibliothek in Marburg (one of the successor institutions of the Preußische Staatsbibliothek). The first volume of the VOHD appeared as soon as 1961; it described Mongolian manuscripts and block prints. By the end of 2011, 143 volumes of descriptive catalogues and 52 supplementary volumes had appeared, covering various topics connected with Oriental manuscripts and their texts. The number of volumes devoted to a language or language group may vary considerably, ranging from just a single volume (e.g., Lao manuscripts) to multi-volume catalogues (e.g., Indian, Arabic, Tibetan, or Turkic language manuscripts).

Cataloguing (Christian) Ethiopic manuscripts became a work unit within KOHD on the initiative of Ernst ↗Hammerschmidt. The very first Ethiopia-related VOHD issue was a special volume on illuminated manuscripts he produced in collaboration with Otto Jäger (1968; VOHD XV). Hammerschmidt was the first to microfilm manuscripts in the field. For the first two proper descriptive catalogue volumes, he prepared a description of part of the manuscripts he had microfilmed in the monasteries of Lake ↗Ṭana (↗Kəbran Gäbrəᵓel and ↗Däbrä Maryam with ↗Rema = VOHD XX, 1 and 2, in 1973 and 1977, respectively; s. HamTana I, II). The description methodology as well as the editorial standards he introduced still prevail today. A third volume was finalized by Veronika Six (VOHD XX, 3, in 1999; s. SixTana III). Three more of the VOHD Ethiopic series (volumes VOHD XX, 4, 5 and 6, in 1983, 1989, 1994) describe manuscripts in German collections (s. HamSixBerl, SixBay, SixDeu). Single manuscripts purchased after 1994 have been regularly described in the journal *Aethiopica,* also by Six.

Ethiopic manuscripts in Arabic as well as *ᶜağamī* (in ↗Harari and ↗Səlṭe) manuscripts from the Schlobies and Wagner collections (Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, respectively), were also described in one of the VOHD volumes edited by Ewald Wagner (VOHD XXIV, 2, in 1997; s. WagHand).

The VOHD also gives room for case studies, dedicated to one specific topic (e.g., text editions), and published in supplementary volumes. For the Ethiopian series the work by Six (1975) on the *Vita* of ↗Tadewos of Däbrä Maryam should be mentioned.

Src.: *http://kohd.adw-goe.de/* [last access: 21 May 2012]; HamTana I, II; HamSixBerl; Ernst Hammerschmidt – Otto Arnold Jäger, *Illuminierte Handschriften in Deutschland*, Stuttgart 1968 (VOHD XV); SixBay; SixDeu; SixTana III; Veronika Six (ed., tr.), *Die Vita des Abuna Tādēwos von Dabra Māryām im Ṭānāsee*, Wiesbaden 1975 (VOHD, suppl. 18); WagHand.

Lit.: Dieter George, "25 Jahre Katalogisierung der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland (1957–1982)", *Mitteilungen Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz* 15, 1983, 156–65; Ernst Hammerschmidt, "Wolfgang Voigt (1911–1982)", *ZDMG* 135, 1985, 1–9; Id., "Die äthiopistischen Studien in Deutschland (von ihren Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart)", *AE* 6, 1965, 255–77; Wolfgang Voigt, "Die Katalogisierung der orientalischen Handschriften und das 'Verzeichnis'", *Jahrbuch Preußischer Kulturbesitz* 13, 1976, 157–67; Hartmut-Ortwin Feistel, "Orientalist Library Resources in Germany: an Introduction", *IIAS Newsletter, Supplement* 4, 1995, 11–15.

Hartmut-Ortwin Feistel – Siegbert Uhlig

Vittori, Mariano

V. (also Vettori, Lat. Victorius, hence sometimes "Vittorio"; b. 1518, Rieti, d. 29 June 1572, Rieti) was a Catholic ecclesiastic and scholar with a keen interest in Greek and Hebrew as well as in Ethiopian studies. Born Mariano Amoretti, he had his family name changed to V. in memory of an uncle who was particularly supportive of his studies.

V. belonged to the circle of prelates from the Roman Curia who, within the framework of the so-called Catholic reformation and its renewed attention to Oriental languages, gathered around Petrus Aethiops (↗Täsfa Ṣəyon, s. EAE vol. 5) at ↗Santo Stefano dei Mori. Their aim was to learn the mysterious "Chaldaic" language – then a label for ↗Gəᶜəz – as a key to the most ancient phases of the biblical text. V. was introduced to that scholarly and intellectual milieu – which enjoyed the patronage of Pope Paul III (1534–49) and had strong ties with the philo-Protestant Italian (or better Paduan) followers of Erasmus of Rotterdam – by Cardinal Reginald Pole (d. 1558). The latter was a friend of Erasmus whom he had accompanied, as secretary, on diplomatic missions to Brussels in October 1553, Paris in 1553–54, and London in November 1554 (Sacchetti Sassetti 1917: 32f.). With Cardinal Pole and other important fellows from the Roman Curia, V. appears as a patron of the ↗Jacobite priest Moses of Mārdīn in an Arabic (*ġaršūnī*) colophon of the Latin Roman Missal in Syriac script copied by Moses himself on commission of Täsfa Ṣəyon (1548–49), now ms. BritLib Harley 5512, fol. 179r: "the priest Messer Mariano [*Mâryânô*], humble like Joseph son of Patriarch Jacob" (Levi Della Vida 1939: 142ff. and n. 5; cp. Wilkinson 2007: 68ff. and n. 23).

In 1556, Pole, whose financial means were always limited, recommended V. to Bishop Pierfrancesco Gagliano as his vicar in Pistoia, but apparently without success (Mayer 1996: 420 and n. 5; Id. 2000: 101 and n. 180). Gagliano had been a Savonarolan and a friend of the ecclesiastical reformer, Gasparo Contarini. It was probably through an appointment by Pole, however, that V. became a canon of Santa Maria in Cosmedin, the cardinal's titular church in Rome. Long after retiring to Viterbo as a protector of the "Spirituals" (an evangelical movement animated by Juan Valdés), Pole wrote an enthusiastic letter concerning V. to his friend and fellow "Spiritual" Cardinal Giovanni Morone (Sacchetti Sassetti 1917: 30 and 38f.). This letter may have helped V. find a place in Morone's household: in 1563, the cardinal requested V.'s participation, as both a theologian and "auditor" (the official who hears and examines the causes submitted to the pope), in the last sessions of the reconvened Council of Trent (ibid. 42f.; cp. Mayer 1996: 420 and n. 6). In 1571 V. was elected bishop of Amelia (today's province of Narni). On 9 June 1572 he was transferred to his native diocese of Rieti but he died the same month, just before taking possession of it – and, reportedly, becoming a cardinal himself.

V. authored several books on theology, canon law, liturgy, ethics and history: among them, a dissertation on the sacrament of confession, which appeared in 1562 and was reprinted in 1566; a catalogue of the archbishops of Canterbury followed by a life of St. Thomas More, posthumously edited by Gerhard Voss in 1604; an essay *De antiquitatibus Italiae et Urbis Reatis* ('On the antiquities of Italy and the town of Rieti') or *De antiquitatibus Rheatae* ('On the antiquities of Rieti'), undertaken in 1566, which was the first attempt at systematizing local history and tradition. Entrusted by Popes Pius IV and Pius V with the critical edition of the works by St. Jerome (from which he extracted the saint's Vita) and other Church fathers, he published his scholia to Jerome's *Letters* in 1556.

Yet V.'s most renowned work is the first ever grammar of the Gəᶜəz language, *Chaldeae, seu Aethiopicae linguae institutiones* ('Elements of

Chaldaic, or Ethiopic language'), published in Rome, in 1552, and financed by Täsfa Ṣəyon. It was produced by the same printer, Valerio Dorico from Brixia (this time, *opera Angeli de Oldradis*, 'through the action of Angelo Oldradi', s. Barberi 1965: 237 and n. 26), and using the same font as Täsfa Ṣəyon's *Testamentum Novum* (1548–49), to the edition of which V. had contributed together with Pietro Paolo Gualtieri (s. the colophon of part [II], c. 225). The *Institutiones* were inspired by Gualtieri, who had called V.'s critical attention to the short sketch of "Chaldaic" grammar added, with a syllabarium, at the end of ↗Potken's *Psalterium* (cp. Lefevre 1966: 23f. and n. 22). V. completed the grammatical outline of Gəᶜəz with sections on the language of the "ancient Sabinians" (*veterum Sabinorum*), "used today by Ethiopians in some parts, and by Sabaeans and Nubians", and on Ethiopian ↗music, ↗numbers and reckoning. He dedicated this work to Cardinal Marcello Cervini (the future Pope Marcel II).

V.'s *Institutiones* obviously reflect the teaching of Täsfa Ṣəyon, who must also have provided information for the precious *Libellus* ('Booklet') on the kings of Ethiopia *ab inundato terraru*(*m*) *orbe usq*(*ue*) *ad nostra te*(*m*)*pora* ('from the Flood up to our times'), published as an appendix to the book (cc. [37]–[38] H.I–II), with a proper front page and important historical abstracts from the Vitae of "Lalibala" (↗Lalibäla) and "Imra" (i.e Yəmrəḥa/Yəmraḥ; ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos). For the "catalogue" of the kings, the *Libellus* seems to depend upon the today's ms. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Acq. e doni 38 (1530 A.D.), which includes a similar list "from ↗Arwe to ↗Ləbnä Dəngəl", fols. 139–43 (Marrassini 1988: 77, no. 13 [§viii]; s. already CRStor 12) – and was possibly related to Täsfa Ṣəyon and Santo Stefano dei Mori.

Neither the *Libellus* nor the section on music are found in the 1630 edition (the second and last one) of V.'s grammar, supervised by Achille Venerio, a canon of San Nicola in Carcere, for the ↗Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide. The *Libellus* alone was included in Andreas Schott's famous collection (1603) and Girolamo Vecchietti's treatise on chronology (1621; s. CRStor 11 and nn. 2–3), and eventually reproduced by Jules ↗Perruchon (1893: 368f.).

Src.: PETRUS ETHYOPS [= TÄSFA ṢƏYON] (ed.), *Testamentum Novum, cum Epistola ad Hebraeos tantum, cum concordantiis Evangelistarum Eusebii…*, [II], Romae 1549, c. 225; ms. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Acq. e doni 38, fols. 139–43; MARIANUS VICTORIUS REATINUS, *Chaldeae, seu Aethiopicae linguae Institutiones: Nunquam antea a Latinis visae, opus utile, ac eruditum*, Item. *Omnium Aethiopiae regum qui ab inundato terrarum orbe usque ad nostra tempora imperarunt libellus: Hactenus tam Graecis, q(uam) Latinis ignoratus, nuper ex Aethiopica translatus lingua*, Romae 1552; ID., *De sacramento confessionis*, Romae 1562 and 1566; ID., *In omnes divi Hieronymi Epistolas eruditissima scholia, in quibus* […] *menda, quibus eas deformatas reliquit Erasmus, tolluntur* …, Venetiis 1556; ID., *Cantuariensium archiepiscoporum omnium* […] *catalogus* …, a doct. GERARDO VOSSIO in lucem editus notisque illustratus, Romae 1604; ID., **ዝንቱ ፡ መጽሐፍ ፡ ትምህርት ፡ ዘልሰነ ፡ ግዕዝ ፡ ዛይሰመይ ፡ ከሌዳዊ ፡ ሐዲስ ፡ ስርአት ፡ ተገብረ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይትመሀሩ ፡ እለ ፡ ኢየአምሩ ፡ ሠናይ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ተገብረ ፡ በእይ ፡ ማሪአኖ ፡ ዊቶሪኦ ፡ ዘሪእቱ** [sic] ። / *Chaldeae, seu Aethiopicae linguae Institutiones. Opus utile, ac eruditum*, Romae 1630; ANDREAS SCHOTTUS (ed.), *Hispaniae illustratae, urbiumq(ue) Hispaniae, Lusitaniae, Aethiopiae et Indiae scriptores varii*, vol. II, Francofurti 1603, 1278–81 ("Catalogus omnium Aethiopiae regum"); HIERONYMI VECCHIETTI *De anno primitivo ab exordio mundi ad annum Iulianum accomodato, et de sacrorum temporum ratione*, Augustae Vindelicorum 1621, 69a–71b (§§XXVIII–XLI); JULES PERRUCHON, "Notes pour l'histoire d'Éthiopie. Lettre adressée par le roi d'Éthiopie au roi Georges de Nubie sous le patriarcat de Philothée (981–1002 ou 1003", [II], *RevSém* 1, 1893, 359–72, here 368f.; PAUL OSKAR KRISTELLER, *Iter Italicum*, vol. 1: *Italy* (*Agrigento to Novara*), London – Leiden 1965, 405, and vol. 2: *Italy* (*Orvieto to Volterra*), Vatican City 1967, 229, 348*, 351*.

Lit.: FRANCESCO BARBERI, "I Dorico, tipografi a Roma nel Cinquecento", *La Bibliofilía* 67, 1965, 221–59, here 237 and n. 26; CESARE CANTÙ, *Gli eretici d'Italia. Discorsi storici*, vol. 1, Torino 1865, 347; CRStor 11f. and nn. 1–3; GIUSEPPE FUMAGALLI, *Bibliografia Etiopica*, Milano 1893, 119, nos. 1172–73; RENATO LEFEVRE, *L'Etiopia nella stampa del primo Cinquecento*, Como 1966 (Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto italiano per l'Africa – Quaderni d'Africa, ser. I, 3), 15f. and n. 22 [= *Africa* (Rome) 20, 1965, 345–69, and 21, 1966, 53–69, here 367f. and n. 22]; WOLF LESLAU, *An Annotated Bibliography of the Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*, The Hague 1965 (Bibliographies on the Near East 1), nos. 610, 747; GIORGIO LEVI DELLA VIDA, *Ricerche sulla formazione del più antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Città del Vaticano 1939 (Studi e testi 92), 142ff. and n. 5; PAOLO MARRASSINI, "I manoscritti etiopici della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze [IIª parte]", *RSE* 31, 1987 [1988], 69–110, here 75ff., no. 13 (§VIII); THOMAS F. MAYER, "When Maecenas was Broke: Cardinal Pole's 'Spiritual' Patronage", *The Sixteenth-Century Journal* 27, 1996, 419–35, here 420 and nn. 5–6; ID., *Reginald Pole*: *Prince and Prophet*, Cambridge 2000, 101 and n. 180; STUART [C.] MUNRO-HAY, *Ethiopia Unveiled*: *Interaction between Two Worlds*, Hollywood, CA 2006, 81 and n. 109 (264); ANGELO SACCHETTI SASSETTI, *La vita e gli scritti di Mariano Vittori*, Rieti 1917, 30, 32f., 38f.; ROBERT J. WILKINSON, *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation*: *the First Printing of the Syriac New Testament*, Leiden 2007 (Studies in the History of Christian Traditions 137), 68ff. and n. 23 (Lit.).

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

W

Wädağa

W. (**ወዳጃ**) is a collective ceremony of the ↗Oromo traditional religion whose content and form have acquired a clear Muslim character among Islamized Oromo. The name W. is also attributed to the rituals of the ↗possession cults in ↗Gondär and the ↗*čat* chewing sessions in ↗Wällo or elsewhere (e.g., Səlṭe).

The origin of the word W. is not entirely clear. Cerulli (1922: 136) connects it to the Somali *wadaad* (originally 'magician', then 'Islamic learned man'). Another etymology derives W. from the Oromo divine name *Wadai* (Azaïs – Chambard 1931: 109f.; da Thiene 1939: 328 'spirit of the W. ceremony') which is invoked by the participants of the ceremony. The word W. eventually entered Amharic (GuiVoc 592; KaneDic 1572) and Harari (Abdurahman Mähammäd Qorram 1991/92: 162).

At least four different types of ceremony are labelled W. in the sources: a traditional Oromo communal or family prayer; an Islamic collective but not canonical prayer; a session of the ↗*zar* cult; and a *čat* chewing ritual. Seemingly, the common denominator underlying all these different kinds of W. is the gathering of people in supplication of a deity or a powerful spirit.

A description of a traditional Oromo W. performed in the area of ↗Harär was provided by ↗Azaïs and ↗Chambard (1931: 109–15) on the basis of the data collected by ↗Jarosseau. The ceremony, which could be regional, local or simply familiar, was guided by a ministrant (*rabsa*) and two assistants (*katabe* and *bule*). Sacrifices, prayers and a communal meal were the main features of the W. (ibid. 109–12; s. also HuntGal 79f.). Cerulli translated and analysed five propitiatory songs chanted by the traditional Oromo faithful during the W. which he describes as a ceremony directed by the father of the family or an invited elder and consisting in the sacrifice of a sheep or, alternatively, in a "*tufa* (blessing by means of spitting) of beer or hydromel, followed by libations" (CerFolk 136–39).

In 1842 a W. of the Muslim Wällo Oromo was observed by ↗Isenberg and ↗Krapf (IsKrapf 323f.: *wadācha*) who describe it as a morning communal prayer (lasting on Wednesday and Friday until noon), apparently not much different from a ↗*ḏikr*. Some years later, the Chronicle of ↗Tewodros by ↗Zännäb (ZanLitTheod 19; MorTeod 161) mentions how *šayḫ* Yāsīn of Amora Gadal (↗Wärrä Himäno) organized a W. (W. *yazä*: in this context apparently a kind of *ḏikr* session with *duʿāʾ*, invocations to God) to hinder – to no avail – the coming of the king to his territory. Nowadays, at the pilgrimage site of ↗Faraqasa the main assembly held in praise and honour of *ayyo* ↗Momina (or Mumina, s. EAE vol. 5) is commonly called W. (Gemechu Jemal Geda 2007: 63f). It has been appropriately observed that the traditional W. easily acquired a Muslim character (TrIslam 274) and could thus have become one of the most powerful catalysts of the process of Islamization among the Oromo.

W. in the meaning of exorcism sessions of the *zar* cult in the Gondär region is mentioned by ↗Rodinson (1967: 64 [and n. 5 with further bibliography], 123). One could surmise that the word W. was originally used by Christian Amhara to refer derogatorily to a ceremony perceived as alien and unorthodox, and the meaning was then transferred to the *zar* sessions.

W. *čat* chewing sessions are essential parts of the ritual in both the Muslim W. and the *zar* cult W., while they are not attested in the traditional Oromo W. Hussein Ahmed (2010) describes in detail the different types of W. *čat* ceremonies among the Wällo Muslims and also points out the changes which they have undergone lately: in particular, after ↗World War II, W., originally a ritual of devotion, worship and supplication, slowly evolved towards a mere gathering of acquaintances and friends with scant or no religious connotation.

Src.: ABDURAHMAN MÄHAMMÄD QORRAM, *Čuqti kətab. Härari–Amarəñña mäzgäbä qalat*, Addis Abäba, 1984 A.M. [1991/92 A.D.]; FRANÇOIS BERNARDIN AZAÏS – ROGER CHAMBARD, *Cinq années de recherches archéologiques en Éthiopie*: *Province du Harar et Éthiopie méridionale*, Paris 1931; CerFolk 136–39; GAETANO DA THIENE, *Dizionario della lingua Galla*, Harar 1939; GuidiVoc 592; IsKrapf 323f.; KaneDic 1572; MAXIME RODINSON, *Magie, médicine, possession à Gondar*, Paris – La Haye 1967 (Le monde d'outremer, passé et présent); ZanLitTheod 19; MorTeod 161.

Lit.: Gemechu Jemal Geda, *The Faraqasa Indigenous Pilgrimage Center*: *History and Ritual Practices*, M.A. thesis, University of Tromsø 2007; Hussein Ahmed, "Tradition and Innovation in the Ritual of Khat Consumption in Wallo, Northern Ethiopia", in: Ezekiel Gebissa (ed.), *Taking the Place of Food*: *Khat in Ethiopia*, Trenton, NJ – Asmara 2010, 13-27; HuntGal 79f.; TrIslam 274.

Alessandro Gori

Wädağğe

Ras W. (**ወዳጄ**, also **ወዳጆ**, Wädağo; d. 5 November 1759) was a military officer and governor of several provinces during the reigns of *aṣe* ↗Bäkaffa, *aṣe* ↗Iyasu II and *aṣe* ↗Iyoʾas. He was son of *wäläqa nägaš* Abrako (GuiIyas 76 [text]), a descendant of *ras* ↗Yämanä Krəstos (ibid.; BlunChr 71).

W. succeeded his father as the governor of ↗Wäläqa during the reign of Bäkaffa. In December 1726 he is mentioned as one of the nobles presenting the king with the rich booty collected during one of his raids (GuiIohan 319 [text]). In October 1730, just as W. had defeated the rebel Yabbo Barya, he was asked to join the army of *däğğazmač* Qäññ, *blattengeta* Dawit, *qäññazmač* Ṗeṭros and *šaläqa* Wäräñña, sent byMəntəwwab (↗Bərhan Mogäsa) to quell the revolt headed by a certain Biyadgo Yoḥannəs (GuiIyas 35 [text]). On 9 November, Iyasu and Məntəwwab thanked W. by granting him a ↗*lämd* and fire-arms (ibid. 38).

W.'s repressive measures were once again required by the court during the insurgence of ↗Wägära, which continued even after ↗Tänśe Mammo's arrest and execution (ibid. 76f.). In the ensuing punitive expedition of February 1733, W. was supported by such prominent members of the military nobility as *däğğazmač* Abulidəs, *bašša* ↗Wänd Bäwäsän, *bağərond* Dägago of Səmen and others. However, it was W. who was responsible for the victorious military strategy and for the defeat of the rebel Wäfa Nabute and his followers (ibid. 78f.).

Still in 1733, W. was appointed *däğğazmač* (governor) of ↗Amhara (s. EAE vol. 5), which he governed with a strong hand quelling numerous internal mutinies and keeping the ↗Oromo in check (GuiIyas 76, 81 [text]). However, his expedition alongside *ras* ↗Wäldä Ləʾul against the disobedient *märəd azmač* ↗Abbəyye was unsuccessful; W. and Wäldä Ləʾul were defeated at Ayne in Karrayyu (AWTarik 42 [text]).

In late 1739, a conflict arose between W. and *däğğazmač* Ayo of ↗Bägemdər. When the Emperor offered *däğğazmač* Geta the governorship of the province and Ayo offered military resistance, W., himself aspiring to obtain control of Bägemdər, lent support to Geta (GuiIyas 105ff.). In January 1740, Ayo was defeated, and in July 1740 W. became governor of Bägemdər; Geta was placed over Səmen (ibid. 108). Three years later, in July 1743, the domains were redistributed: Geta became *ṭəqaqən blatten geta*, the governorship of Bägemdər was given to *bašša* (later *qäññazmač*) Mammo, and W. received that of ↗Goğğam. He did not keep the office for long: in January 1744, the Goğğame nobles (Habt Bäwäsän, Ǝnqo Ḥawaryat) and ecclesiastics rose against him. While W. succeeded in quelling the revolt, he had to leave the office to *grazmač* Č̣ole (ibid. 112f.). In August 1745, W. once again became the governor of Amhara (ibid. 117).

In March–April 1746, W. was among Iyasu's leading officers in an expedition to the northern provinces, with fights taking place along the rivers Gaba, ↗Atbara and ↗Täkkäze (ibid. 125f.). In June 1748, he was at the royal court, bringing his booty from a successful incursion against the Oromo (ibid. 143). In September of the same year he was made *ṭəqaqən blatten geta* and given the provinces of Gänğ and Yäwädi, while the governorship of Amhara passed to *däğğazmač* Boru (ibid. 144). In September 1749, W. additionally received the governorship of ↗Agäw (with Amhara being passed to Ǝnda Ləbbu; ibid. 148). Only two years later, in September 1751, he was again made governor of Amhara (Agäw was taken over by *näggadras* ↗Giyorgis; ibid. 154).

W. fought alongside his sovereign in numerous other expeditions (e.g., in March 1753, ibid. 161). He was among the first nobles whom Məntəwwab notified of her son's death on 26 June 1755 (ibid. 165f.). In September 1755, W. attempted to convince the queen that she should appoint him instead of Ayo over Bägemdər, but this was refused and he was sent back to Amhara (ibid. 175f.), where his governorship was confirmed on 1 October 1756 (ibid. 183).

In late 1758–early 1759, a feud arose between W. and *däğğazmač* Awsabyos of Goğğam (ibid. 190). The first clash ended in W.'s favour, but in the subsequent battle he was defeated. Subsequently, W. was removed from office; the governorship of Amhara went to *däğğazmač* Dulo (or Duri; ibid. 192). On 21 October 1759, shortly before his death, W. was given the province of Yəbaba with the title *azzaž* (ibid. 193). W. was buried in the royal compound of ↗Qʷəsqʷam. His military fame survived long after him (cp. BlunChr 10 [text]).

W.'s son *ras* ↗Goššu was one of the main protagonists of the early ↗*Zämänä mäsafənt*. W. also had a daughter, *wäyzäro* Bəččaš, from his liaison with *wäyzäro* Suranteya of Ambassal (BlunChr 71).

W. should not be confused with his namesake Wädağo or Wädağğe Abäddäb of Goğğam, who was prominent during the reign of *aṣe* ↗Susənyos.

Src.: AWTarik 42 (text) = 82f. (tr.); BlunChr 10, 71 (text) = 216, 304 (tr.); BTafA 430 (text) = 431 (tr.), 980, 987; Sevir Chernetsov (tr.), *Efiopskie hroniki XVII–XVIII vekov*, Moskva 1989, s. index; Id. (tr.), *Efiopiskie hroniki XVIII veka*, Moskva 1991, s. index; GuiIohan 319 (text) = 342 (tr.); GuiIyas 35, 38, 76-81, 105–09, 112f., 117, 123, 125f., 143f., 148, 154, 161, 165f., 175f., 183, 190–93 (text) = 37, 40, 81–87, 114–19, 121f., 127, 133, 135f., 154f., 158, 164, 171, 175f., 185f., 193, 200–03 (tr.).

Evgenia Sokolinskaia

Wäg

W. (**ወግ** 'tradition, custom') is a term appearing in different Ethiopian languages in the context of ↗customary ↗law, tradition and lore. It also serves as a basic principle in the *Mäṣḥafä* ↗*śərᶜatä mängəśt*, or *Nägärä wäg*. The semantic core of W. and other words linguistically linked to it, however, seems to point at 'orally transmitted knowledge'.

W. as attested in later Gəᶜəz texts, e.g., in the *Mäṣḥafä śərᶜatä mängəśt*, is to be considered a loanword from Amh., while on etymological grounds *wägᶜ* would be expected, cf. Tgn. *wägᶜi* 'custom, story', Tgr. *wägᶜa* 'converse'; Tgn. *wägᶜayna*, *bäᶜal wägᶜi*; 'riddle', 'story', 'song', 'chant', 'song in honour of the heroes or ancestors' (Leslau 1979: 646). Also Gəᶜəz *wägᶜa* 'talk, narrate', *ʾawgəᶜa* 'to follow the custom', *wägᶜ* 'narrative', 'tradition', 'custom', 'ceremonial' (LesCDic 608 on the basis of later traditional lexicography, not attested in ancient texts, rare, and not in DillmLex) are probably later formations.

In Amh. W. designates 'etiquette, usage(s) or traditional customs' which have largely lost their meaning, (kissing of a person's feet to indicate respect) but which are still observed; right sanctioned by custom, e.g., the headman's right to the tongue of a butchered heifer; the share from a ↗*täzkar* given to the vicars of the church, usually a *dabbo* (↗bread) and a crock of ↗*ṭälla*; *wäg awägga* 'to tell a story'; *wäg awaqi* 'one who knows all the traditions [elder, traditional teacher]', *täwägga* 'to be related, told; to haggle, dicker over the price', *awägga* 'to talk, converse, to narrate, tell stories, to chat'; *balä wäg* 'person who knows local custom and usage', 'one who is versed in the court protocol', 'person who has certain privileges, to a share in the *täzkar*-memorial feast, etc.', 'one who tells interesting stories', 'one who makes or establishes rules', 'dignitary', 'man of rank', 'peer', *wägäñña* 'one who is well-versed in the court etiquette', 'well-born', 'one who praises old customs and pretends to know them as though he had lived in those days', 'boaster', 'braggart', 'one who has a well-furnished, well-ordered house', 'storyteller', 'one who loves to talk', […] 'one who carries out corporal punishments at court', 'goldsmith', 'metalsmith', 'potter', 'tanner'; *awgi* 'one who tills tales, narrates, talks' (KaneDic 1576f., cp. also 1580).

Tgn. has *täwäğᶜe* 'to be discussed, to be transacted, to spread, be disseminated (news)', *awwağəᶜe* 'to cause to spread news', *awğəᶜe* 'to tell, disseminate, spread news', *wäğaᶜ* 'talkative', *wäğᶜa* 'matter, affair, business', *mäwwağəᶜi* 'telltale, one who cannot keep secrets' *məwğaᶜ* 'discussing, spreading secrets, news' (KaneTDic 1796).

Among the ↗Gurage (↗Čaha) W. designates 'custom' but also 'old man from whom one seeks advice in case of misfortune' or 'wise man' (also *wäg awaqi*) and an 'agent of the deity ↗*Waq*' (Leslau 1979: 646). In the ↗Səlṭi language the term *wägagaññe*, 'traditional supreme judge' or 'expert in traditional law and customs' derives from W. (Gutt – Hussein Mohammed 1997: 672). Both W. or *wäg awaqi* and *wägagaññe* may serve as diviners and interpreters of omens (↗Oracles and divination).

Derivates of the term W. can also be recognized, probably as loanwords, in non-Semitic languages, such as ↗Gamo *woga* 'law, tradition' or 'the right way to behave' (Freeman 2002: ix), ↗Gofa *woga* '[traditional] law, judgement, sentence' (Klausberger 1981: 23, 57). *Woga* appears in the ↗Oyda language, in turn, as a loanword from ↗Wälaytta or Gofa. Among the Oyda and ↗Galila the term *kat woga* 'royal law' regulates the behaviour towards the *kati* ('king'), the *kati*'s clan and his belongings. It is basically an oral catalogue of forfeits and punishments, and is decided upon by the royal court (Klausberger 1981: 95, 102, 112, 115, 119, 148f., 154, 195f.; ↗Kingship, divine).

↗Gerontocracy; ↗Šəmagəlle

Src.: GuiVoc 594; Eeva Gutt – Hussein Mohammed, *Silt'e – Amharic – English Dictionary* (*with a Concise Grammar by Ernst-August Gutt*), Addis Ababa 1997, 672; KaneDic 1577; KaneTDic 1796; Wolf Leslau, *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage* (*Ethiopic*), vol. 3: *Etymological Section*, Wiesbaden 1979, 594; LesCDic 608.

Lit.: DENA FREEMAN, *Initiating Change in Highland Ethiopia: Causes and Consequences of Cultural Transformation*, Cambridge 2002, ix; FRIEDRICH KLAUSBERGER, *Woga: Recht und Gesellschaft in Süd-Äthiopien*, Frankfurt am Main — Bern 1981 (Europäische Hochschulschriften 20).

Dirk Bustorf

Wäldä Tənśaᵓe

Əččäge W.T. (**ወልደ ፡ ትንሣኤ**; fl. ca. 1855–67, Gašala) was the 50th *əččäge* of ↗Däbrä Libanos in Šäwa.

Information about W.T. is scarce. He was a native of Gašala, a locality in ↗Qʷara, and thus a compatriot of *aṣe* ↗Tewodros II. W.T. became a monk in the monastery of Nabäga in Fogära. Soon after the coronation, i.e. after 1855, *aṣe* Tewodros II appointed him to the office of *əččäge* to replace ↗Wäldä Maryam (CerDLib III, 162). W.T. apparently kept the position for most of Tewodros's reign. He was succeeded by Gäbrä Iyäsus in 1867.

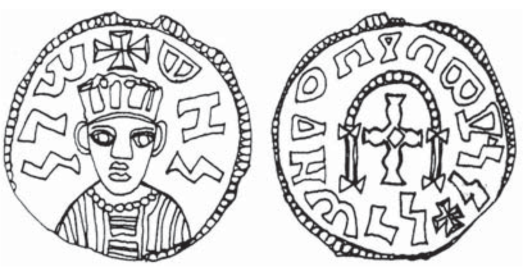
A dubious account told by a monk from Däbrä Libanos to Antonio ↗Cecchi reports that *abunä* ↗Sälama and W.T. gave the order to destroy Däbrä Libanos and to kill over 300 monks; in ↗Azäzo over 200 monks were killed, and many more exiled (CecZeila I, 381). Other sources, however, do not corroborate the story.

Src.: BTafA 453, 565, 984; CecZeila I, 381; CerDLib III, 162.

Sophia Dege

Wazena

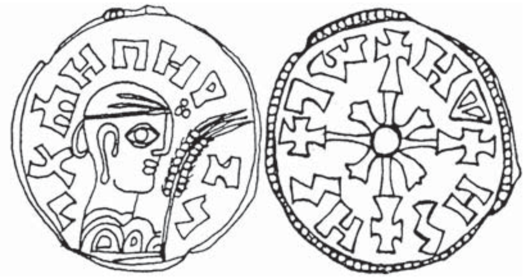
W. or Wäzän(ä) (**ወዘነ**, *WZN*, var. **ዘወዘነ**, *ZWZN*, customarily read *Zä-Wäzen*[*ä*] or *Zä-Wäzän*[*ä*]) is the conventional form of the name of a late 6th/early7th-cent. Christian king of ↗Aksum for which, however, an original vocalization *Wezana cannot be excluded by way of comparison with the (non-Semitic) pattern of ↗Ebana, ↗ᶜEzana, *Ḥetaza (s. ↗Ḥataz), etc. Possibly a successor of ↗Əlla ᶜAmida II, with whom he has been groundlessly identified (MHAksum 84; Hahn 2000: 298f., pl. 311; 2010/11: 15f.), and a predecessor of ↗Əllä Gäbäz II, he is known from his silver and copper ↗coinage alone. Yet, it seems that the name WZN – in no way corresponding to "Ousanas in Greek" (so Munro-Hay 1984: 114f., but s. Bausi 2003: 166f. and nn. 25f.) – appeared, "most probably connected with a royal title", in a fragmentary portion of the never published, nor any longer available, "monumental inscriptions" found by Antonio ↗Mordini in his excavations at the "late Aksumite" site of Maryam ↗Nazret (Mordini 1949: 9 and n. 1, albeit mistaking WZN for the name of a realm/territory "separated from Aksum" or a part of an otherwise unknown "royal title"; cp. Id. 1944–45: 10 and n. 2).



Silver coin of Wazena, diameter ca. 16 mm; drawing courtesy of Wolfgang Hahn

W.'s silver issues (Types 117–17i in Munro-Hay – Juel-Jensen 1995: 214ff.) display, on the obv., the king in a beaded outer border, head and shoulders bust full face, robed in a garment consisting of two panels of almost vertical pleats, some slightly curved, falling from each side, leaving a third panel free in the centre with two (or three?) horizontal stripes or perhaps a cross held in a hand folded across his chest. He wears a subrectangular crown, often gilt (s. Hahn 2002: 125f., fig. 13), or a semicircular diadem, both of large beads, the area between the diadem and the eyebrows being also gilt, with a small cross in the middle of the forehead; the ears are prominent, with earrings. In the field such symbols may be found as a dot, a disc and a crescent; at top, a cross sometimes widely flared. Gəᶜəz legend all round: **ንገሠ** + **ወዘነ**, i.e. *Nəguś WZN*, 'King W.'. On the rev., a central cross voided and inlaid with gold (s. Hahn 2002: 125f., fig. 14), is enclosed by a radial arch on double columns. This is an extremely stylized representation – quite new in the Aksumite numismatic repertoire – of the entrance to the innermost part of the Tomb of Christ in the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem (nothing to do with the "Sacred Book" recognized here by Basile 1995: 236), and foreshadows a design later used frequently in Ethiopian manuscript paintings (Fiaccadori 2003: 199 and 246f.; cp. Munro-Hay in AfrZion 113). Legend all round, with reference to the encircled subject: **ዘየዐበየ ለመድኀኒነ** + **ንገሠ**, i.e. *Zəyaᶜbəya lämädḫanitä nəguś*, 'May this increase the king's salvation' (by taking the cross as **ተ**, *tä*, s. Godet 1986: 196 and n. 30, Id. 1991: 324 and Fiaccadori 2003: 199; cp. Bausi 2006: 93f. and n. 31, with previous lit.).

The far more numerous copper examples (Types 118–23 in Munro-Hay – Juel-Jensen 1995: 216–22) have, on the obv., the king in a



Copper coin of Wazena, diameter ca. 16 mm; drawing courtesy of Wolfgang Hahn

broad and plain outer border, half-length bust rightwards, dressed in the "humped style", wearing the head cloth with a curved ribbon hanging out behind. His arm is sometimes visible (often off the flan), the hand holding a wheat stalk sceptre, occasionally with cross at top, that breaks at different points the Gəᶜəz legend **ለአሐዘበ ዘየደለ**, i.e. *Läᵓaḥzab zəyədl* or **ዘየደለ ለአሐዘበ**, i.e. *Zəyədl läᵓaḥzab*, 'May this please the people(s)', alluding to the cross on the rev. In the legend, sometimes, a small cross shows separately from the wheat stalk. Possible symbols in the field: one to three pellets, a small cross and a crescent with or without disc. On the rev., in a similar border (random traces of beading), a cross with four arms extending to the coin edges and terminating in smaller crosses that divide the Gəᶜəz legend in four groups: **ዘነ+ገሠ+ዘወ+ዘነ+**, i.e. *Zənəguś Zä-WZN*, 'This is King Zä-Wazena' (less probably, *Zänəguś Zä-W.*, 'Of King Zä-W.'; in no way could the king's name be read "[Za-]Wazenaz", as in Hahn 1983: 178, no. 66, 1984a: 133f. and 1984b: 179). Punch hole inlaid with gold at the centre of the cross (s. Hahn 2002: 125f., fig. 11), with four intermediate arms ending in hammer heads. Symbols in the field: one to three dots, cross and crescent.

W.'s silver issues are linked with two silver dies bearing the same religious motto (*Zəyaᶜbəya ~ nəguś*) on the rev.: the first one is anonymous, with the obv. legend **ነገሠ+አክሰመ**, i.e. *Nəguśä Aksum*, 'King of Aksum'; the second one carries a three-letter monogram, **ገአደ**, usually read *'GD* or *G'D* (hitherto unexplained: the king's name?), just before the obv. legend (Types 125–25ii and 126–26ii resp. in Munro-Hay – Juel-Jensen 1995: 224f. and 226–29, cp. Conti Rossini 1927: 206 [§ 29] and AfrZion 113f., no. 41; further suggestions, including the unsound connection with *Wäsän Sägäd* of the Ethiopian "king lists", are discussed in Bausi 2003: 166f. and n. 26).

Src.: ARTURO ANZANI, "Numismatica axumita", *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* ser. 3^{a}, 3 [39], 1926, 5–110, here 40, 87–88, nos. 253–58, pl. I; ID., "Numismatica e storia d'Etiopia: Note bibliografiche e nuove osservazioni di numismatica axumita", *ibid.*, ser. 3^{a}, 5–6 [41–42], 1928–29, 179–212, here 42, 58, pl. O; ID., "Le monete dei re di Aksum. Studi supplementari", *ibid.* ser. 4^{a}, 1 [43], 1941, 49–73, here 60f. and n. 35; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Monete aksumite", *Africa Italiana* 1, 1927, 179–212, here 206, 209f. (§§ 29, 35); ANTONIO MORDINI, "Su di un nuovo titolo regale aksumita (**ነገሠ ፡ ወዘነ ።**)", *RSE* 8, 1949 [1950], 7–11; STUART C. MUNRO-HAY, "Za-ya Abiyo la-Madkhen Negus AR 2", in: *AfrZion* 113f., no. 41; ID., *Catalogue of the Aksumite Coins in the British Museum*, London 1999, 41f., nos. 414–37 (Wazena), 439 (anon.), 440–45 (AGD), pls. 39–42; ID. – BENT JUEL-JENSEN, *Aksumite Coinage*, London 1995, 214–22, here 224–29; LUIGI PEDRONI, "Una collezione di monete aksumite", *Bollettino di Numismatica* ser. 1^{a}, 15, 1–2 [28–29], 1997 [1998, but 2000], 7–147, here 68, 71, 75, 80, 122–25, nos. 271 (anon.), 272–79 (AGD), 280–95 (Wazena) 124f.

Lit.: GIULIO BASILE, "Il *Santo Graal* ritrovato? Proposta di lettura antropologico-culturale di una moneta di Aksum", *Bollettino di Numismatica* ser. 1^{a}, 13, 2 [25], 1995 [1996], 225–45, here 234–37; ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Numismatica aksumita, linguistica e filologia", *Istituto Italiano di Numismatica. Annali* 50, 2003 [2005], 157–75, here 166f. and n. 26; ID., "Il denarius in Etiopia", in: FEDERICO DE ROMANIS – SARA SORDA (eds.), *Dal* denarius *al* dinar: *L'Oriente e la moneta romana. Atti dell'incontro di studio* (*Roma 16–18 settembre 2004*), Roma 2006 (Istituto Italiano di Numismatica. Studi e materiali 12), 83–97, here 93f. and n. 31; GIANFRANCO FIACCADORI, "Πρόσοψις, no πρόοψις: Efeso, Gerusalemme, Aquileia (Nota a *IEph* 495, 1 s.)", *La parola del passato* 58, 2003 [2004], 182–249, here 199, 245f.; ERIC GODET, "Bilan de recherches récentes en numismatique axoumite", *Revue numismatique* 6^{e} sér., 28, 1986, 174–209 (pl. VIII), here 196 and n. 30, 197; ID., "Éthiopie antique et moderne", in: TONY HACKENS et al. (eds.), *A Survey of Numismatic Research 1985–1990*, vol. 1, Brussels 1991, 318–28, here 324; WOLFGANG HAHN, "Die Münzprägung des Axumitischen Reiches (Mit Katalog, metallurg. u. theolog. Anhang)", *Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonenses* 2, 1983, 113–80, here 178f., nos. 66, 67 (anon.), 68 (Agd), pl. 15; ID., "Further Reconsiderations on the Chronology of the Coinage of Aksum", *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 34, 1984a, 127–134 (pl. 15), here 133f.; ID., "The Numismatic Evidence for the Reconstruction of the Aksumite Royal Line", *American Numismatic Society Newsletter* 29, 1984b, 159–79 (pls. 27–32), here 179, nos. 67–70, pl. 32; ID., "Aksumite Numismatics: a Critical Survey of Recent Research", *Revue numismatique* 155, 6^{e} sér., 42, 2000, 281–311, here 298f., 311; ID., "Die Teilvergoldung auf axumitischen Münzen – Metallurgische und ikonographische Aspekte eines münzgeschichtlichen Phänomens", *Money Trend* 34, 3, 2002, 124–27, here 125f., figs. 13–14; ID., "Abfolge und Chronologie der spätaksumitischen Münzprägungen", *Institut für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte. Mitteilungsblatt* 41, 2010/11, 9–24, here 15f.; MHAksum 84; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Zä-Wäzän, or Wäzänä", in: *DicEthBio* 214f.; FRANCO RUSSO – GIANLUIGI RUSSO, "Sugli intarsi in oro nella monetazione aksumita", *Bollettino di Numismatica* ser. 1^{a}, 7, 2 [13], 1989, 144–60, here 149; SerHist 201.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori

Wemmers, Jacob

W. (b. 21 October 1598, Antwerp, 12 September 1645, Naples) was a Dutch scholar. Born to Gisbert and Maria Hanodel, he joined into the Carmelites of the Old Observance in 1617. W. studied theology and Oriental languages, probably within the circle of ↗Santo Stefano dei Mori. In 1635, he was called to Rome as consultant to the ↗Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide. On 3 May 1640 the Congregation delegated him to re-establish the Ethiopian mission, abandoned after the expulsion of the ↗Jesuits in 1632. In his journey, W. was to be accompanied by two aides, a Carmelite and *abba* Asfa Maryam. On 28 July, Pope Urban VIII sent a letter to the Ethiopian Emperor (*aṣe* ↗Fasilädäs) asking the ruler to protect the Catholic envoys (Raineri 2005: 202ff.).

Little is known of the fate of this mission. However, W. seems to have reached Cairo as of 1641 (BecRASO I, 176). Back in Rome, on 28 December 1644 he was elected Apostolic Vicar "cum facultatibus in tota Aethiopia" with the title of Bishop of Menphi and consecrated in 1645 in Rome. W. died when leaving for his mission from the port of Naples. He was buried at the Carmelite church in that town (on his epitaph, s. Raineri 2006: 585).

W.'s chief contribution to Ethiopian studies was his *Lexicon Aethiopicum* (1638). A work with several shortcomings, it was nonetheless the first scientific study of ↗Gəʿəz. Together with *abba* Asfa Maryam, he also translated the brief *Onerosa pastoralis officii* of Urban VIII (concerning the foundation of an Ethiopian college) from Latin into Gəʿəz (Raineri 2006: 583) and the ↗*Arganonä Maryam* into Latin (Raineri 1981: 443).

Src.: BecRASO I, 176; OSVALDO RAINERI, *Lettere tra i Pontefici Romani e i Principi Etiopici* (*Secoli XII–XX*). *Versioni e integrazioni*, Città del Vaticano 2005 (Collectanea Archivi Vaticani 55), 202ff.; ID., "La versione etiopica del Breve *Onerosa pastoralis officii* di Urbano VIII", in: *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae XIII*, Città del Vaticano 2006 (Studi e testi 433), 581–611; JACOB WEMMERS, *Lexicon Aethiopicum Ad Eminentiss. Principem S.R.E. Card. Antonium Barberinum …*, Romae 1638.

Lit.: MAURO DA LEONESSA, *Santo Stefano Maggiore degli Abissini e le relazioni romano-etiopiche*, Città del Vaticano 1929; EUGÈNE DE SEYN, *Dictionnaire des Ecrivains Belges*: *Bio-Bibliographie*, vol. 2, Bruges 1931, 2069; VALENTINO DI MARIA, "Wemmers Jakobus", in: *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, vol. 12, Roma 1954, 1667; JEAN FRANÇOIS FOPPENS, *Bibliotheca Belgica, sive virorum in Belgio vitâ scriptisque illustrium Catalogus …*, Bruxellis 1739, 544; OSVALDO RAINERI, "Il carmelitano Giacomo Wemmers, autore del primo lessico etiopico (1638)", *Ephemerides Carmeliticae* 32, 2, 1981, 431–44.

Osvaldo Raineri

Wood

I. General cultural overview
II. Wood in traditional Christian art
III. Wood in modern artworks s. ↗Art in EAE vol. 5

I. General cultural overview

W. (Amh. **ዕንጨት**, *ənč̣ät*) is a basic resource of human culture and an important factor of cultural ecology. It is employed in almost every field of material culture and has a crucial function as 'W. fuel' (Amh. **ማገዶ**, *magädo*) or 'charcoal' (**ከሰል**, *käsäl*; ↗Forestry). In some cases W. or W. of certain ↗trees may also carry a symbolic value (e.g., the W. of the Holy Cross, s. ↗*Mäsqäl*). Aromatic W. is used as ↗incense (VSAe II, 102f.).

While in some societies in the Horn of Africa woodwork, carpentry and cabinetmaking can be done by anybody who has the necessary skills (e.g., among the ↗Maale and ↗Ubamär, VSAe I, 177, 309), among many societies these activities belong to a distinct, often endogamous, social group. The peasantry may often consider woodworkers ↗marginalized people (s. EAE vol. 5). The so-called ↗*fuga* are a classical example of both special social status and excellent workmanship (s. also ↗Handicrafts). In northern Ethiopia woodworkers and carpenters of the ↗Betä Ǝsraʾel played a crucial role, e.g., in the context of Gondärine ↗architecture (↗Gondär). Craftsmen were also among the ↗Kəmant and Muslims.

In the 19th cent. Indian, Greek and European craftsmen increasingly came to Ethiopia to work for different rulers. Among the European carpenters were, e.g., the Swiss Dubois, the German Aichinger and the Italian ↗Naretti. During the Italian occupation European workmanship in cabinetmaking was introduced in a broader range, and furniture shops opened, e.g., in the Arada area of Addis Abäba. Today, in every larger town, furniture workshops can be found.

W. is a major material for building construction (↗Church buildings, ↗Forts, ↗Houses, ↗Mosques). Moreover, Aksumite stone architecture sometimes imitates wooden construction (cp., e.g., ↗Dəgum).

In buildings W. is mostly combined with fibers, clay, stone, and, nowadays, mortar or cement etc. W. types avoided by termites are preferable for construction work (e.g., the wild olive tree for the central pole). However, due to shortage of such types of W., ↗*Euphorbia*, ↗eucalyptus and ↗bamboo are used for most parts of the construction while durable termite-free W. is reserved for the most important elements.

Apart from the framework, columns and beams, W. is also used for partition walls, balconies, door and window frames as well as door locks, door planks and window shutters. Some buildings, especially Indian-style houses, have a wooden facing. Wooden architectural elements may also have a symbolic function and, thus, may be decorated. Examples of this may be beam-ends carved as Aksumite "monkey-heads", the notched top of the central pole of some houses in southern Ethiopia (VSAe I, fig. 12, 3), door frames (s., e.g., engraved lunar and solar symbols in the house of the king of ↗Yäm, VSAe III, pl. 25) or the decoratively sawn boards of facings and balustrades.

Some buildings, especially Indian-style houses, are almost entirely constructed with W. The house of *däğğazmač* Täfäri Mäkʷännən (later *aṣe* ↗Ḫaylä Śəllase I) in Harär and that of *šayḫ* ↗Ḫʷağalī in Addis Abäba are prominent examples of this type of W. architecture.

Daily life, traditionally, features a wide range of wooden items. Depending on local artisanal tradition these are decorated or left plain. Decoration is often limited to geometrical ornaments or abstract figurative motives; among Christians, ↗crosses are often part of the design. Decoration may be carved, engraved, painted or burnt designs created with a hot poker. Wooden objects are sometimes rubbed with butter for aesthetic and conservation purposes.

Wooden household utensils are, e.g., bowls, dishes, plates, footed trays, drinking cups, mortars, spoons, containers, buckets etc. (s. appendices in VSAe I–II for examples). In general, such utensils are carved by hand, often out of one piece of W. Turnery is not common. Wooden items of daily life also include combs and bowls for foot washing, board games (↗*gäbäṭa*), *gänna* balls (↗games), ↗headrests etc. Furniture is mainly made of W. as well, e.g., tripod stools (s. Mingei International Museum 1983: 58f. for a typical example) and chairs, sitting boards (used by women and children), bedsteads, shelves, etc.

Household utensils and furniture of the noble or wealthy resembled those of the peasantry but were often bigger, more finely worked, richer in decoration and made of more durable types of W., e.g., *Cordia Africana* for representative chairs. Prominent examples for carved wooden objects of the highest quality are to be found at the courts of kings in the ↗Gibe region and, especially, at the court of ↗Ǧimma at ↗Ǧirän (s. Ǧimma Museum). Excellent woodcarving work can be also observed in Harär (s. articles ↗Handicrafts and ↗*Lawḥ*).

Carved chairs had an important function in the representation of political and/or sacral authority. While ancient royal thrones were mostly made of stone, and in later days the royal seat often resembled a divan (↗*alga*), the wooden throne (**መንበር**, *mänbär*) of *aṣe* Yoḥannəs IV in Mäq̱älä (by Naretti) and the entire throne room of *aṣe* Ḫaylä Śəllase I (by Ivan Maranov) were inspired by European models and created by European carpenters.

W. is widely employed as material for agricultural tools. While some tools are made entirely of W. (e.g., the ↗*dängʷära* digging stick) most combine a wooden shaft with an ↗iron blade or point. Similarly, weapons, such as clubs (e.g., *bolota*) and some types of ↗spears may be produced entirely of W. while others have wooden shafts and iron heads or blades (s. also ↗swords).

Furthermore, various kinds of wooden sticks are employed as herding sticks. Other sticks have a symbolical function as sceptres or insignia (e.g., the ↗*bokkuu*). In the religious context the Christian Orthodox *mäqqʷamiya* prayer staff and the Y-shaped stick of the ↗Šayḫ Ḥusayn pilgrims are to be mentioned.

W. plays a major role in the construction of musical ↗instruments where it may serve as the material of the resonance box or sounding body, the frame, the neck, fiddlesticks and drum sticks etc.

W., especially of the *ambač* tree (*Aeschynomene elaphroxylon*), is used for the construction of boats (but cp. also ↗*tankʷa* which is made of ↗papyrus [s. EAE vol. 5]).

The most prominent form of traditional wooden sculpture is connected with memorial as well as sepulchral culture. Wooden planks, pillars or stelae are used among many ethnic groups to mark ↗graves or to honour the buried. Sometimes graves are also protected by a wooden fence (e.g., graves of Muslims). In southern Ethiopia anthropomorphic sculptures were erected to memorize the "heroic" deeds of a buried warrior in the context of the "killing complex" (↗Meritorious complex), e.g., among the ↗Konso (↗*Waakaa*; s. Poissonier 2009: 187–256) and ↗Dullay. Examples of painted wooden sculptures connected to graves and shrines of ↗Oromo ↗*qaalluu* were found in Gore (Illubabor) by Cerulli (CerEt vol. 2, 39–45 and tables 7, 9).

Today, many wooden items are replaced by industrial products made of plastic, aluminium, enamel or metal, while wooden objects may find their way into ↗museums or tourist shops. Often wooden objects of hand-luggage size are directly produced for the ↗tourism market.

Src.: author's own fieldnotes.

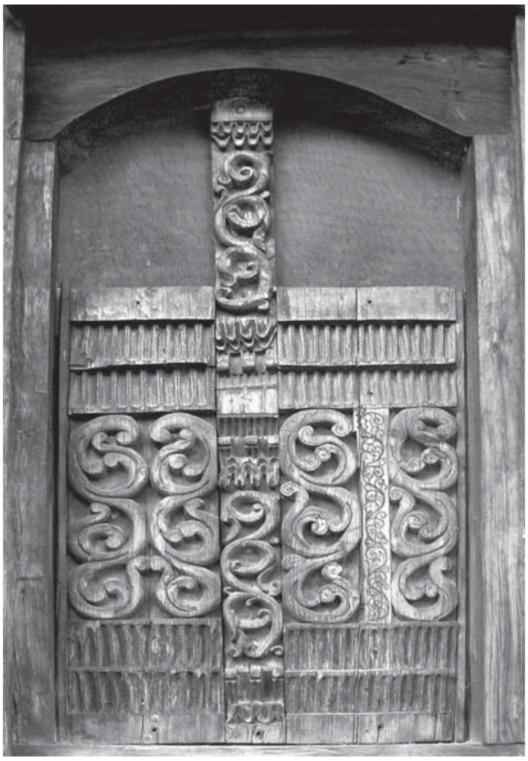
Lit.: CerEt vol. 2, 39–45 and tables 7, 9; MINGEI INTERNATIONAL MUSEUM OF WORLD FOLK ART, *Ethiopia*: *Folk Art of a Hidden Empire*, La Jolla, CA 1983, 58f.; NICOLE POISSONIER, *Das Erbe der "Helden"*: *Grabkult der Konso und kulturverwandter Ethnien in Süd-Äthiopien*, Göttingen 2009 (Göttinger Beiträge zur Ethnologie 3), 187–256 (Lit.); RAYMOND AARON SILVERMAN (ed.), *Ethiopia*: *Traditions of Creativity*, Seattle, WA – London 1999; VSAe I–III, s. index.

Dirk Bustorf

II. Wood in traditional Christian art

Decoratively treated W. appears in Ethiopia in several artistic contexts, in connection with architecture, painting and artes minores. Usually the kind of W. cannot be identified with certitude because no dendrologic analysis has been made, though in some cases acacia, wild African olive (Amh. *wäyra*; *Olea Africana*), teak (Amh. *wänza*; *Cordia Africana*) and ↗*koso* (*Hagenia Abyssinica*) can be recognized. Dark W. is sometimes designated by scholars (di Salvo, Mercier) as ebony but it needs to be proved. The most common technique of carving is often combined with painting, incising, inlays and marquetry. Several objects show a marked connection with Copto-Islamic works.

Architectonic designed elements such as columns and pillars with sockets and capitals, arches, lintel-beams, friezes, coffered ceilings, elements of timber roofs and domes, doors, door and window frames, window infill (grilles or trellises) and shutters are preserved in constructed churches dating from the 6th to the 15th cent. The oldest (6th cent.) seem to be the carved and originally painted panels of the ceiling in ↗Däbrä Damo displaying animal and vegetal motifs. Similar panels, but also friezes, arch fragments and capitals (some 50 pieces) originating from ↗Ǝnda Maryam church and probably dating to the 9th cent., are kept in the ↗Asmära Museum. The architectonic elements in ↗Zarema Giyorgis church are dated to the same period. A particularly rich repertory of wooden decoration employing diverse techniques, probably executed in the 11th cent., is preserved in the church of ↗Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos. More modest examples are to be found in the churches of ↗Ǝmakinä Mädḫane ᶜAläm and Lədäta Maryam, as well as in the partly constructed and partly hewn Qirqos Agobo (Aṣbidära), ↗Mikaᵓel Amba and ↗Däbrä Sälam. The same concept of architectonic design but less decorative was applied in 15th-cent. churches such as ↗Betä Ləḥem in Gayənt and ↗Žämmädu Maryam, with the exception of ↗Gundä Gunde church where the woodwork displays an extraordinary level of craftsmanship.


Carved window shutter, Ç̣äläqot Śəllase church, 19th cent.; photo 2007, courtesy of the author

Old W. doors decorated with carvings are preserved in Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos (three pairs, two with figural motifs), in some churches of Lalibäla, in Mikaᵓel Amba, Gʷənagʷəna, and Däbrä Wala Maryam near Askätäm. In circular churches (↗architecture; ↗church buildings) the carvings appear on the beams dividing the entrances between the outer and inner ambulatory, on the window frames and grilles but primarily on the stepped framings of the doors. In the 18th and 19th cent. they developed into intricate compositions as can be seen in several churches around Lake ↗Ṭana. Particularly elaborate window trellises decorate the outer ambulatory of ↗Ç̣äläqot Śəllase.

In old churches, a wooden chancel screen separated the sanctuary from the nave. These were constructions composed of an entrance arch and high panels decorated with carved geometric motifs fastened between wooden pillars or colonnades surmounted by finials. Only two pieces survived *in situ* (Däbrä Sälam and Zarema Giyorgis) while fragments are preserved in the churches of Mikaᵓel Amba, ↗Ṣəraᶜ Abrəha wä-Aṣbəḥa, Saᵓəse Arbaᶜətu Ǝnsəsa and Maryam Gundəfru (Aṣbidära).

The altar tablets (↗*tabot*) are most often made of hard W. In accordance with the symbolism ascribed to the altar table, they were marked with a carved or chiselled ↗cross. Much more decorated are the old types of *tabots* or *mänbärä tabots* dating to the 12th–15th cent. Executed from a single piece of W., they bear carved decoration in high relief on four sides and on the top. The usual motif is a cross and a cross-like rosette, often shown within an arcade, framed by bands of interlacing or foliate arabesques. Occasionally, figural decoration appears, usually angelic figures understood in the symbolic language as the bearers of the throne of God i.e. the *tabot* (for instance Betä Ləḥem in Gayənt, where the figures are also painted) and the Crucified Christ (Lalibäla, Betä Maryam; Ṭəlasfäri Ǝsṭifanos in Lasta).

The lecterns (*atrons*) used for church readings are sometimes made of W. They are large, throne-like constructions on four legs, strapped together with hide thongs having a book support at the top. The simpler type is carved from a single three branched W.-stock, the branches turned to form the stand's legs. An unusual example supplied with four wheels and a device allowing one to change the height is kept in the Gundä Gunde monastery; according to the local tradition it is the work of ↗ᶜƎzra. Another elaborate piece is kept in the church of ↗Zäge Giyorgis. It displays in the lower part an ajouré carved ↗Crucifixion scene, in the upper part a wing with a painted representation of St. ↗George. There is also a portable and low version of the stand, suitable for readers sitting on the floor or on a low stool. It consists of two hinged pieces of W., often decorated with relief carving, which lie flat when closed, creating a triangular cradle when open.

The outer sides and the framing edges of ↗paintings on W. are sometimes decorated with carvings. The repertory includes patterns made of geometrical figures, zigzags, interlacing, pellets and foliated bands. Differently shaped crosses appear regularly in the centre of the composition and occasionally figural representations (e.g. IES 7095). Some carvings are brightly coloured. This kind of decoration is commonly applied in pendant diptychs dating to the 17th and 18th cent. In these objects, often made of wild olive, carvings also cover the top and the bottom of the panels and the suspension loop. ↗Chojnacki (s. EAE vol. 5), who worked with the pieces belonging to the collection of the ↗Institute of Ethiopian Studies, distinguished seven types of carved compositions in that group.

W. was and still is an important material for production of crosses, mostly hand crosses but also large, shafted and small pendant crosses, and exceptionally processional crosses. Carved out of one piece they present great diversity of form and decoration. The complex patterns are created by drilling holes through the W., transforming the surface into a delicate web. Some crosses may have a space left on both sides of the bottom panel and of the head for figural representations, painted, incised or carved. Elaborate examples have small paintings carved on the rear (Fogg 2001, no. 16). The repertory of figural representations includes Mary and Child, the Trinity, the Crucifixion, angels and saints. The earliest examples of wooden crosses are dated to the 15th/16th cent. The ↗Stephanites were particularly skilled in that kind of woodwork and some laboured examples of hand crosses decorated with glass and metal inlays are still preserved in ↗Gundä Gunde monastery. The tradition survived in the area, as witnessed by a large group of shafted and large hand crosses with glass inlays dating to 17th and 18th cent. and preserved in the churches of ↗ᶜAgamä. There is a small group of hand crosses dated to the 19th cent. that have the handle transformed into a human figure supporting the head of the cross. Small crosses are often added to wooden rosaries.

Although ↗manuscript boards are made of W., their exterior surface is always left plain but may be covered with leather or metal.

Lit.: AfrZion 118, 244, pls. 11, 61, 78, 102; DAVID BUXTON, "The Christian Antiquities of Northern Ethiopia", *Archaeologia* 92, 1947, 1–42, here 10ff., 13–17, 21f., 34–42, pl. 2, 13; ID., *The Abyssinians*, London 1970, 97–103, 159–62, 172, figs. 16, 33, 40, pls. 51–55, 97–105, 113–17; STANISLAW CHOJNACKI, *Ethiopian Icons*, Milano 2000, 289–92, nos. 14, 71, 118, 249; ID., *Ethiopian Crosses: a Cultural History and Chronology,* Milano 2006, 69f., figs. passim; SAM FOGG, *Ethiopian Art,* London 2001, nos. 9, 16, 20, 21; GRIFFITH MANN, *Ethiopian Art: the Walters Art Museum*, Baltimore, MD 2001, figs. 8, 20, 29, cat. nos.

8, 26; JACQUES MERCIER, *Vierges d'Éthiopie*, Montpellier 2004, figs. p. 26f.; ALESSANDRO AUGUSTO MONTI DELLA CORTE, *Lalibela*, Roma 1940, 167–70, pls. 39–40; ANTONIO MORDINI, "Un'antica porta in legno proveniente della chiesa di Gunaguna (Scimezana, Eritrea)", *RSO* 19, 1940, 105–07; MARIE-HÉLÈNE RUTSCHOWSCAYA, *Catalogue des bois de l'Égypte copte*, Paris 1986; ROGER SAUTER, "L'Arc et les panneaux sculptés de la vieille église d'Asmara", *RSE* 23, 1967–68, 220–31; MARIO DI SALVO, *Crosses of Ethiopia: the Sign of Faith. Evolution of Form*, Milano 2006, figs. pp. 59, 62, 81, 91, 104f., 108ff., 117f., 124, 127ff.; ID., *Churches of Ethiopia: the Monastery of Nārgā Śellāsē*, Milano 1999, figs. 131–40; STEFAN STRELCYN, "Quelques inscriptions éthiopiennes sur des «mänabərt» des églises de Lalibäla et de sa région", *BiOr* 36, 1979, 137–56, figs. C, E–J.

Ewa Balicka-Witakowska

Addenda et Corrigenda

As in any major publication that involves so many people and stretches over so many pages and volumes, a few imperfections can crawl in. Some of these are relatively harmless, some, to the editors' great dismay, are quite unfortunate. On the following pages we would like to try to set the record straight and help the readers by providing a complete list of corrections as possible.

The following list is not exhaustive, but we hope it provides the users of the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* with the necessary tool to the proper readings of the articles, bibliographies, maps and legends. Some of the imprecisions that, in some way, have already been corrected in the published volumes are not additionally repeated in the list, except for the "corrigenda sheet" in vol. 3. Thus, the misprints and occasional omissions in the first part of the edition including the Notes for the User and the Bibliography have been corrected in the present volume and are not repeated below. In the same way, some of the geographic imprecisions of the basic data on the article maps have been gradually improved, also thanks to the increase of the availability of the mapping data. While we tried to apply as much consistency as possible, especially when the names are cross-referenced within the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, many of the places in Ethiopia, or personalities in Ethiopian history, are known under different names or spelt in different forms. We chose to not overimpose the standardization and leave the final choice of the name variant to the authors of the articles. The index in this volume puts all variants and alternative forms together, providing the ultimate help in the identification of places and persons.

In addition to correcting misprints and small omissions, we also offer some updates and additions. Corrections below concern not only the text of the articles but also the captions and images; a set of maps that had to be revised or that were missed in the previous volumes is also supplied.

Corrections and additions Volume 1: A–C

Page	Line	Printed	Read
2b	2 from bottom	moeity	moiety
11a	2	Bagibo	Bagiboo
15a	23f. from bottom	↗Abbaa Gomol	↗Abbaa Gomol II
	12 from bottom	Ğiren	Ğirän
	9 from bottom	Ğiren	Ğirän
17b	8, 9	Ğiren	Ğirän
20a	30, 32	Ğiren	Ğirän
21a	29	Oda	Odaa
	7 from bottom	A.q.	A.q. ('father of an area')
22b	22 from bottom	b. 20 November 1927, Wayyu	b. 7 August 1932, Ğaatoo
	18 from bottom	was born.	was born. According to other sources, Biqila (Biqila Dämәsse or Biqila Wäqğira) was his biological father. A.B.'s mother was Wәddәnäš Mänbäru.
23a	15	**Lit.**:	**Lit.**: PAUL RAMBALI, *The Barefoot Runner*, London 2003;
27b	map	Gәlgәl	Gәlgäl
37b	12	↗Ğiren	↗Ğirän
39a	10	Wäldä Raguʾel	Wäldä Gäbrәʾel
42b	23	at al-Qulays	al-Qulays
	caption	CIH41	CIH 541
45a	23 from bottom	of Däbrä Däbsan	of Däbsan (↗Däbrä San)
55a	2	(Lit.)	(Lit.); UGO ZANETTI, "Abu-l Makarim et Abu Salih", *Bulletin de la société d'archéologie copte* 34, 1995, 85–138.
	caption	DHMDic	THMDic

Page	Line	Printed	Read
57a	27, 33	WriBriMus	WrBriMus
57b	6 in Src.	] Abušakər	] (Abušakər
67a	25	Susnəyos	Susənyos
71a	4 from bottom	waste land	vast land
78b	18	ᶜAddi Wəgri	ᶜAddi Wägri
96b	32	ᶜAddi Wəgri	ᶜAddi Wägri
97a	24 from bottom	Śəllus Ḫayle	Śəllus Ḫayla
122b	15	Ǧiǧǧiga	Ǧiǧiga
	6 from bottom	Ǧiren	Ǧirän
123b	18	*practico*	*pratico*
129b	5 from bottom	Täklä Haymanot	Täklä Giyorgis
137a	7f. from bottom	Even although in the 16th cent. the *šum ᶜagame* submitted to Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's …	Even though in the 16th cent. the *šum ᶜagame* was killed by Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī's …
140b	16	stress-accent	pitch-accent
148a	25	ᶜAddi Wəgri	ᶜAddi Wägri
	20 from bottom	Radio Vaticano	Radio Vaticana
	last	4 June 1975	4 January 1975
161a	21 from bottom	Hāšīm	Hāšim
165b	19 from bottom	b. 1920	b. 1909
168a	5 from bottom	Dəbub	Däbub
169a	1	↗Tok̲onda	↗Tok̲ondaᶜ
	5, 10, 16	Tok̲onda	Tok̲ondaᶜ
188a	22 from bottom	Akʷätetä qʷərban ↗Eucharist	Akkʷätetä qʷərban ↗Eucharist
205a	20 from bottom	↗Urbaräg	↗Wəlbaräg
213b	3 of Src.	*BSOAS* 1, 1976	*BSOAS* 29, 1, 1976
215b	22–25	probably the same as the son of the queen of Wällo ↗Wärqitu, mentioned in the chronicle of *däbtära* Zännab as Amäde Ali (Zännäb 1902:30).	son of Bäšir Libän Amäde and grandson of *imām* ↗Libän Amäde. He was thus the first cousin of ↗Wärqitu's son Amäde Ali and of Muḥammad Ali (*nəguś* ↗Mikaᵓel).
	32	Mäq̲däla	Mäqdäla
220a	1	Attilio	Antonio
221a	20	Amba Śänayti	Amba Śännayti
221b	9	*amba śänayti*	*amba śännayti*
224a	8	Ǧāzī	Ġāzī
228a	13	Dallḥūy	Dalḥūy
244b	6, 9, 19	Käbbäda	Käbbädä
245b	16	*Just to Kill*	*Lust to Kill*
263a	14 from bottom	↗Ǧote (Tullu)	↗Ǧoote (Tullu)
	11 from bottom	Ǧote's land	Ǧoote's land
	9 from bottom	Ǧote	Ǧoote
263b	map	Wällega	Walläga
264b	8	The Small A. and the Qaha river skirt the western and eastern sides of the city, respectively.	The Small A. and the Qaha river skirt the eastern and western sides of the city, respectively.
268b	1 of Src.	BeckHuntAlvar	BeckHuntAlm
276a	2, 13	Gara Muläta	Gara Mulläta
286b	6	Luca	Lucas
287b	2 from bottom	Constantinum	Constantium
311b	10 from bottom	Columbus monkey	Colobus monkey
316a	4 from bottom	Limat	Ləmmat
318a	13f.	Ç̣äw Baḥr	Ç̣äw Baḥər
	14	South Omo Administrative Region	South Omo Zone
320b	28	hominds	hominids
327a	18	Ger Suwa	Gen Suwa
	5 of Lit.	Ger Suwa	Gen Suwa
327b	7 of Lit.	Ger Suwa	Gen Suwa
329b	4	Arfan Qallo	Afran Qallu

Page	Line	Printed	Read
330b	map	Wällega	Walläga
350b	13 from bottom,	Däbrä Gol	Däbrä Gʷäl
	last	Däbrä Gol	Däbrä Gʷäl
356b	last	Iyasus	Iyäsus
358a	14–15	*sulṭān* Ḥasan b. Aḥmad of the ᶜAfar tribes of ᶜAd ᶜAli	*sulṭān* Ḥasan b. Aḥmad of the ᶜAfar tribes of Ankāla
362b	2f., 21, 23	Are	ᶜAre
	21	Idda	↗Idda
	23	Beyt Ḫalifa	Bet Ḫalifa
	26, 28	“Minifere federation”	“Mīnifire federation”
370b	21 from bottom	**Lit.**:	**Lit.**: ANDREJ V. LUNOCHKIN, *“Ataman volnyh kazakov”. Nikolaj Ašinov i ego dejatelnost* (‘Ataman of the Free Cossacks. Nikolaj Ashinov and his Activity’), Volgograd 2000;
379b	1, 19, 22	Cavagniari	Cavagnari
	9	Nazi	Nasi
381b	11 from bottom	Ḫʷāğalī	Ḫʷağalī
382b	1 in Lit.	**Lit.**:	**Lit.**: WALTER BUDER “Begegnungen mit Liq Atsqu”, *Kirche und Schule in Äthiopien* 55, 2002, 21–27;
384a	18f.	At the battle of Wägära in 1799, both ᶜA. and Wäldä Gäbrəᵓel died.	At the battle of Wägära in 1799, Wäldä Gäbrəᵓel died; ᶜA. escaped. He was then captured and imprisoned by Gugsa the Great, but in 1801 escaped again and devastated Bägemdər. He died soon after.
395a	17	Francesco ↗Brancaleone	Nicolò ↗Brancaleone
400b	20	Lake ↗Abbayya	Lake Abhe
401b	14, 16	Sidama	Sidaama
407a	5, 9, 14	Muḥammad Illalta	Maḥámmad “Illalta”
411b	19	Azinarra	Asinara
415b	3 of Src.	Jille	Ğille
421b	8	Ḥämer	Ḥamer
	21 from bottom	↗*Book of the Himyarites*	*Book of the* ↗*Ḥimyarites*
423b	12 from bottom	feet-ABS	foot-ABS
424a	16	*còl-ña*	*còl-ñá*
	18	*Kùùwà-ì*	*kùùwà-ì*
432b	2 from bottom	↗Yosef	↗Yosab II
433b	22f. from bottom	**መስታብቍዓት** (*mästabqʷəᶜat*)	**መስተብቍዓት** (*mästäbqʷəᶜat*)
436a	1 of Src.	*Douze ans dans*	*Douze ans de séjour dans*
450a	9 from bottom	l-Azhar University	al-Azhar University
457a	3	d. 1963	d. 1936
457b	5 from bottom	houshold	household
458b	23	Wag	Wağ
462b	caption	Ǝndägäñ	Ǝndägañ
471a	11 from bottom	al-Uswānī	al-Aswānī
473b	6	Crawford (1958:5)	Crawford (CrawItin 85ff.)
	8	south-west	south-east
	9	CrawItin 7, 87	CrawItin 85ff.
475b	23	Qurban	Qʷərban
480a	3f. from bottom	↗ᶜAd Šayḫ	↗ᶜAd Šek
481b	2	Sokodasa	Səkodasa
484a	6 in Src.	ELIZABET	ELIZABETH
487a	1	Henry VI	Henry IV
487b	9–10	Filippo Muze Falconi	Filippo Muzi-Falconi
488a	19	*Wisdom of* ↗*Sibyl* (*Ṭəbaba läsabela*)	*Wisdom of* ↗*Sybil* (*Ṭəbäba läsabela*)
490b	33	↗Karo	↗Kara
491b	map	Çäw Baḥr	Çäw Baḥər
494b	12	EMML 1843	EMML 2134
529a	3	1986	1996

Page	Line	Printed	Read
529a	39	*as-Saᶜīd*	*aṣ-Ṣaᶜid*
529b	5	*Waṭāwiṭ*	*Waṭāwīṭ*
531a	2 from bottom	Ǝndägäñ	Ǝndägañ
531b	2 of Src.	Ǝndägäñ	Ǝndägañ
	1 of Lit.	**Lit.**:	**Lit.**: JACQUES BUREAU, “Note sur les églises di Gamo”, *AE* 10, 1976, 295–03, here 297, 300, figs. XlV a, XlVI a;
543a	32	Endres	“Endries”
	3 from bottom	Däwway	Däwwäy
543b	20	Abbā	Abbe
547b	map	Wällega	Wälläga
550a	14	Ṣänᶜadäggle	Ṣänᶜadäglä
564b	21	Hoffmann	Hofmann
	7 of Lit.	Joseph	Josef
576b	32	↗Ituu	↗Ittuu
593b	8 of Lit.	1978	1979
602b	caption	*gadaa moği*	*gadaamooğği*
603a	last	Kidanä Mäḥret	Kidanä Məḥrät
604b	4	(**ቦንጋ**)	(**ቦንጋ**; 07° 16' N 36° 15' E; 1,714 m A.S.L.)
	24	inhabitants.	inhabitants. During the period of the ↗Africa Orientale Italiana B. was the seat of the *comissariato* of Cáffa e Ghimirra.
	1 of Src.	**Src.**:	**Src.**: CecZeila vol. 1, 479, vol. 2, 490f.; HarAeth vol. 3, 80;
605a	1	**Lit.**:	**Lit.**: TrIslam 184;
620b	caption, 14	Gätäsämane Maryam	Getesemane Maryam
647a	15	Ever	Every
649a	19	Marcea	Mircea
655a	13	↗Məsqan Gurage	↗Mäsqan Gurage
	15	Məsqan	Mäsqan
655b	1	Məsqan–Märaqo	Mäsqan–Märaqo
657a	14	1955	1995
676a	18 from bottom	↗Gabbra	↗Gabra
681a	2 of Lit.	*Žir Ganäla*	Zir Ganela
696b	9 from bottom	ᶜAddi Wəgri	ᶜAddi Wägri
703b	7 of Src.	SixTana 3	SixDeu
708a	1 of Src.	vol. 1	vol. 2
719a	17f.	↗*Book of the Himyarites*	*Book of the* ↗*Ḥimyarites*
720a	18	↗Michael	*abunä* ↗Mikaᵓel
721b	19 from bottom	↗Däbrä Bərḥan	↗Däbrä Bərhan
722a	5	Ǝndägäñ	Ǝndägañ
723a	3	↗Akälä	Akalä
729b	31	*Mäṣḥafä* ↗*məsṭir*	*Mäṣḥafä* ↗*məśṭir*
742b	5 from bottom	**ሊቀ ፡ ጥበብት**, *liqä təbbäbt*	**ሊቀ ፡ ጠበብት**, *liqä ṭäbbäbt*
752b	21	Francesco	Francisco
779b	13	coulours	colours
787b	22	Wazir	*Wazīr*
807b	4 from bottom	Cinzia	Claude
809–10		*Coup d’État*: beginning of the entry is on 1916, the end on 1960 (two articles merged)	s. complete version of the two *Coup d’État* articles (*Coup d’État* 1916 and *Coup d’État* 1960) in vol. 2, pp. 1081–82
810a	13	Gərmame Nəway	Gärmame Nəway
827a	10 from bottom	Kismayu	Kismaayu
832b	23	↗Gabbra	↗Gabra
833b	table 7–9	Omo-Ṭana	Omo-Tana
843b	22	*Ḫədar* 3	*Ṭəqəmt* 3
844a	1 of Src.	**Src.**:	**Src.**: BudSaint 114f.;

Corrections and additions Volume 2: D–Ha

Page	Line	Printed	Read
13b	3f. of Lit.	MONTI DELLA CORTE	ALESSANDRO AUGUSTO MONTI DELLA CORTE
17b	7	*RSE* 29	*RSE* 39
19a	3 from bottom	*mamhər*	*mämhər*
20a	6	^{c}*Ǝqä*	^{c}*Ǝqa*
	11 from bottom	Od.	ID.
28a	6–7	JEAN DUCHESNE-FOURNET, *Mission en Éthiopie*, Paris 1909	JEAN DUCHESNE-FOURNET, *Mission en Éthiopie 1901–1903*, Paris 1908
34a	last	Mənilək I	Mənilək II
37ab	caption	from Doresse 1956:117	from Doresse 1956:117, after Monti della Corte 1938:47
40a	1 of Src.	**Src.**:	**Src.**: OSVALDO RAINERI, “Atti di *abuna* Abranyos, santo eritreo (1633–1718)”, *MRALm* ser. 8^{a}, 26, 4, 1983, 435–530 (text) = 562–622 (tr.), here 442ff. = 566ff.;
40b	5 of Lit.	Dabra Dehuhān	Dabra Deḫuḫān
	6 of Lit.	1994 [1998]	1998 [1999]
50b	5	the fist	the first
56b	5 from bottom	D. (ደጋ)	D. (ደጋ, Amh.; Tgn. *däg^{c}a, dägg^{wc}a*)
60a	17 of Lit.	Ian	Ioan
68a	7 from bottom	ŠāhI	Šāh I
75b	12 from bottom	↗Zäəngəl	↗Zädəngəl
76b	text, last line	Däba	Däbba
78b	11	Sidama	Sidaama
94a	10	Archaelogical	Archaeological
96b	1	↗*Ḥəggi Habtä Sullus Gäbrä K̲rəstos*	↗*Ḥəggi Hab Səllus Gärä K̲əstos*
97b	22	^{c}Arab Faq h’s	^{c}Arab Faqīh’s
97b	22	↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāh m al-Ġāz	↗Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī
	25	Ǧūsah	Gūsah
100a	11	Aischinger	Aichinger
101a	5 from bottom	Goggam	Goǧǧam
115a	1	Mənilək I’s	Mənilək II’s
137a	4 of Lit.	8 [13–14]	7 [13/14]
159b	22 from bottom	↗Ǧidāya	↗Gidāya
160a	3	^{c}Abdallāḥ b. Ǧanāḥ	^{c}Abdallāh b. Ǧanāḥ
166b	1	LEO REINISCH – BOGUMIL WITALIS ANDRZEJEWSKI,	BOGUMIL WITALIS ANDRZEJEWSKI,
169b	14/15	diarreahea	diarrhea
	16	tubercolosis	tuberculosis
170a	14f. from bottom	Trichuris trichiura	trichuris trichiura
	4 from bottom	taenia saginatus	taenia saginata
176b	12f. from bottom	Šeko (↗Moča)	↗Šeko
177b	6	Šeko (↗Šakačo),	↗Šeko,
181a	13 from bottom	Denis de Revoyre	Denis de Rivoyre
184a	caption	Djibouti Parliament	Djibouti, President’s Palace
190b	9 from bottom	Baadawwaač̣č̣o	Baadawwaaččo
204a	7	Gäwwada	Gawwada
204b	last in table	*Mo*	*mo*
205a	3	1999.	1999; ID., *A Grammar of Tsamakko*, Cologne 2005 (Cushitic Language Studies 22).
	18	Ṣamako	Ṣamakko
205b	14 from bottom	Ṣamako	Ṣamakko
226b	caption	Wener Jürgen Lange	Werner Jürgen Lange
250a	24	reportedl	reported
273b	19 from bottom	↗*mäläkkät*	↗*mäläkät*
274a	4, 13	*mäläkkät*	*mäläkät*
274b	2 of Lit.	Michigan 1971;, 163ff.	Michigan 1971, 163ff.;

Page	Line	Printed	Read
281b	3	Salik	↗Sälik
282a	running head	Ǝnbaqom	ᶜƎnbaqom
326b	1 of Lit.	**Lit.**:	**Lit.**: RAYMONDE BONNEFILLE – ALAN CHARLES HAMILTON, “Quaternary and Late Tertiary History of Ethiopian Vegetation”, *Symbolae Botanicae Upsalienses* 26, 1986, 48–63;
347a	last of Lit.	Bergen 2001.	Bergen (in preparation).
355b	29 from bottom	declaraion	declaration
373a	8 from top,	ᶜUṯman Ṣāliḥ Sabi’s	ᶜUṯmān Ṣāliḥ Sabī’s
	14f. from bottom	↗ᶜUṯman Ṣāliḥ Sabi	↗ᶜUṯmān Ṣāliḥ Sabī
	10 from bottom	ᶜUṯman Ṣāliḥ Sabi	ᶜUṯmān Ṣāliḥ Sabī
373b	19	Isayas	Isayyas
390a	17	Beylot 1981:30, n. 38	Beylot 1984:30, n. 38
391b	27 from bottom	1980s	1880s
396b	6f.	*Dəbub həzbočč bəher bəherägäbočč*	*Yädäbub bəheročč bəḥeräsäboččənna həzbočč*
410b	24	Mollière	Molière
422a	18f.	(s. EAE, vol. 5)	(s. EAE vol. 2, 1081)
423a	17 from bottom	Fasicst	Fascist
423b	29	autochephaly	autocephaly
431b	11	whe	when
445b	8 from bottom	Sidama	Sidaama
447a	20 from bottom	↗abbäbä Arägay	↗AbbäbäArägay
452b	23 from bottom	Eichinger	Aichinger
453a	24	Henri ↗Zotenberg	Hermann ↗Zotenberg
490b	1 of Lit.:		**Lit.**: HIOB LUDOLF, *A New History of Ethiopia*, London 1684, 217f.; PankEcon 177f., 235;
494b	last	BruNile	BruNile vol. 2, 55
500a	19	Susnəyos	Susənyos
511b	last	Parkins	Parkyns
512b	17	The Feast of Ildefonos	The Feast of Ildefonso
514b	27	[Arab. should read]	دعاء, duᶜāᵓ)
517a/b	6 from bottom– 5 from the top	In spite of the arcaic “apocalyptic” traits of the F.I., its manuscript tradition hardly goes back to the time prior to the 17th cent. (cp. Basset 1909:12): in the presumably earliest ms., the 16th-cent. Paris, BN Éth. 113, the folios with the F.I. seem to have been added after the manuscript was prepared (s. ZotBNat 131); other mss. date to later periods (cp., e.g., BN Éth. 123; unclear is the age of ms. Berlin, Peterm. II, Nachtr. 55).	The archaic “apocalyptic” traits of the F.I. are confirmed by the old manuscript traditions. Conti Rossini dated mss. Paris, BN d’Abbadie 111 and 134 to the 15th cent. (CRAbb 53, 74). More recently, ms. d’Abbadie 134 was dated to an even earlier time, around 1350 (UhlPal 129). Neither of the two early 20th-cent. editors/translators of the work (Vajnberg 1907; Basset 1909) specifically focused on those manuscripts or emphasized their importance. In presence of these manuscripts, the time of the composition of the work should be corrected to an earlier period, at least late 14th – early 15th cent. Other witnesses include the 16th-cent. Paris, BN Éth. 113 (the folios with the F.I. seem to have been added after the manuscript had been prepared, s. ZotBNat 131); BN Éth. 123; Berlin, Peterm. II, Nachtr. 55. A few previously unknown 18th/19th-cent. manuscripts of the work have been recently recorded in Təgray (Nosntisin 2013, s. index).
517b	1 of Src.	**Src.**:	**Src.**: CRAbb 51ff., no. 23 [ms. Abbadie 111], 62f., no. 35 [ms. Abbadie 122], 72, no. 48 [ms. Abbadie 193], 72ff., no. 49 [ms. Abbadie 134]; DENIS NOSNITSIN, *Churches and Monasteries of Təgray. A Survey of Manuscript Collections*, Wiesbaden 2013 (Aethiopica monographic supplement 1), s. index; UhlPal 129, s. index;
518a	1	Dabra Māryām 28]	Dabra Māryām 28, Ṭānāsee 87 = Dabra Māryām 29]

Page	Line	Printed	Read
529b	13 from bottom	Andrées de ↗Oviedo	Andrés de ↗Oviedo
533b	9–10	The future fate of F.K. is obscure, but he was still alive in May 1698.	F.K. was appointed *ras* of Bägemdər by ↗Yosṭos in 1711. He died on 30 *Ḫamle* next year.
535b	6	(↗Maṣḥaf bet)	(↗Mäṣḥaf bet)
538a	2 from bottom	warlock	warlord
539a	9	↗Bärtolomewos	↗Bärtälomewos
	26	Schoyen Collection	Schøyen Collection
542b	2 of Src.	CSCO 35, 36 [SAe 181, 182]	CSCO 181, 182 [SAe 35, 36]
544b	19 from bottom	Abičuu	Abbiččuu
549a	24 from bottom	↗Ǧaawe Oučo	↗Ǧaawee Ončo
549b	4	Ñoñño	Nonno
551a	3 from bottom	Jonas	Jonah
553a	15, 7 from bottom	St. Crischona	St. Chrischona
	4f. from bottom	St. Crischona	St. Chrischona
553b	2 from Src.	St. Crischona	St. Chrischona
554b	8 from bottom	himan	human
568b	last of Lit.	1983.	1983; WALTER EWART MILLER LOGAN, *An Introduction to the Forests of Central and Southern Ethiopia*, Oxford 1946 (Imperial Forestry Institute, Institute Paper 24).
569b	last	myhrr	myrrh
575a	4 from bottom	C. Brémond	Louis Auguste Brémond
578b	24	dinasty	dynasty
579a	4	Giovanni Battista da ↗Imola	Giovanni Battista ↗Brocchi da Imola (s. EAE vol. 5)
582b	6	(wild key-apple)	(wild kei-apple)
591b	4 from bottom	↗Bärta	↗Berta
596b	6 from bottom	Tulama	Tuulama
597a	28 from bottom	↗Saho	↗Sāho
	27 from bottom	↗Təgreñña-speakers	↗Təgrəñña-speakers
597b	18 from bottom	^{c}Īsā at-Taro^{c}awī	^{c}Īsā at-Tarū^{c}awī
	18 from bottom	Taro^{c}a-Sāho	Tarū^{c}a-Sāho
602a	17f.	↗Täsämma Asmärom	↗Täsämma Nadäw
611b	6	1936	1935
624a	7	Baḥra Iyəkal$^{\text{ɔ}}$	Baḥrä Iyəkallə$^{\text{ɔ}}$
	4 from bottom	Enda Kaleb	Ǝnda Kaleb
624b	21	↗Mätta^{c}	Mäṭa^{c} (↗Libanos)
628b	26	form	from
653b	19	↗Dasänäč	↗Đáasanač
654b	2	↗Elemo Qilḥuu	↗Elemo Qiliṭuu
661b	14 from bottom	Baša Abboye	Bašah Abboye
662b	3	↗Awäfärq Gäbrä Iyäsus	↗Afäwärq Gäbrä Iyäsus
663b	12, 18	Costonhoso	Castanhoso
673b	10 from bottom	Banin *safar* Mosque	Benin *säfär* Mosque
683b	10 from bottom	↗Abysinnia	↗Abyssinia
691b	16	↗coup d'état of December 1960 (Talbot1955:134–40)	Coup d'état 1960 (s. EAE vol. 2, 1081–82; Talbot1955:134–40)
720b	6 from bottom	Gəlgəl	Gəlgäl
729a	27 from bottom	**አቃንሰን** (*aqansän*)	**አቃንጸን** *aqanṣän* (↗*Aqaṣen*)
731a	19 from bottom	Abbaa Garo	Abbaa Faro (Farroo)
	17f. from bottom	Abbaa Garo	Abbaa Faro (Farroo)
767b	13 from bottom	*Araya* [*1*]	*Ar$^{\text{ɔ}}$aya* [*1*]
777a	17	**ጊታሸው ፡**	**ጊታቸው ፡**
805b	6	from Latin genius	from Latin *genius*
	7 from bottom	Leris 1934:339	Leiris 1934: 339
809b	16f. from bottom	Riccardo	Raimondo
812a	23 from bottom	(YaqBeyGiy I, v)	(YaqMist I, v)
	6 from bottom	(GuiSyn II, 209)	(GuiSyn II, 269)
812b	2 of Src.	YaqBeyGiy I, II	YaqMist I, II

Page	Line	Printed	Read
812b	4 of Src.	GuiSyn II, 209	GuiSyn II, 269
	4 of Lit.	OrbAethChoj 51–62	MiscAethKur 51–62
817a	14 from bottom	Capon-Baissac	Chapon-Baissac
845b	28	in: *ibid.* 5–15	in: RAMOS –BOAVIDA 2004, 5–15
851b	22	d. 1885	d. 1885, Khartoum
	18 from bottom	Tawfiq	Tawfīq
	13 from bottom	Tawfiq	Tawfīq
852a	22 from bottom	↗Muḥammad Raᵓuf *bāšā*	↗Muḥammad Raᵓūf *bāšā*
	17 from bottom	Raᵓuf	Raᵓūf
	15 from bottom	Raᵓuf	Raᵓūf
852b	31 from bottom	↗Täsämma Aśmärom	↗Täsämma Nadäw
856a	16 from bottom	Afä Wärq Mängäšä	Afä Wärq Mängäša
856b	3	Däbrä Gännät Kidanä Məḫrät	Däbrä Gännät Kidanä Məḥrät
	14 from bottom	Meki	Mäqi
859b	caption	Krəstos Täsfanä	Iyäsus Moᵓa
860a	8 of Lit.	MARYLIN	MARILYN
870a	3 from bottom	evinced	evidenced
902b	2	↗Mäčča	↗Mäč̣č̣a
903a	22 from bottom	↗*qaallu*	↗*qaalluu*
920b	26	Asir Matra	Asir Mätira (s. EAE vol. 5)
921a	21 of Lit.	MARYLIN	MARILYN
	6 from bottom	*Rock-Hewn*	BENT JUEL-JENSEN – GEOFFREY ROWELL (eds.), *Rock-Hewn*
922b	16	Məsqan	Mäsqan
927a/b	map	Wälane	Wäläne
928b	2	(Leslau 1968)	(Leslau 1969)
929a	4	*JSS* 14, 1968	*JSS* 14, 1969
	2 from bottom	s. ↗Ǝnnäqor, Səlṭi, ↗Wəlbaräg	s. ↗Ǝnnäqor, ↗Səlṭi, ↗Wəlbaräg, ↗Wällane
941b	22	↗Grainery	↗Granary
948a	1 of Lit.	ALESSANDRO	CerSom I, 9, 142, 173; ALESSANDRO
	3 of Lit.	LewPeople 23f.; ID.,	LewPeople 23f.; IOAN MYRDDIN LEWIS,
948b	2	1888.	1888; ID., *Harar. Forschungsreise nach den Somâl- und Galla-Ländern Ost-Afrikas*, Leipzig 1888, 20, 49, 91, 131, 142, 357f.; ID., *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas. Die materielle Kultur der Danâkil, Galla und Somâl*, Berlin 1893, 45ff.; TrIslam 132.
953a	12	↗Täsämma Aśmärom	↗Täsämma Nadäw
954b	caption	*Däğğazmač* Habtä Maryam Gäbrä Ǝgziᵓabəḥer;	A dignitary;
956b	14 from bottom	nos. 1, 112)	n. 117)
	4 of Lit.	no. 117	ms. 117
958a	7 of Lit.	Arthur Paul	Andrew Paul
961a	10	(Maraaqo)	(Maräqo)
1000b	3/4	Gerson ben Elizer	Gershon ben Eliezer
	12	and and	and
1010b	10–13	(‘house of Asmaᶜ’, also known as *hadamu ↗Asmära*), one of the four “houses” that constituted the Arbaᶜətä Asmära neighbourhood league reportedly formed in 1508	(‘house of Asmaᶜ’), one of the four “houses” that constituted the Arbaᶜətä Asmära (also known as *hadamu ↗Asmära*) neighbourhood league reportedly formed in 1508
1016b	10 from bottom	Naṣir	Naṣīr
1019a	2	Forschungsreise nach Somâl-	Forschungsreise nach den Somâl-
1040b	20	18 March 1649	19 March 1648
1052b	16 from bottom	↗Salik	↗Sälik
1053b	5 of Lit.	ANGELO COLUCCI	MASSIMO COLUCCI
1069a	26	Walah	Wäläh
1075b	7 of Src.	EMML I, 48f., no 1;	EMML I, 1ff., no. 1;
1077b	20	↗Alaaba	↗Allaaba

Page	Line	Printed	Read
1077b	6 from bottom	Alaaba	Alaaba
	last	Kistane/↗Soddo	Kəstane/↗Soddo
1078b	19	Iḏāfalu	↗Iṯāfálo
	28	Saho Tarūᶜa	SāhoTarūᶜa
	1 of Src.	RAE	RIE
1081a	running head	Coup d'ètat	Coup d'état
	last	Gərmame Nəway	↗Gärmame Nəway
1081b	running head	Coup d'ètat	Coup d'état
	13 from bottom	Gərmame Nəway	Gärmame Nəway

Corrections and additions Volume 3: He–N

ixa	1 from bottom	Hoffmann	Hofmann
6b	10 from bottom	**ሰዊሮስ** (*Mäṣḥafä Säwiros*	**ሳዊሮስ** (*Mäṣḥafä Sawiros*
	8 from bottom	**ሰዊሮስ ፡ ካልእ** (*Mäṣḥafä Säwiros*	**ሳዊሮስ ፡ ካልእ** (*Mäṣḥafä Sawiros*
7a	14, 29	*Mäṣḥafä Säwiros*	*Mäṣḥafä Sawiros*
10b	14	May Bela	May Bäla
20b	32	↗Täfäri Mäkʷännən	Täfäri Mäkʷännən (↗Ḫaylä Śəllase)
37b	10 from bottom	*qoččo*	*qoč̣č̣o*
47b	14	↗Abū Sāliḥ al-Armanī	↗Abū Sāliḥ al-Armanī (or, rather, Abū l-Makārim)
48a	last of Lit.	155–40.	155–40; UGO ZANETTI, "Abu-l Makarim et Abu Salih", *Bulletin de la société d'archéologie copte* 34, 1995, 85–138.
52a	caption	Pankhurst – Robson	Pankhurst – Last
	11 of Lit.	ERIC ROBSON	GEOFFREY CHARLES LAST
52b	5	H. (5° 21' N,	H. (also Obbia; 5° 21' N,
58a	caption	on the day of their departure for Germany	in Berlin, Germany
63a	23	which may label	which many label
	31	types that have been	types have been
71a	6 from bottom	*Aṣe* Mənilək II,	Mənilək II's ministers,
71b	20 from bottom	Ǧiǧǧiga	Ǧiǧiga
73b	22	Bollolatos	Bololakos
125a	15	↗Täsämma Aśmärom	↗Täsämma Nadäw
127a	18 from bottom	Arsi Aṣbi Täfäri	Arsi Aṣbä Täfäri
128a	22	Gərmame Nəway	Gärmame Nəway
131b	24 from bottom	thwy	they
151a	14	↗*gaada*	↗*gaadaa*
164b	2	↗Iyasu and his wife	↗Iyasu II and his mother
168b	8 from bottom	*Register of Research*	*Register of Current Research*
169a	9	Abdussamad Ahmäd	Abdussämäd Ahmäd
169b	3 of Src.	*Register of Research*	*Register of Current Research*
187b	24	Abgadi and Hāsaballā	Abgáde and Ḥāsaballá
195b	16	with a wooden saw	with a saw for wood
196a	caption (ill. has to move to 196b)	Scenes from the life, martyrdom and death of Prophet Isaiah; cloth mural in the *qəne maḫlet* of the Trinity church, Č̣äläqot, Təgray; first half of the 18th cent.; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers	*Abunä* Isayəyyas; miniature (detail) in ms. *Gädlä Abunä Mäzgäbä Śəllase*, fol. 5r, 17th cent., Gundä Gunde; photo 2002, courtesy of Michael Gervers
221a	23	residual rights and	residual rights of the *coloni* and the
	28	In 1965,	In 1957,
	30	became a quarterly	became a bimonthly, and in 1965 a quarterly
224a	26 from bottom	↗Obbia	↗Hobyo
230b	5 from bottom	Ayyaläw	↗Ayyalew Bərru
231a	10	took place	took place in
232a	last	↗Ḫaylä Täklä Haymanot	↗Ḫaylu Täklä Haymanot
232b	8 from bottom	Ǧiǧǧiga	Ǧiǧiga

Page	Line	Printed	Read
235b	16 from bottom	follow-up to I.	follow-up to the ↗Italo-Ethiopian Treaty of Friendship and Commerce (of Wəč̣ale).
237a	17f.	that was to pass later by Rome, and see	that had passed by Rome and seen
	13 from bottom	it included	it found there an Italian “colony” that included
251b	caption	From left to right (above): *aṣe* Iyasu II and *ətege* Bərhan Mogäsa with their children: Ayänte, (below) Arkälädes, Wäldä Ləᶜul, Ǝnkoye and Asayo;	“King of Kings Iyasu and his mother Queen Wälättä Giyorgis” (i.e. Iyasu II and Bərhan Mogäsa), with relatives and courtiers: centre bottom, “*wäyzaro* Ǝnkʷäyye”; lower left, “*blatten geta* Arkälädis” and “*ras* Wäldä Ləᶜul”; next to the queen, “*mämhəre* Ayənte”; beneath her, “*blatten geta* Asayo”;
253b	7 from bottom	Wäsän Sägäd Wädiğo	Wäsän Sägäd Wädağğo
272b	3 from bottom	Amharic and Təgrəñña	Amharic literature and Təgrəñña language
	last	After 1977	After 1980
278a	map	[caption missing, should read:]	Jesuit residences in Ethiopia, 1565–1632
291b	20 from bottom	Däbrä Hamlo	Däbrä Ḥamlo
298b	26f.	by an anonymous Ethiopian translator	by Məhərka Dəngəl, the chronicler of Susənyos (Rodinson in PICES 4, 132f.),
337a	12 from bottom	↗Hossäyna	↗Hossaᶜəna
338a	24 from bottom	↗Dämbiya	↗Dämbəya
345a	22	Corpo d’Armante	Corpo d’Armata
345b	4	Henry Nole de la Poer	Noel Monson de la Poer
373a	4 from bottom	Mantel-Niecko	Mantel-Niećko
379b	9 from bottom	Lämälmo	Lämaləmo
427a	6 of Lit.	*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 127	*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 127, 2002
427a	11 of Lit.	*Geographical Journal* 51, 1916, 76–77	*Geographical Journal* 53, 2, 1919, 65–79
458a	16 from bottom	pharaoh457	pharaoh
465b	caption	Courteauld	Courtauld
478b	27f.	also also	also
540a	running head	Ledät	Lədät
543a	25 from bottom	Quintin-Dillon	Quartin-Dillon
	9f. from bottom	Quintin-Dillon	Quartin-Dillon
543b	26	Quintin-Dillon	Quartin-Dillon
551b	7	Pontifico Istituto Biblico	Pontificio Istituto Biblico
557a	21 from bottom	Atnaf Sägäd	Aṭnaf Sägäd
	19 from bottom	Atnaf Sägäd	Aṭnaf Sägäd
	17 from bottom	Atnaf Sägäd	Aṭnaf Sägäd
569b	14	he surgeon	the surgeon
571a	8	↗Gudru	↗Guduru
573b	13 from bottom	Esteves Pereira 1888:41	Esteves Pereira 1888:48
581b	5 from bottom	qotations	quotations
583b	3	ative	active
590b	1	1535	1635
617a	21 from bottom	oral traditions and migrations from	oral traditions from
	6f. from bottom	such as the *siiqqee* socio-religious organization as well as the cults	such as the cults
617b	1f.	periods. A man entered the system five grades, i.e. 40 years, after his father. Members of a *gadaa* class	periods, or *gadaa* grades. The members of a *gadaa* grade made up a *gadaa* class, or set, that
	7f. from bottom	(1) Birmaği; (2) Malba; (3) Mudana; (4) Robale; (5) Dulo; Aldada; Horata; Bifole; Sabaqa; Kirole	(1) Birmaği, Aldada; (2) Malba, Horata; (3) Mudana, Bifole, (4) Robale, Sabaqa; (5) Dulom Kirole
618a	14 from bottom	Instead of war leaders	Instead, war leaders
618b	11	eight years, due	eight years, but due
	4 from bottom	Maḫbärä Maryam	Madärä Maryam
628b	9 from bottom	*gíít*	*ğíít*
629a	14f.	According to the recent administrative division, the majority	The majority

Page	**Line**	**Printed**	**Read**
629a	last	their chair	their shrine
663a	3	tow	town
682a	8 from bottom	Abbäbä Arägi	Abbäbä Arägay
684a	caption	Mäk^{w}ännən Ǝndalkaččäw	Mängäša Wəbe
687a	2f. from bottom	from afar	from ^{c}Afar
707b	17 from bottom	Ǝstänfasä	Ǝstənfasä
	3 of Src.	**በዕላተ**	**በዕለተ**
708a	1	*bä^{c}əlatä*	*bä^{c}əlätä*
718a	11	b. 1924	b. 1924, d. 2009, France
	3 of Lit.	199;	199; FRANÇOIS ENGUEHARD, “A la mémoire de Mammo Taddesse 1924–2009”, *Nouvelles de l’ARESAE*, Janvier 2010, 3;
720b	10f.	b. 25 March 1889	b. 3 April 1889
	18	Mika^{ɔ}əl	Mika^{ɔ}el
725b	8	*zoba* Dəbub	*zoba* Däbub
726b	9 from bottom	*əč̣č̣äge* Tewodros	*əč̣č̣äge* Tewoflos
767b	11 of Lit.	2007;	5, 2008, 69–112;
779b	1 of Lit.	**Lit.**:	**Lit.**: BEREKET HABTE SELASSIE, *Conflict and Intervention in the Horn of Africa*, New York 1980, 120ff.;
790b	24	(1632–35)	(1617–35)
807b	3 from bottom	Bälässa	Bälsa
808b	14 from bottom	Hildefosus	Ildefonso
818a	30 from bottom	*Mälkə^{ɔ}a sə^{c}əl*	*Mälkə^{ɔ}a śə^{c}əl*
818b	5	(VelMe I, 159f.)	(VelMe I 76f.; II, 284f.)
819a	22	VelMe I, 159f.	VelMe I 76f.; II, 284f.
824b	22 from bottom	Eritrea.	Eritrea (for location s. Mänsa^c).
829b	running head	Mäšäšä Säyfu	Maryam Śəna
830a	running head	Mäšäšä Säyfu	Maryam Śəna
831b	10 from bottom	Augusto Antonelli	Pietro Antonelli
854a	Src.	[missing title]	*Roteiro do Mar Roxo de Dom João de Castro, Ms. Cott. Tib. Dix da British Library*, intr. by LUÍS DE ALBUQUERQUE, Lisboa 1991, 106f. (ill.)
860b	14 from bottom	↗ziveth	↗zibeth
862a	24	Səmen Gondär	Sämen Gondär
871b	18	*Aśärqot*	*Aśərqot*
896b	13	monastary	monastery
913b	running head	Məhərkä Dəngəl	Məhərka Dəngəl
	entry title	Məhərkä Dəngəl	Məhərka Dəngəl
	22 from bottom	M.D. (**ምህርከ ፡ ድንግል**	M.D. (**ምህርካ ፡ ድንግል**
914a	running head	Məhərkä Dəngəl	Məhərka Dəngəl XXXV). He is also known to have translated works of ↗John of Nikiu into Ethiopic.
	8	XXXV).	XXXV). He is also known to have translated works of ↗John of Nikiu into Ethiopic.
915b	5	atteted	attested
926a/b	caption	1903	1903; after *The Cambridge History of Africa*, vol. 6: *1870–1905*, Cambridge et al. 1985, 658f. and J.F. ADE AJAYI – MICHAEL CROWDER, *Historical Atlas of Africa*, Harlow 1985, no. 48
927a	20	Šewaraga	Šäwarägga
941b	12 from bottom	Francesco Brancaleone	Niccolò Brancaleone
961a	10 of Lit.	ID.,	GEORG GERSTER,
963a	2 from bottom	*balgadda*	*balgäda*
	1 from bottom	↗^{c}Abi ^{c}Addi	↗^{c}Abiy ^{c}Addi
969b	3	Louis Leaky	Louis Leakey
977b	12 from bottom	↗Massaia	↗Massaja
986a	23 from bottom	cakked	called

Page	Line	Printed	Read
1000b	6	by *däbtära* ↗Zännäb	by *aläqa* ↗Wäldä Maryam
1001a	10f.	Davie Vovan et al.	Vôvan et al.
1001b	13	Vovan	Vôvan
1010a	2	↗Täsämma Aśmärom	↗Täsämma Nadäw
1030b	2	Turu	Ṭəru
1031b	15 from bottom	symboling	symbolizing
1037b	3f. of Lit.	*Geographical Journal* 38 1911, 113–38	*Geographical Journal* 38, 2, 1911, 113–39
1042b	10 from bottom	2001:61	2001:261
	9 from bottom	^{c}Abdallāh b. al-^{c}Awf	^{c}Abdarraḥmān b. al-^{c}Awf
1078a	1	orote	Đorote
1081a	14 bottom	Alexandra	Alexandria
1095a	15 from bottom	↗Aksum.	↗Aksum (for location s. May ^{c}Ayni).
1116a	2 from bottom	group the N. family originates in	group of the N. family
1147a	1	*Linguistics* (= Sprachen und	*Linguistics*, Köln 2007 (Sprachen und
1153b	12 from bottom	Täsfanä Krəstos	Krəstos Täsfanä
1158a	running head	Nəbab bet	Nayi
1164b	8	↗Arch	↗Ark
1174a	4 of Lit.	149–91.	149–91; RICHARD PANKHURST, *Sylvia Pankhurst, Counsel for Ethiopia*, Hollywood, CA 2002.
1181a	25 from bottom	Bašällo	↗Bäšəlo
1183a	23	lects	dialects
1190b	20 from bottom	found on a in the	found in the
1195a	9	Superio	Superior

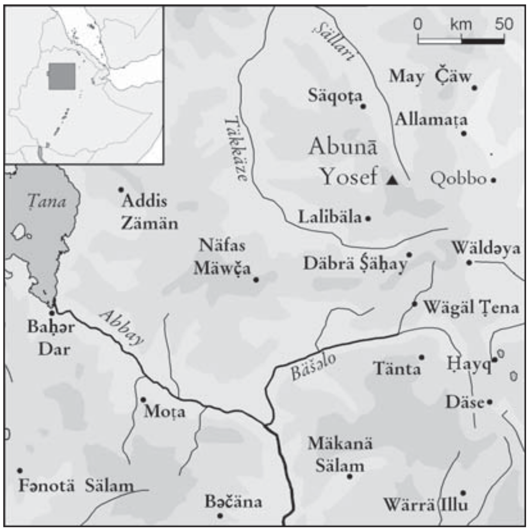
Corrections and additions Volume 4: O–X

1a	15	1964: 182	1969: 182
11a	11	*tinctorus*	*tinctorius*
18b	24	Male	Maale
19b	9	did not known	did not know
	5 from bottom	Gilgäl Gibe	Gəlgäl Gibe
71b	13 from bottom	only began to appear	began to appear widely
72a	16 from bottom	Braayuyu	Buraayuu
72b	19/20	‘A Heap of Sorrow’	‘Cumulative Vengeance’
77b	15	↗Muhammad Ali	↗Muhammad Ali (s. EAE vol. 5)
78b	4	↗Muḥammad Obaker	↗Maḥammad Ôbakar
85b	21 from bottom	called called	called
133a	entry title	*Erythreaen*	*Erythraean*
158a	caption	Girl carrying a pumpkin	Girl carrying a bottle gourd
163a	4 from bottom	↗*Ṭeff*	↗*Ṭef*
163b	10 from bottom	*ṭeff*	*ṭef*
234b	22	↗*Gädlä säma^{c}ətat*	*Gädlä* ↗*säma^{c}ətat*
268b	14 from bottom	symphathetic	sympathetic
280a	7	(↗*Mästäbq^{w}ə^{c}*)	(*Mästäbq^{w}ə^{c}*)
280b	12	↗*Akk^{w}ätetä q^{w}ərban*	*Akk^{w}ätetä q^{w}ərban* (↗Eucharist)
301a	33	↗*Gädlä ḥawaryat*	*Gädlä* ↗*ḥawaryat*
414b	14 from bottom	Royal Chronicles ↗Chronicles	Royal Chronicles ↗Historiography
425a	2 of Src.	CRAxum 21	CRAxum 22
443b	10	↗*qalluu*	↗*qaalluu*
479b	1–6	Most of the Ethiopian ... *topoi.*	[repetition]
488b	1	Hamlo	Ḥamlo
492a	11	Dəbub	Däbub
496a	2	↗Gideon	↗Gedewon
501b	2 from bottom	↗Chemin de fer franco-éthiopien	Chemin de fer franco-éthiopien (↗Railways)
507a	9–11	one level has the literal meaning (“gold”); the other has figurative meaning (“wax”)	one level has the surface meaning (“wax”); the other, the deep meaning (“gold”)
520a	11 from bottom	Dəbub	Däbub

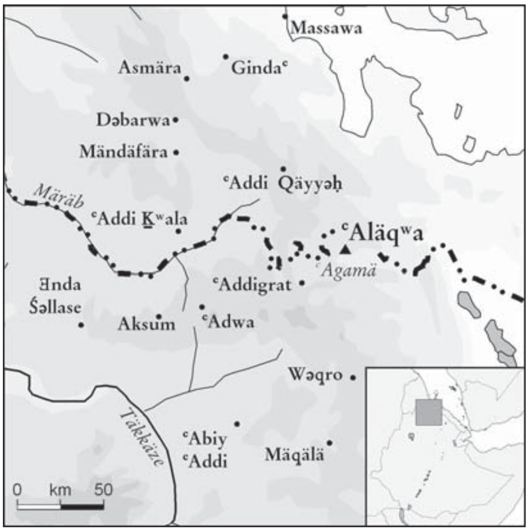
Page	Line	Printed	Read
554b	11 from bottom	Däbrä Bəsrat	↗Däbrä Bəśrat
564b	12	Zärʾa Yaʿəqob's	ʿAmdä Ṣəyon's
571b	9 from bottom	*šayḫ Aḥmad b. Idūs*	*šayḫ* Aḥmad b. Idrīs
594b	20	thone	throne
596a	17 from bottom	Däbrä Ḥättäta	Däbrä Ḥattäta
647a	8	activly	actively
670b	22	↗Šämbəra Kʷəre	↗Šəmbərä Kʷəre
673b	2	one of the ruler	one of the rulers
722b	4 from bottom	Baʾatti Maryam	Bäʾatä Maryam
741b	8 from bottom	↗Zəkʷala	↗Zəqʷala
767a	1	all three persons	the Holy Spirit its heat", but Ǝsṭifanos taught that all three persons
774b	20 from bottom	an Somali	a Somali
822a	6 from bottom	↗Dima Giorgis	↗Dima Giyorgis
827a	5 from bottom	and the protection	under the protection
840b	20 from bottom	ṣəd Maryam	Ṣəd Maryam
841b	7	Däbrä Bəsrat	↗Däbrä Bəśrat
855b	22	Səmen	Sämen
856a	3	Gəlgəl	Gəlgäl
857a	26	Gəlgəl	Gəlgäl
858a	11 from bottom	16th cent.	17th cent.
878a	17 from bottom	monastry	monastery
898a	14 from bottom	Islamizastion	Islamisation
913a	3	↗Aklilu Habtäwäld	↗Aklilu Habte
940a	last	**ኮሚዲያ**	**ኮሜዲያ**
940b	2	La Fontain	La Fontaine
973a	13	and acting as	and acted as
975b	5 from bottom	unable reassume its	unable to reassume
977ab	map	[caption missing, should read:]	Major trade routes in the Horn of Africa
983b	18 from bottom	and made	and was made
1001b	6 from bottom	Gumaa	Guummaa
1015b	16 from bottom	two much	too much
1042b	6	Agordat	Aqordät
1076b	6	550 m	3,000 m
1083a	6	↗Qəmant	↗Kəmant
1099a	10	had diplomatic career	followed a diplomatic career
1128a	9 from bottom	1960) this	1960); this
	7 from bottom	of *ənsät*	*ənsät*
1130a	3 bottom	to spent	to spend
1154a	3 top	such as ↗Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase.	such as Betä Śəllase at ↗Däbrä Bərhan.
1156a	6 from bottom	Gəlgəl	Gəlgäl
1156b	table	Gəlgəl	Gəlgäl

Maps

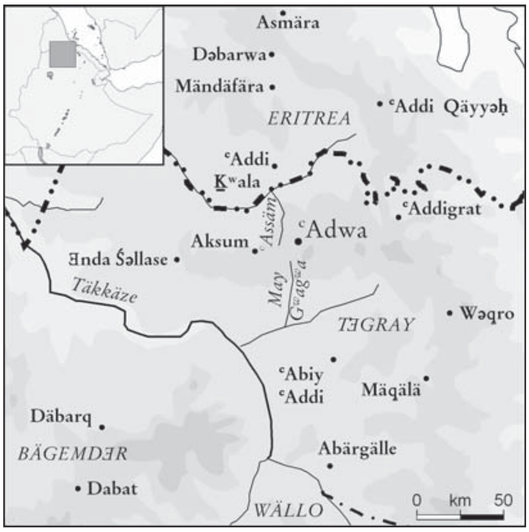
Volume 1: A–C


0 km 50
Sällari
Täkkäze
May Č̣äw
Säqoṭa
Allamaṭa
Abunā Yosef
Qobbo
Ṭana
Addis Zämän
Näfas Mäwč̣a
Lalibäla
Däbrä Ṣ́äḥay
Wäldəya
Wägäl Ṭena
Abbay
Baḥər Dar
Bäšəlo
Tänta
Ḥayq
Däse
Moṭa
Mäkanä Sälam
Fənotä Sälam
Bəč̣äna
Wärrä Illu

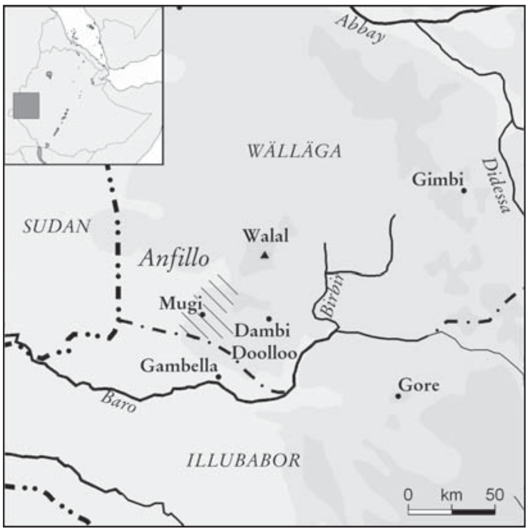
56b Abunä Yosef (map is missing)


Massawa
Asmära
Gindaᶜ
Dəbarwa
Mändäfära
ᶜAddi Qäyyəḥ
Märäb
ᶜAddi Ḵʷala
ᶜAläqʷa
Agamä
Ǝnda Śəllase
ᶜAddigrat
Aksum
ᶜAdwa
Wəqro
Täkkäze
ᶜAbiy ᶜAddi
Mäqälä
0 km 50

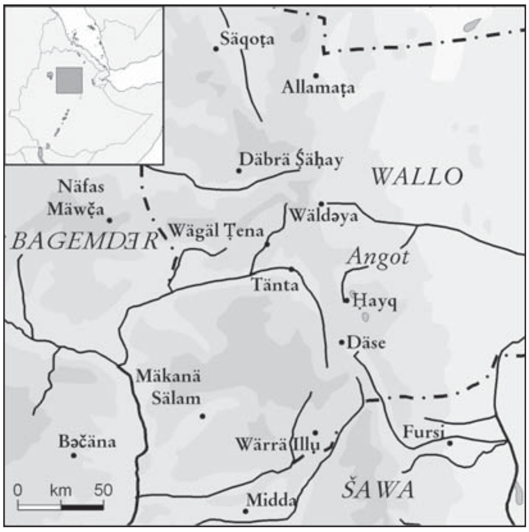
192a ᶜAläqʷa (map is missing)


Asmära
Dəbarwa
Mändäfära
ᶜAddi Qäyyəḥ
ERITREA
ᶜAddi Ḵʷala
ᶜAssäm
ᶜAdwa
ᶜAddigrat
Aksum
Ǝnda Śəllase
Täkkäze
May Gʷagʷa
TƎGRAY
Wəqro
ᶜAbiy ᶜAddi
Mäqälä
Däbarq
BÄGEMDƎR
Abärgälle
Dabat
WÄLLO
0 km 50

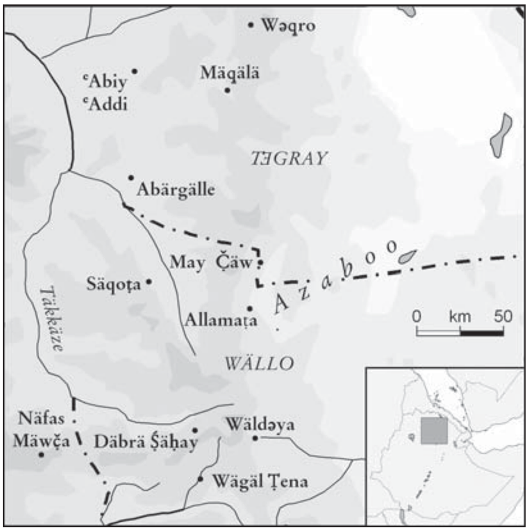
105b ᶜAdwa (map is missing)


Abbay
WÄLLÄGA
Gimbi
Didessa
SUDAN
Walal
Anfillo
Birbir
Mugi
Dambi Doolloo
Gambella
Baro
Gore
ILLUBABOR
0 km 50

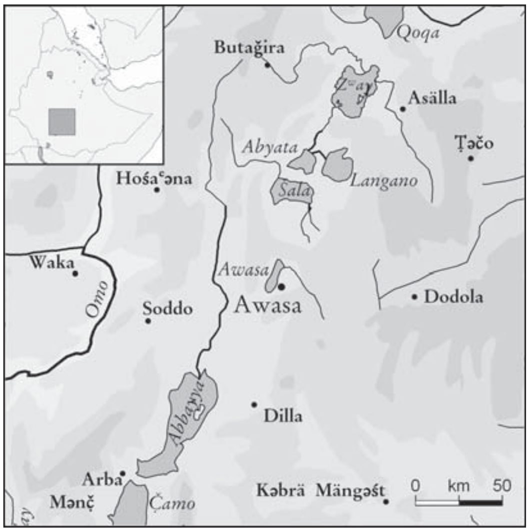
263b Anfillo (mistake on the map)


Säqoṭa
Allamaṭa
Däbrä Šäḥay
WALLO
Näfas
Mäwča
BAGEMDƎR
Wägäl Ṭena
Wäldəya
Angot
Tänta
Ḥayq
Däse
Mäkanä
Sälam
Bəčäna
Wärrä Illu
Fursi
ŠAWA
Midda
0 km 50

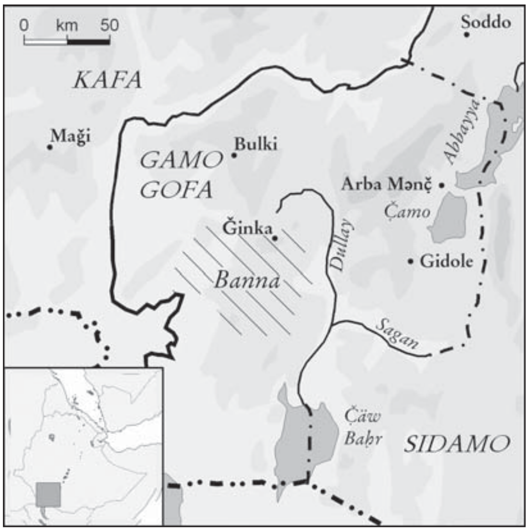
268a Angot (map is missing)


Wəqro
ʿAbiy
ʿAddi
Mäqälä
TƎGRAY
Abärgälle
May Čäw
Säqoṭa
Azaboo
Allamaṭa
0 km 50
Täkkäze
WÄLLO
Näfas
Mäwča
Däbrä Šäḥay
Wäldəya
Wägäl Ṭena

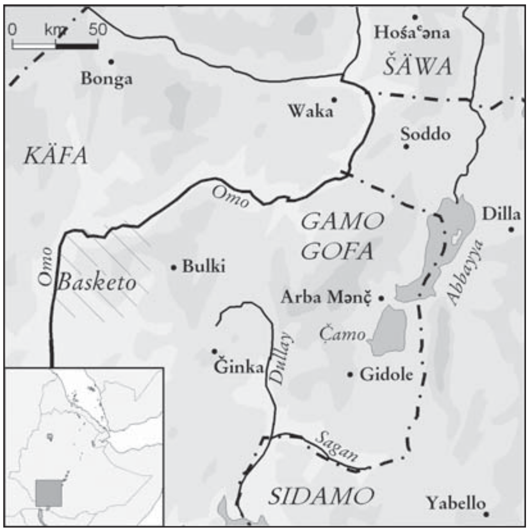
413b Azaboo (mistake on the map)


Qoqa
Butağira
Zway
Asälla
Abyata
Ṭəčo
Langano
Hośaʿəna
Šala
Waka
Omo
Awasa
Soddo
Awasa
Dodola
Abbayya
Dilla
Arba
Mənč
Čamo
Kəbrä Mängəśt
0 km 50

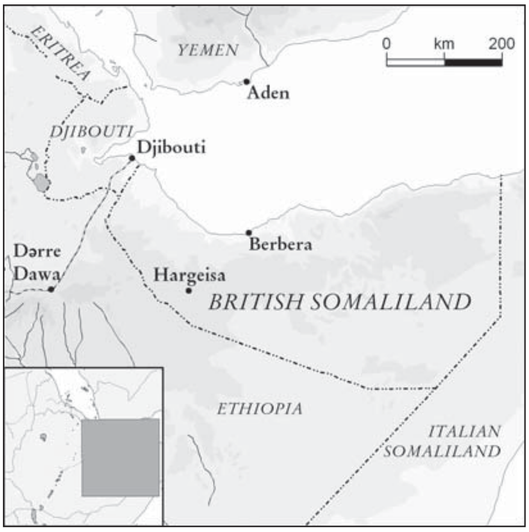
402a Awasa (mistake on the map)


0 km 50
Soddo
KAFA
Abbayya
Mağı
Bulki
GAMO
GOFA
Arba Mənč
Čamo
Ğinka
Dullay
Gidole
Banna
Sagan
Čäw
Baḥr
SIDAMO

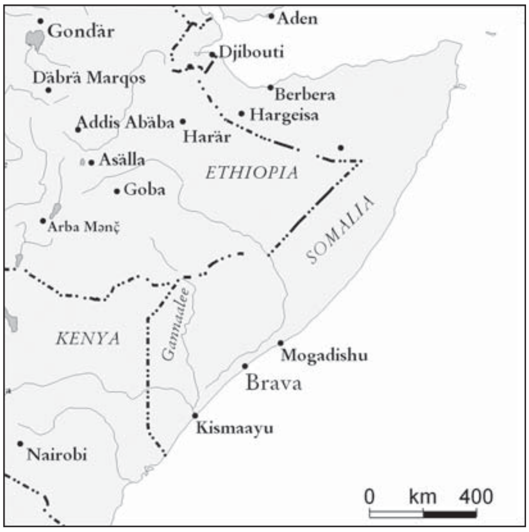
466a Banna (map is missing)


0 km 50
Hośaᶜəna
ŠÄWA
Bonga
Waka
Ṣoddo
KÄFA
Omo
GAMO
GOFA
Dilla
Omo
Basketo
Bulki
Arba Mənč
Abbayya
Čamo
Ğinka
Dullay
Gidole
Sagan
SIDAMO
Yabello

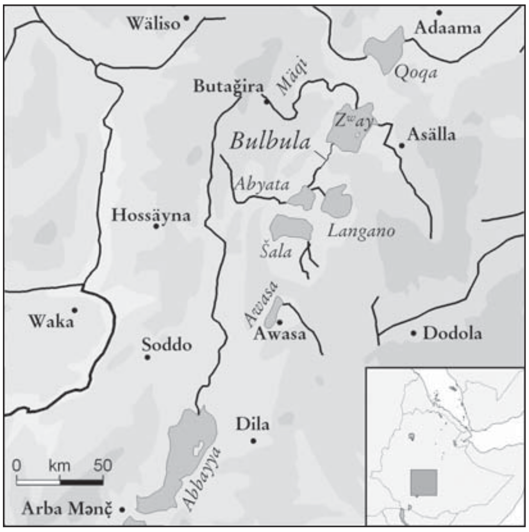
498b Basketo (mistake on the map)


ERITREA
YEMEN
0 km 200
Aden
DJIBOUTI
Djibouti
Berbera
Dərre
Dawa
Hargeisa
BRITISH SOMALILAND
ETHIOPIA
ITALIAN
SOMALILAND

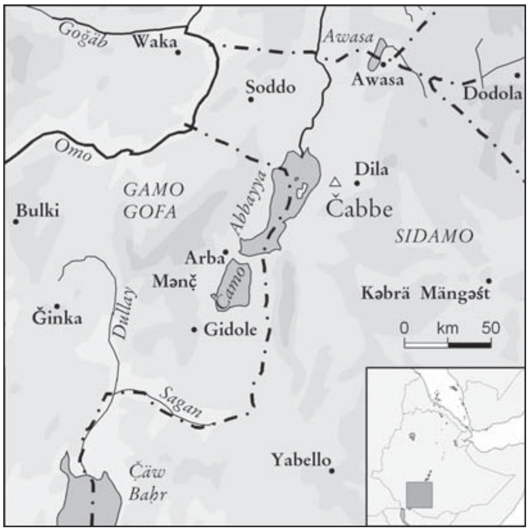
628b British Somaliland (map is missing)


Aden
Gondär
Djibouti
Däbrä Marqos
Berbera
Hargeisa
Addis Abäba
Harär
Asälla
ETHIOPIA
Goba
SOMALIA
Arba Mənč
KENYA
Gannaalee
Mogadishu
Brava
Kismaayu
Nairobi
0 km 400

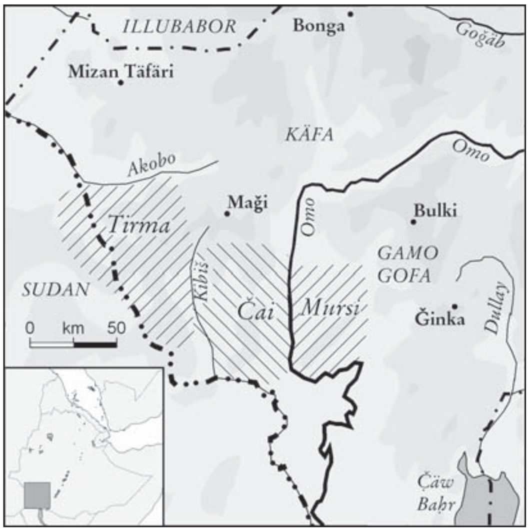
621a Brava (map is missing)


Wäliso
Adaama
Qoqa
Butağira
Mäqi
Zʷay
Bulbula
Asälla
Abyata
Hossäyna
Langano
Šala
Awasa
Waka
Awasa
Dodola
Soddo
Dila
0 km 50
Abbayya
Arba Mənč

638a Bulbula (map is missing)

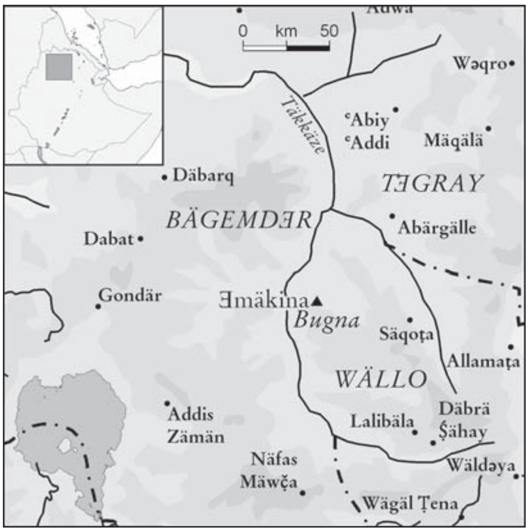

Goǧāb
Waka
Awasa
Awasa
Dodola
Ṣoddo
Omo
Dila
GAMO
GOFA
Abbayya
Čabbe
Bulki
SIDAMO
Arba
Mənč̣
Čamo
Kəbrä Mängəśt
Ǧinka
Dullay
Gidole
0 km 50
Sagan
Yabello
Čāw
Baḥr

660a Čabbe (map is missing)

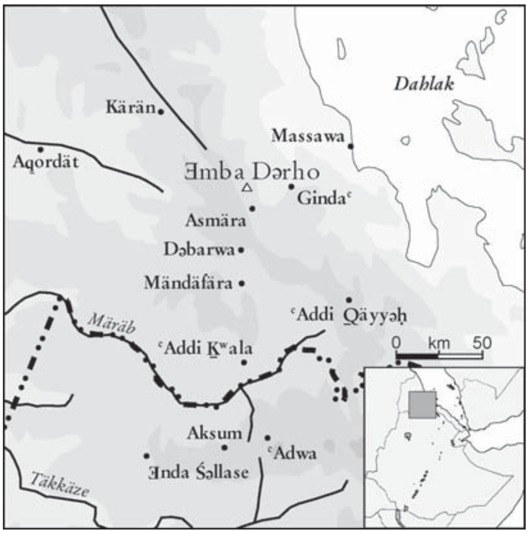

ILLUBABOR
Bonga
Goǧāb
Mizan Täfäri
KÄFA
Omo
Akobo
Maǧi
Bulki
Tirma
Omo
GAMO
GOFA
SUDAN
Kibiš
Čai
Mursi
Ǧinka
Dullay
0 km 50
Čäw
Baḥr

666a Čai – Tirma – Mursi (map is missing)

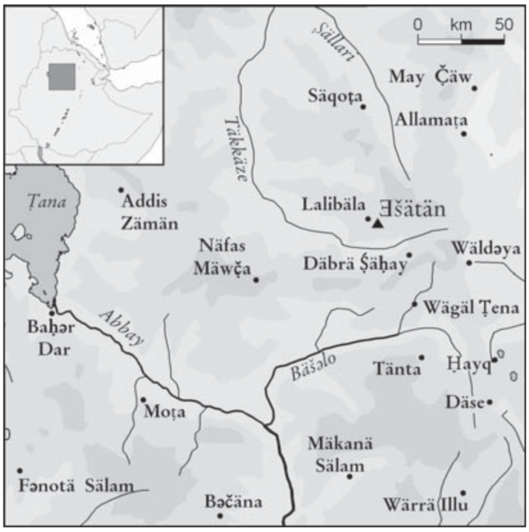
Volume 2: D–Ha


0 km 50
Wəqro
Täkkäze
ʿAbiy
ʿAddi
Mäqälä
Däbarq
TƎGRAY
BÄGEMDƎR
Abärgälle
Dabat
Gondär
Ǝmäkina
Bugna
Säqoṭa
Allamaṭa
WÄLLO
Addis
Zämän
Lalibäla
Däbrä
Ṣähay
Näfas
Mäwč̣a
Wäldəya
Wägäl Ṭena

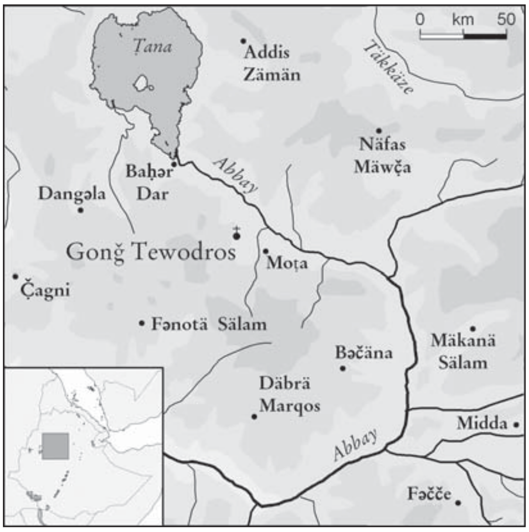
269a Ǝmäkina (map is missing)


Dahlak
Kärän
Massawa
Aqordät
Ǝmba Dərho
Gindaʿ
Asmära
Dəbarwa
Mändäfära
Märäb
ʿAddi Qäyyəḥ
ʿAddi K̲ʷala
0 km 50
Aksum
ʿAdwa
Ǝnda Śəllase
Täkkäze

270b Ǝmba Dərho (map is missing)

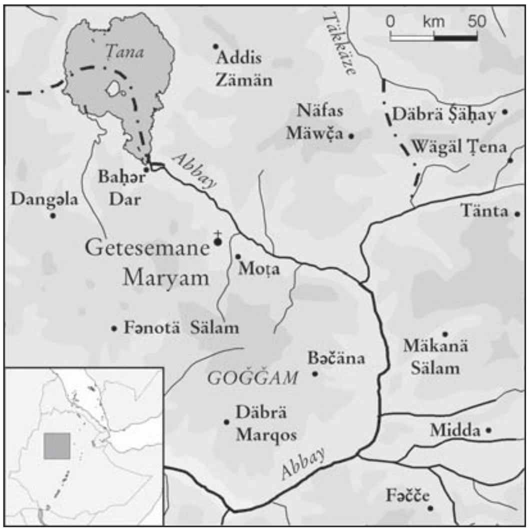

0 km 50
Sällari
May Čäw
Säqota
Allamaṭa
Täkkäze
Ṭana
Addis Zämän
Lalibäla
Ǝšätän
Näfas Mäwča
Däbrä Ṣäḥay
Wäldəya
Wägäl Ṭena
Baḥər Dar
Abbay
Bäšälo
Tänta
Ḥayq
Däse
Moṭa
Mäkanä Sälam
Fənotä Sälam
Bəčäna
Wärrä Illu

375a Ǝšätän (map is missing)

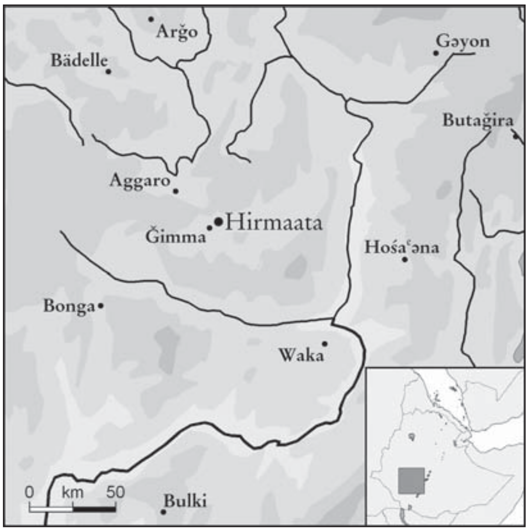

0 km 50
Ṭana
Addis Zämän
Täkkäze
Näfas Mäwča
Baḥər Dar
Abbay
Dangəla
Gonǧ Tewodros
Moṭa
Čagni
Fənotä Sälam
Bəčäna
Mäkanä Sälam
Däbrä Marqos
Midda
Abbay
Fəčče

848a Gonǧ Tewodros (map is missing)

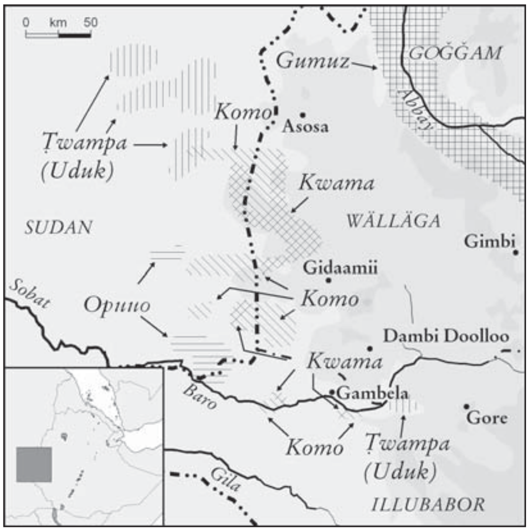
Volume 3: He–N


0 km 50
Ṭana
Addis Zämän
Täkkäze
Näfas Mäwča
Däbrä Ṣäḥay
Wägäl Ṭena
Baḥər Dar
Abbay
Dangəla
Tänta
Getesemane Maryam
Moṭa
Fənotä Sälam
Bəčäna
Mäkanä Sälam
GOǦǦAM
Däbrä Marqos
Midda
Abbay
Fəčče

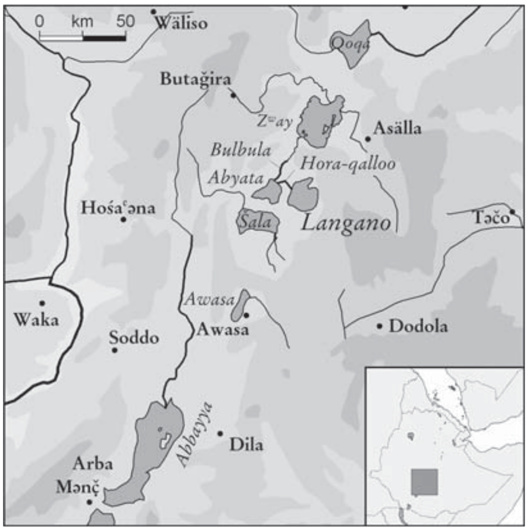
779a Getesemane Maryam (map is missing)


Arǧo
Bädelle
Gəyon
Butaǧira
Aggaro
Hirmaata
Ǧimma
Hośaʿəna
Bonga
Waka
0 km 50
Bulki

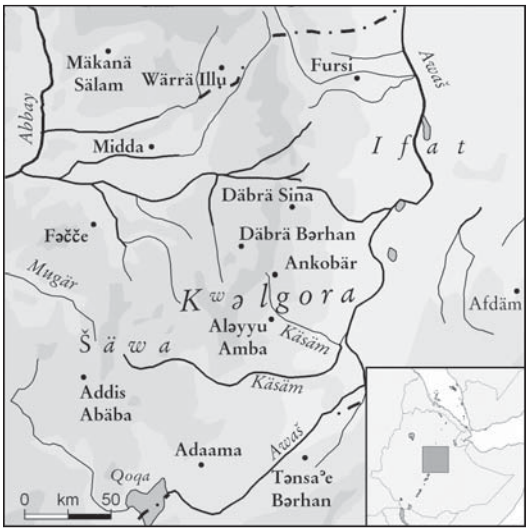
37b Hirmaata (map is missing)


0 km 50
Gumuz
GOĞĞAM
Abbay
Komo
Asosa
Ṭwampa
(Uduk)
Kwama
SUDAN
WÄLLÄGA
Gimbi
Gidaamii
Sobat
Opuuo
Komo
Dambi Doolloo
Kwama
Gambela
Baro
Gore
Komo
Ṭwampa
(Uduk)
Gila
ILLUBABOR

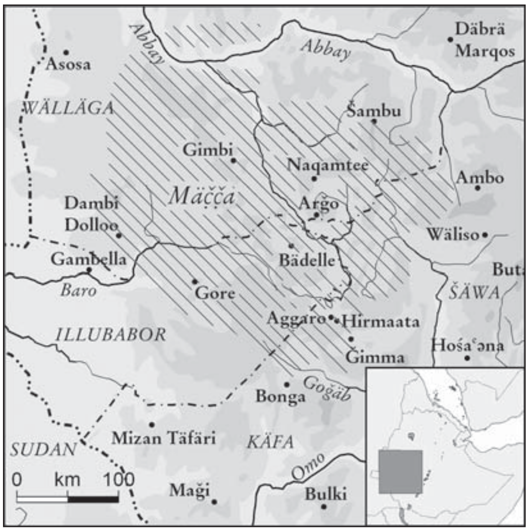
417b Koman (wrong map)


0 km 50
Wäliso
Qoqa
Butağira
Zʷay
Asälla
Bulbula
Hora-qalloo
Abyata
Hośaʿəna
Šala
Langano
Təčo
Awasa
Awasa
Waka
Ṣoddo
Dodola
Abbayya
Dila
Arba
Mənč

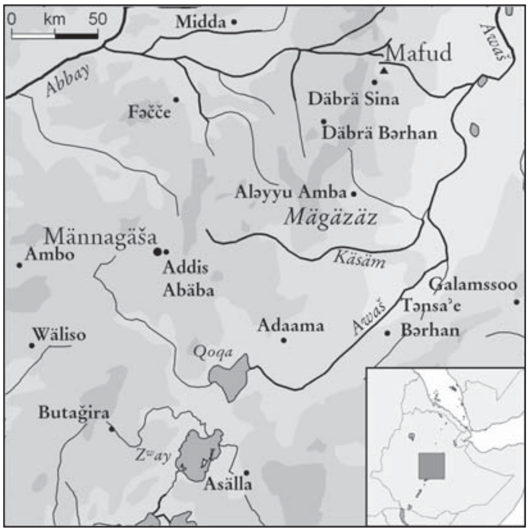
503a Langano (mistake on the map)


Mäkanä
Sälam
Wärrä Illu
Fursi
Awaš
Abbay
Midda
Ifat
Däbrä Sina
Fəčče
Däbrä Bərhan
Ankobär
Mugär
Kʷəlgora
Afdäm
Aləyyu
Amba
Käsäm
Šäwa
Käsäm
Addis
Abäba
Adaama
Awaš
Qoqa
Tənsaʾe
Bərhan
0 km 50

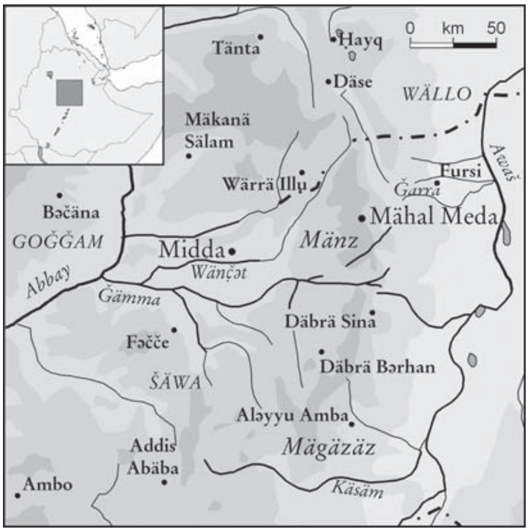
465a Kʷəlgora (map is missing)


Asosa
Abbay
Abbay
Däbrä
Marqos
WÄLLÄGA
Šambu
Gimbi
Naqamtee
Ambo
Dambi
Dolloo
Mäč̣č̣a
Argo
Wäliso
Gambella
Bädelle
Baro
Gore
ŠÄWA
ILLUBABOR
Aggaro
Hirmaata
Ǧimma
Hośaʿəna
Bonga
Goǧäb
SUDAN
Mizan Täfäri
KÄFA
Omo
0 km 100
Mağı
Bulki

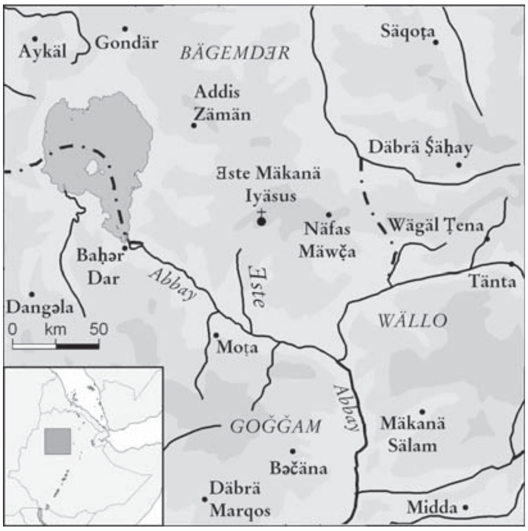
617b Mäč̣č̣a (mistake on the map)


0 km 50
Midda
Mafud
Abbay
Awaš
Fəčče
Däbrä Sina
Däbrä Bərhan
Aləyyu Amba
Mägäzäz
Männagäša
Ambo
Addis Abäba
Käsäm
Galamssoo
Awaš
Təpsaᵓe Bərhan
Adaama
Wäliso
Qoqa
Butağira
Zʷay
Asälla

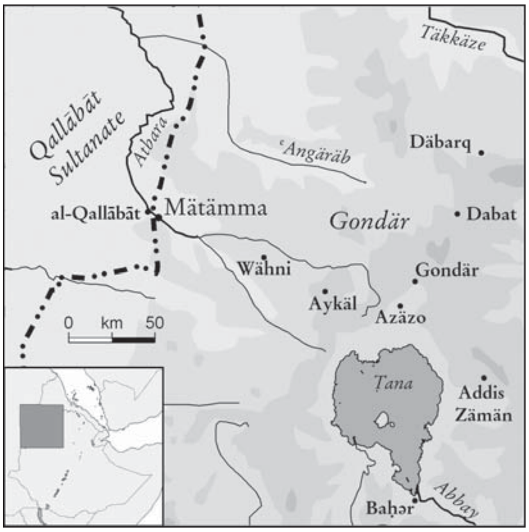
671a Mafud – Männagäša (map is missing)


Tänta
Ḥayq
0 km 50
Däse
WÄLLO
Mäkanä Sälam
Awaš
Fursi
Wärrä Illu
Ğarra
Bəčäna
Mähal Meda
GOĞĞAM
Mänz
Midda
Wänčət
Abbay
Ğämma
Däbrä Sina
Fəčče
ŠÄWA
Däbrä Bərhan
Aləyyu Amba
Mägäzäz
Addis Abäba
Ambo
Käsäm

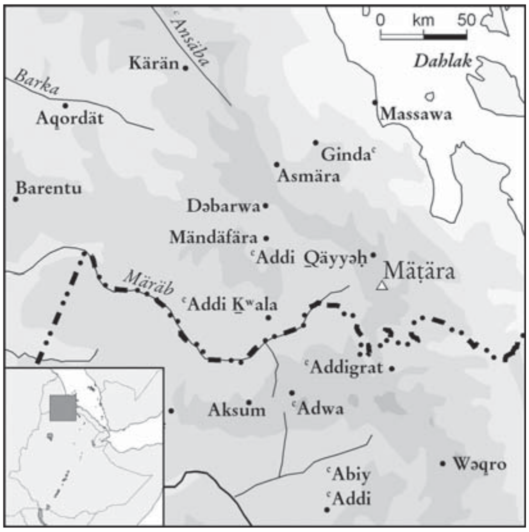
752a Mänz (map is missing)


Aykäl
Gondär
BÄGEMDƎR
Säqoṭa
Addis Zämän
Däbrä Ṣäḥay
Ǝste Mäkanä Iyäsus
Näfas Mäwč̣a
Wägäl Ṭena
Baḥər Dar
Abbay
Ǝste
Tänta
Dangəla
0 km 50
WÄLLO
Moṭa
GOĞĞAM
Abbay
Mäkanä Sälam
Bəčäna
Däbrä Marqos
Midda

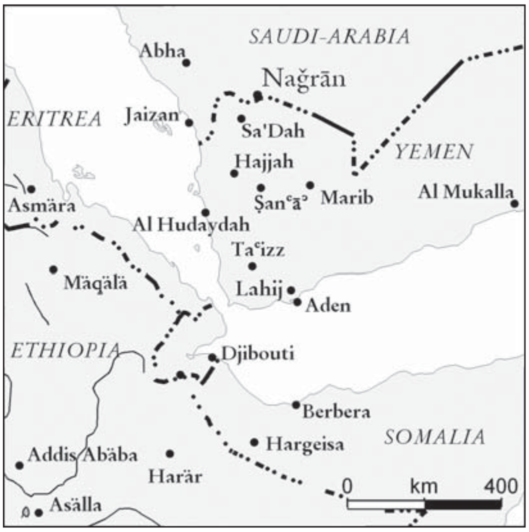
671a Mäkanä Iyäsus (map is missing)


Täkkäze
Qallābāt Sultanate
Atbara
ʿAngäräb
Däbarq
al-Qallābāt
Mätämma
Gondär
Dabat
Wähni
Gondär
Aykäl
Azäzo
0 km 50
Ṭana
Addis Zämän
Abbay
Baḥər

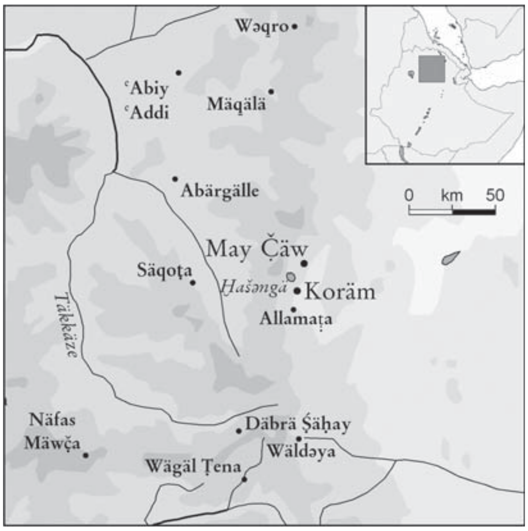
862a Mätämma (map is missing)


0 km 50
ʿAnsäba
Kärän
Barka
Dahlak
Aqordät
Massawa
Gindaʿ
Asmära
Barentu
Dəbarwa
Mändäfära
ʿAddi Qäyyəḥ
Mäṭära
Märäb
ʿAddi Ḵʷala
ʿAddigrat
Aksum
ʿAdwa
ʿAbiy
ʿAddi
Wəqro

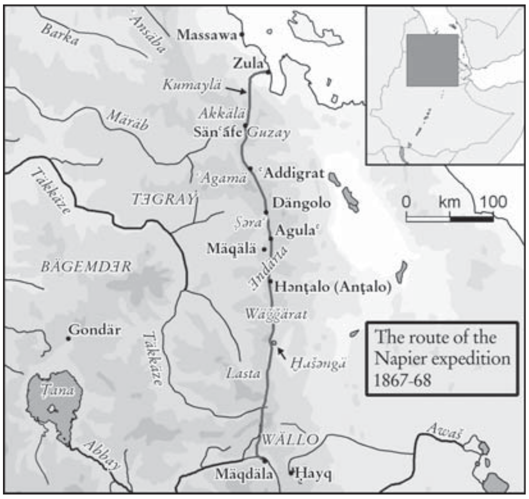
864a Mäṭära (map is missing)


SAUDI-ARABIA
Abha
Naǧrān
ERITREA
Jaizan
Sa'Dah
YEMEN
Hajjah
Ṣanʿaᵓ
Marib
Al Mukalla
Asmära
Al Hudaydah
Taʿizz
Mäqälä
Lahij
Aden
ETHIOPIA
Djibouti
Berbera
Addis Abäba
Hargeisa
SOMALIA
Harär
0 km 400
Asälla

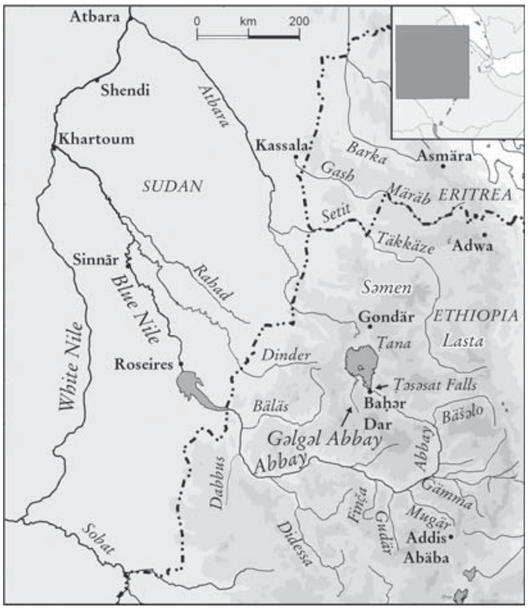
1114b Naǧrān (map is missing)


Wəqro
ʿAbiy
ʿAddi
Mäqälä
Abärgälle
0 km 50
May Č̣äw
Säqoṭa
Ḫašənga
Koräm
Allamaṭa
Täkkäze
Näfas Mäwč̣a
Däbrä Ṣ̌äḥay
Wäldəya
Wägäl Ṭena

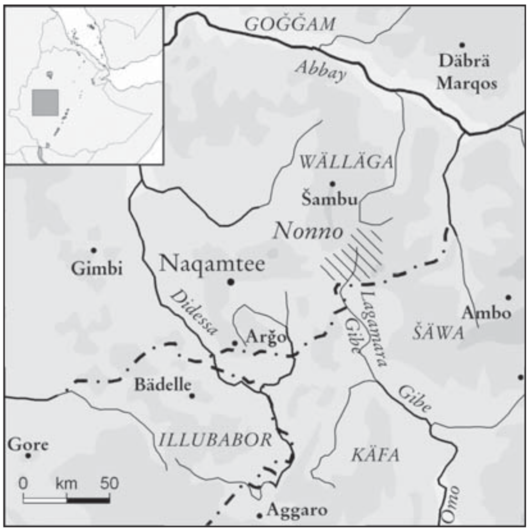
882a May Č̣äw – Koräm (map is missing)


Barka
ʿAnsäba
Massawa
Zula
Kumaylä
Akkälä
Märäb
Sänʿäfe
Guzay
Agamä
ʿAddigrat
Täkkäze
TƎGRAY
Dängolo
Ṣəra
Agulaʿ
0 km 100
Mäqälä
BÄGEMDƎR
Ǝndärta
Hənṭalo (Anṭalo)
Wäǧǧärat
Gondär
Täkkäze
Ḫašənga
Lasta
The route of the Napier expedition 1867-68
Ṭana
WÄLLO
Awaš
Abbay
Mäqdäla
Ḥayq

1196a Napier expedition (mistake on the map)


Atbara
0 km 200
Shendi
Atbara
Khartoum
Kassala
Barka
Asmära
Gash
SUDAN
Märäb
ERITREA
Setit
Täkkäze
ʿAdwa
Sinnār
Rahad
Səmen
Blue Nile
Gondär
ETHIOPIA
Tana
Lasta
White Nile
Dinder
Roseires
Ṭəsəsat Falls
Bäläs
Bahər Dar
Bäšəlo
Gəlgəl Abbay
Abbay
Abbay
Dabbus
Gämma
Finča
Mugär
Gudär
Sobat
Didessa
Addis Abäba

1196a Nile (map is missing)


GOĞĞAM
Abbay
Däbrä Marqos
WÄLLÄGA
Šambu
Nonno
Gimbi
Naqamtee
Didessa
Arǧo
Lagamara
Gibe
Ambo
ŠÄWA
Bädelle
Gibe
Gore
ILLUBABOR
KÄFA
0 km 50
Aggaro
Omo

1196a Nonno – Naqamtee (map is missing)

Titles, ranks and functions

The following table provides an overview and basic information (etymological/linguistic notes, meaning, cultural or historical context) on titles mentioned in the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* vols. 1–5 as well as selected additional titles from written and oral sources. Too obscure or uncertain titles are omitted. For the occurrences of the titles in the *Encyclopaedia* and more detailed information Index can be consulted; whenever an entry is dedicated to a title this is marked as “s. article”.

Compiled by Dirk Bustorf, in cooperation with Stéphane Ancel and Red.

aadil(*a*)	Hadiyya ‘king’ (from Ar. ^{c}*ādil* ‘righteous’?), hereditary honorific title for some chiefs who were in possession of royal insignia and mainly symbolic primus inter pares.
abä mənet	Gə^{c}əz **አበ ፡ ምኔት**, ecclesiastic title, used for the head of a ↗*gädam* besides ↗*mämhər*; s. also index.
abägaz	Amh. **አበጋዝ**, military title or rank, leader of a military unit, today used as a title of merit; s. article and index.
abba	Amh. **አባ** ‘father’, title of address and reference indicating sociological paternity, title for a monk or priest in Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity; s. article and index.
abbaa	Or. ‘father’, title of address and reference indicating sociological paternity and/|or ownership; s. article and index.
abbaa biyyaa	Or. ‘father/possessor of the country’, title for an important landowner in the ↗Gibe region, s. also index.
abbaa bokkuu	Or. ‘father/possessor of the [↗]*bokkuu* ceremonial staff’, title of the leader of a generation class of the ↗*gadaa* system; s. article and index.
abbaa dulaa	Or. ‘father of war’, title for a temporally elected military leader of the Oromo; s. article and index.

abbaa fuño	Or. ‘father/possessor of the cord(s)’, title for a collector of salt tax and tributes, s. also index.
abbaa gaba	Or. ‘father/possessor of the market’, Oromo official in charge of trade, trader’s affairs and the market; s. article and index
abbaa gadaa	Or. ‘father of the [↗]*gadaa*’, title of the highest ranking member of the ruling gadaa class, s. article and index
abbaa gandaa	Or. ‘father of the *gandaa*’, title of the administrator of a sub-district (*gandaa*) in the Oromo Gibe states; s. article and index.
abbaa kella	Or. ‘father of the gate’, title for the chief of customs and intelligence in the Oromo Gibe states; s. article and index.
abbaa lafa	Or. ‘father/possessor of the land’, title of a land owner in the Oromo Gibe states; s. article and index.
abbaa mizan	Or. ‘father/possessor of the balance’, highest ranking official after the king in the Oromo Gibe states, royal treasurer, responsible also for foreign affairs; s. article and index.
abbaa muudaa	Or. ‘father of anointment’, title for the ritual head of the traditional religion of the Oromo; s. article and index.
abbaa qorro	Or. ‘father/possessor of the district’, district governor or tax collector in the Oromo Gibe states, later simply owner of big land; s. article and index.
abbaa seera	Or. ‘father of the law or custom [↗*seera*]’, title of an important ↗*gadaa* official; s. article and index.
abbas	Gə^{c}əz አባስ ‘abbot’, title for the head of a monastery, from Greek, s. also ↗*mämhər*.
abbataččən	Amh. አባታችን, Tgn. አቦና *abbona*, ‘our father’, honorific for a bishop or widely respected monk; s. also ↗*abbate* and ↗*abba*, s. also index.
abbate	Amh. አባቴ ‘my father’, honorific for a senior monk or prior of a monastery; cp. ↗*abba*, s. article and index.
abbo gäräb	Tgn. አቦ ፡ ገረብ ‘father of the river’, title for a conflict mediator and speaker of a clan in eastern Təgray.
abetohun, abeto	Amh. አቤቶሁን, አቤቶ, term of address for a member of the ↗Solomonic dynasty; s. article and index.
abunä, *abun*	Gə^{c}əz አቡነ, አቡን, honorific for high-ranking clerics, heads of monasteries and especially the metropolitan (↗*p̣ap̣as*) of the ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church; s. article and index.
abunä qäsis	Gə^{c}əz አቡነ ፡ ቀሲስ ‘our father the priest’, title for the assistant to an ↗*abun*(*ä*).
adde	Or. ‘Mrs’, female honorific; s. also ↗*obboo* and index.
afä awfari	Gə^{c}əz አፈ ፡ አውፋሪ ‘spokesman [lit. mouth] of the *awfari*’.
afä gubaʾe	Gə^{c}əz አፈ ፡ ጉባኤ ‘spokesman [lit. mouth] of the assembly’, title given temporarily to the speaker of a secular or ecclesiastic assembly; s. article and index
afä mämhər	Gə^{c}əz አፈ ፡ መምህር ‘spokesman [lit. mouth] of the [↗]*mämhər*’, title of the spokesman of a ↗*mämhər*.
afä mälkäñña	Gə^{c}əz/Amh. አፈ ፡ መልከኛ ‘spokesman [lit. mouth] of the [↗]*mälkäñña*’, title of the representative of the holders of land rights or highest ranking landowner in a district.
afä nəguś	Gə^{c}əz አፈ ፡ ንጉሥ ‘spokesman [lit. mouth] of the [↗]*nəguś*’, title for the Imperial Chief of Justice; s. article and index.
afä qesar	Gə^{c}əz አፈ ፡ ቄሳር ‘spokesman [lit. mouth] of Caesar’, title given by the Italian administration to high-ranking Ethiopian collaborators; s. article and index.
afä šum	Gə^{c}əz/Amh. አፈ ፡ ሹም ‘spokesman of the [↗]*šum*’.
afä wäyzäro	Gə^{c}əz/Amh. አፈ ፡ ወይዘሮ ‘spokesman of the lady’.
aftal-garād	Har., honorific of the governor of Zayla^{c}; s. also ↗*gärad* and index.

ağam	Hadiyya (s. also *anğaanččo* below), Gurage (*ağamʷä*), Səlṭe (*ağamo/hağamo*) ‘noble’, title for a leader, also designation for people of high parentage (e.g., descendants of Arabic immigrants), especially among the Səlṭe.
agäz	Gurage አገዝ ‘leader’, title of a military commander.
aggafari	Amh. አጋፋሪ, royal butler subordinate to the *ḥədug ras*; s. article and index.
alänga ṭay	Amh. አለንጋ ፡ ጣይ military title for the leader of a group of raiders, cp. also ↗*gaz*.
aläqa, ḥaläqa	Amh. አለቃ, ሐለቃ ‘chief, commander’, originally military rank which is applied as ecclesiastic title given to the head of a ↗*däbr*; s. article and index.
alga wäraš	Amh. አልጋ ፡ ወራሽ ‘heir to the throne [↗*alga*]’ or ‘crown prince’, first officially used for *ləğ* ↗Iyasu; s. article and index.
amano	Hadiyya, title (?) of a leader; s. article and index.
ambäl	Gəᶜəz አምበል, title for the ruler of ↗Ifat in the time of ↗ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon; cp.
amīr	Ar., title of an Islamic ruler, e.g., of ↗Harär; s. article and index.
amməst aläqa	Amh. አምስት ፡ አለቃ ‘*aläqa* of five’, military rank comparable with a ‘corporal’, s. also index.
amóyta	ᶜAfar, from *amó* ‘head’, title for a regional ruler, used as equivalent of ↗*sulṭān* in ↗Áwsa and Bîḍu, s. also index.
amš	Burği, title for a clan leader among the ↗Burği, s. also index
anagʷənəsis	Gəᶜəz አናጕንስጢስ ‘lector’, from Greek, who reads the Scriptures during the liturgical office; s. also index.
anğaanččo	Hadiyya, pl. *anğaamma* (probably connected to *ağam* [s. above]), title for a spiritual leader and diviner of the ↗Hadiyya, s. also index.
ᶜaqaṣen, *ᶜaqqabe ṣänṣän, aqänṣän, ᶜaqaṣəna*	Amh. ዐቃጼ, ዐቃቤ ፡ ጸንጸን, ዐቀንጸን, ዐቃጽና, ancient title for a ruler in ↗Təgray; s. article and index.
ᶜaqqabe dede	Gəᶜəz ዐቃቤ ፡ ዴዴ ‘doorkeeper’.
ᶜaqqabe säᶜat	Gəᶜəz ዐቃቤ ፡ ሰዐት lit. ‘keeper of the hour’, court official in charge of the royal timetable and the hours of prayer; s. article and index.
arat ᶜayna	Amh. አራት ፡ ዐይና lit. ‘four-eyed’; ecclesiastic title of respect for somebody who mastered all fields of the traditional Ethiopian Orthodox church education; s. also index.
arᵓəstä ḥara	Gəᶜəz አርእስተ ፡ ሐራ ‘heads of the troop’; military rank, chief of an army in the 17th cent.; s. also index.
aśaᶜəno	Hadiyya, title of a ruler similar to ↗*gärad*; s. article and index.
asallafi	Amh. አሳላፊ, domestic servant, developed into a court title in the 18th cent.; s. article and index.
ᶜaṣawe ḫoḫət	Gəᶜəz ዐጻዌ ፡ ኆኅት, ‘gate and door keeper’ of a church; s. also index.
aṣe, *aṣ́e*	Amh. አጼ, አፄ, term of address and reference for an Ethiopian emperor or ↗*nəgusä nägäśt*; s. article and index; cp. also *ḥaṣ́ani*; *ḥaṭī*; *nəguś*.
assər aläqa	Amh. አሥር ፡ አለቃ, ‘*aläqa* of ten’, military rank comparable with a ‘sergeant’.
ato	Amh. አቶ ‘mister/Mr’, from ↗*abeto*(*hun*), honorific, s. article and index.
āw	Har. ‘father’, term of address, title of respect, usually used for holy men in ↗Harär; s. article and index.
ᶜawağ nägari	Amh. ዐዋጅ ፡ ነጋሪ, title for the herald of a ruler, cp. ↗*ᶜawağ*.
awfari	Gəᶜəz አውፋሪ, function and title (attested for Ḥamasen, Gäda Arᶜado, Səᶜen, Mägäle, Bet Ḥawis, Gämad, Gändäbta, Zäräfta, Zäräft and Torat).
azmač	Amh. አዝማች ‘leader’, title and rank of a military commander; in some areas of South Ethiopia after the incorporation in the empire also used for local (royal) nobility (e.g., *azma* replaced *nugs* [‘king’] among the Gurage); s. article and index.

azzaž	Amh. **አዛዥ** 'commander', title for a civil administrator; s. article and index.
bä^{c}al däräba	Amh. **በዐል ፡ ደራባ** 'chief of the eunuchs', head eunuch at court, later designation a person at court who cares for the affairs of somebody, member of a military unit or civilian organization; cp. also *žan däräba azzaž* below; s. article and index.
bä^{c}alä mäṣḥaf	Gə^{c}əz **በዐለ ፡ መጽሐፍ** 'master of the book/writing', scribe, secretary, cp. ↗ *ṣäḥafe tə^{ɔ}əzaz*.
bä^{c}altiḥat	Gə^{c}əz/Amh. **በዐልቲሐት**, title for the official wives of the emperor; s. article and index.
bábi	Omotic, royal or ritual title, e.g., title of the kings or chiefs of the ↗ Galila and ↗ Aari (*baabi*); s. also index.
baddá-h ábba	^{c}Afar 'master of the floods', honorific title for the chief of the Harálla of ↗ Awsa, s. also index.
bäǧərond	Amh. **በጅሮንድ**, royal treasurer, chief of the craftsmen and guardian of the throne and the crown; s. article and index.
baḥər nägaš	Amh. **ባሕር ፡ ነጋሽ** 'ruler of the sea', title for the governor of the Red Sea coast; s. article and index.
balä mulu śəltan əndärase	Amh. **ባለ ፡ ሙሉ ፡ ሥልጣን ፡ እንደራሴ**, representative plenipotentiary, alternative title to ↗ *əndärase*; s. also index.
balambaras	Amh. **ባላምባራስ**, 'head of the [↗]*amba*', military title applied to commanders of *amba*-fortifications, local governor; s. article and index.
baldäras	Amh. **ባልደራስ**, title for the chief of the cavalry or the royal stud; s. article and index.
balgäda	Amh. **ባልገዳ**, title for the chief of a ↗ salt caravan; s. article and index.
bati	Cushitic 'lady' (also *ba^{c}tya, b^{c}tyh*), epithet for a noble woman, s. also index.
bäträ yark	Gə^{c}əz **በትረ ፡ ያርክ**, 'patriarch', honorific title given to the head of Tädbabä Maryam monastery; s. also ↗ *abunä* and index.
bärzəbeṭer, prezbiṭər	Gə^{c}əz **በርዝቤጤር/ፕሬዝቢጥር**, and similar forms, 'presbyter', from Greek directly or through Arabic, ecclesiastical title, similar to ↗ *qäsis*; s. also index.
bašša	Amh. **ባሻ**, from Turkish *paşa*, military and administrative title; s. article and index.
bə^{ɔ}əsi	Aksumite, *bisi* in Greek legends, 'man of…', title of the Aksumite kings; s. also index.
bet ṭäbbaqi	Amh. **ቤት ፡ ጠባቂ** 'house keeper'.
bey	Ottoman Turkish 'lord', title for a nobleman, governor; high military rank (below *paşa*).
beylerbeyi	Ottoman Turkish 'lord of lords', title of the governor-general of an Ottoman province, among others of ↗ Habeş *eyaleti*, s. also index.
bisi	s. *bə^{ɔ}əsi*.
bitwäddäd	Amh. **ቢትወደድ** lit. 'the only loved one', title of a royal counsellor; s. article and index.
blatten geta	Amh. **ብላቴን ፡ ጌታ** 'lord of the pages', court title, s. article and index.
čəqa šum	Amh. **ጭቃ ፡ ሹም** lit. 'lord of soil', title of a local official and tax collector; s. article and index.
daam(*a*)	Dirašša 'master', hereditary title for a priestly chief of the ↗ Dirašša.
däǧǧazmač, *däǧǧač*	Amh. **ደጃዝማች**, **ደጃች**, high military title; s. article and index.
däbtärä	Gə^{c}əz/Amh. **ደብተራ**, title of an ecclesiastic scribe; s. article and index.
däggəyat, *däggiyat*	Tgn./Amh. **ደግያት**, **ደጊያት**, alternative form for Amh. *däǧǧač*, s. *däǧǧazmač*; hereditary title of a ruler in Ḥamasen.
dam, *damwä*, *damo*	Gurage 'master', title of important political and spiritual leaders, e.g., Sa^{ɔ}amar *dam* ('master of [the ↗ Waq] Sa^{ɔ}amar), high-priest of Əndägañ and *dam*[*o*] Hamdəno, a 19th-cent. war-lord of the ↗ Geto.

damīn	Har. (from Ar. *ḍamīn*), ‘guarantor’, chief of a clan.
daññа, danya	Amh. ‘judge’, title for a judge, also honorary title for local chiefs in some areas in the south (e.g., *daannaa* in Hadiyya); s. article and index.
dardár	^{c}Afar hereditary title for a regional ruler, used as equivalent of ↗*sulṭān*, applied in ↗Tağūra; s. also index.
dayna	Burği ‘chief’, title for an elected chief of the southern ↗Burği, s. also index.
dəmaḥa gännät	Gə^{c}əz ድማሐ ፡ ገነት ‘top of paradise’, honorific title of the abbot of ↗Däbrä Gännät Elyas.
diyaqon	Gə^{c}əz ዲያቆን, ‘deacon’, from Gr., ecclesiastical title, the one who serves the celebration of the ↗Eucharist; s. article and index.
dogin	Har., title for the governor of the districts outside of the City of Harär.
donaččo	Or. ‘king, lord’, title for a king or prince in the Oromo Gibe states, probably related to Sidaama *donzo*.
dongur goodimi	Aari ‘master of the [↗]elephants’, hereditary ritual title among the Aari.
ədug ras	Amh. እዱግ ፡ ራስ, also ሕዱግ ፡ ራስ *ḥədug ras*, title for a representative, substitute or vicar of a ↗*ras*, royal majordomo; s. article and index.
efendi	Ottoman Turkish ‘lord, master’, military rank below that of *bey*.
əmmä mənet	Gə^{c}əz እመ ፡ ምኔት ‘mother of the monastery’; s. also ↗*abä mənet* and index.
əndärase	Amh. እንደራሴ, deputy or representative plenipotentiary of the ruler; s. article and index.
eppisqoppos	Gə^{c}əz ኤጲስ ፡ ቆጶስ, ‘suffragan bishop’, from Gr., ecclesiastical title; s. article and index.
ətege	Amh. እቴጌ ‘empress’, title and honorific of the coronated spouse of the emperor; s. article and index.
əč̣č̣äge	Amh. እጨጌ, title of the head of ↗Däbrä Libanos monastery, also in his capacity of head of Ethiopian monasticism; s. also article and index.
faqīh	Ar., title for an expert in Islamic law.
fitawrari	Amh. ፊታውራሪ, military title and rank for a commander of the royal army; s. article and index.
gäbäz	Gə^{c}əz/Amh. ገበዝ, ecclesiastic title for a parish administrator; s. article and index.
gäbäzä Aksum	Gə^{c}əz ገበዘ ፡ አክሱም ‘*gäbäz* of Aksum’, ecclesiastic title bestowed upon the administrator of ↗Aksum Ṣəyon.
gadaanna	Sidaama lit. ‘father of the gadaa’, title of a military leader.
gärad, garaad	Cushitic, title of a local ruler, s. article and index.
garibaa	Or., honorific of a follower of *šayḫ* ↗Ḥusayn of Bale.
gäž	Amh. ገዥ ‘ruler, master’, አገር ፡ ገዥ *agär gäž* ‘ruler of a country’, title of the governor of a district or province.
genne, gennefa	Or., from Sidaama ‘queen, lady’, queen and spouse of a *donaččo* or noble woman in the Oromo Gibe states.
geta	Amh. ጌታ ‘lord, master, owner, proprietor’, honorific, also *getaye* ‘my lord, milord’, *getaw* ‘the lord’; in the church context *yäne geta* (also *yäneta*) ‘my master/teacher’; also used as part of a title, e.g., ↗*märigeta*, ↗*blattengeta*, *gra geta, qäññ geta*; related titles in other languages are, e.g., Gurage g^{w}*eta*, Or. (Gibe) *goyta*; s. also *getočč*.
getočč	Amh. ጌቶች, pl. of *geta* (s. above), term of address used by a servant to his master; also honorific title for an important *šayḫ*; similar uses are attested for Tgn. equivalents such as g^{w}*äyta*, g^{w}*äytana*, etc.
gifti	Or. ‘queen, lady’, honorific for a woman, probably related to *ite* and ↗*ətege*, cp. Səlṭe *güst*[*e*], Hadiyya *gite* (e.g., *gifti* ↗Momina, *gist* Muluka, a Səlṭe ancestor and holy woman).

gofta	Or. (Gibe) 'master, lord', title for a secular or religious lord; Səlṭe *gošto* (e.g., Haruna *gošto*, a famous holy man and *šayḫ* of Amora, Azärnät) both probably related to *goyta* (s. *geta* above).
gosánga ana	Burǧi, title of reference for a religious functionary.
gra azzaž	Amh. ግራ ፡ አዛዥ '[↗]*azzaž* of the left [wing]', court official.
grazmač	Amh. ግራዝማች '[↗]*azmač* of the left [wing]', military rank below that of a *qäññazmač*.
gra bä^{c}*altiḥat*	Amh. ግራ ፡ በዐልቲሐት '[↗]*bä*^{c}*altiḥat* of the left', honorific of a royal wife in a *kätäma*.
gra geta	Amh. ግራ ፡ ጌታ 'master of the left', title for a liturgical officiant.
āǧǧī, al-āǧǧ	Ar., honorific for someone who absolved the *aǧǧ* to ↗Mecca.
halaqa	Omotic, honorific title of the Dorze and Burǧi (*halaka*) acquired by giving feasts of merit.
ḫalīfa	Ar. 'successor', title for a lieutenant of the Prophet, head of a Muslim state; also title for the successor of an important *šayḫ* of a mystical brotherhood.
hana	Tgn. ሐንጣ, honorific title for the killer of an elephant or other big game.
ḥaṣ́ani, ḥaṣ́e	Gə^{c}əz/Amh. variants of ↗*aṣe*; s. also index.
ḥasg^{w}*a*	Gə^{c}əz (?) ኀስጓ, ኃስጓ, also ሐስጓ, *ḥasg*^{w}*a*, አስጓ, *asg*^{w}*a* [?], etc., title of a civil office attested in the ↗Zag^{w}e and the earliest Solomonic periods, to which major personalities were appointed, i.e. regional rulers and members of the royal family; s. article (in vol. 5) and index.
hegäno, ḥegäno	Gə^{c}əz/Amh. ሄገኖ, ሔገኖ, administrative and military title in the Christian and Muslim spheres of 15th and 16th cent. Ethiopia; s. article and index
imām	Ar., title for a religious (and political) Islamic leader; s. article and index.
ite	Gurage, Səlṭe etc., 'queen, lady', related to ↗*ətege*, honorific title for the wife of an important chief.
kabir	Har., from Ar. *kabīr* 'great', teacher in traditional Islamic education system.
käntiba	Amh./Tgn. ከንቲባ, Tgr. *käntibay, käntebay*, title of a city governor, or a representative of the ruler or an autonomous regional governor, today town mayor; s. article and index.
kati, kaati	Omotic 'king, lord, blessed'; royal or ritual title in southern Ethiopia, e.g., among the ↗Basketo, ↗Dawro, ↗Gofa, ↗Konta, ↗Maale and ↗Oyda; s. also index.
kawo	Omotic 'king', royal or ritual title, e.g., among the ↗Dawro, ↗Dokko, ↗Gamo, ↗Gofa, ↗Wälaytta (*kawa*).
kiás	royal title of the ↗Šeko.
kóbm	title of a local chief of the ↗Šeko.
kóināb	royal title of the ↗Šeko.
kore/koro eppisqopos	Gə^{c}əz ኮሬ/ኮሮ ፡ ኤጲስ ፡ ቆጶስ, from Greek, originally 'bishop for the rural areas', honorific for a priest in charge of blessing the baptistery and the sacred vessels of the church; s. index.
laga manna	Kunama 'leader of the land', ritual officer in charge of the access to land among the ↗Kunama.
lagoo	also *ləǧoo*, title among the ↗Anfillo possibly deriving from ↗*ləǧ* [?], s. index.
ləǧ	Amh. ልጅ 'child, junior', title use for male children of the Solomonic nobility (with the exception of the crown prince) in the sense of Spanish *infante*; s. article and index.
lə^{c}*ul*	Amh. ልዑል 'Highness', title for a prince of the imperial house, also *lə*^{c}*ul ləǧ*; s. article and index.
liq	Amh. ሊቅ 'chief, senior [church] scholar', title for a secular and spiritual authority; s. article and index.

liqä Aksum	Gəᶜəz **ሊቀ ፡ አክሱም** 'head [priest] of Aksum' equal in rank to the ↗*nəburä əd*; s. also ↗*liq* and index.
liqä bərhanat	Gəᶜəz **ሊቀ ፡ ብርሃናት** 'head of lights', also *mälʾakä bərhanat* 'angel of lights'; honorific title of the head priest of ↗Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase of Gondär; s. also ↗*liq* and index.
liqä däbtära	Gəᶜəz **ሊቀ ፡ ደብተረ** 'head of the *däbtära*s'; s. also ↗*liq* and index
liqä diyaqon(*at*)	Gəᶜəz **ሊቀ ፡ ዲያቆናት** 'archdeacon', lit. 'head of the diyaqons', ecclesiastical title; s. also ↗*liq* and index.
liqä ḥara	Gəᶜəz **ሊቀ ፡ ሐራ** 'head of the troops'; s. also ↗*liq*.
liqä ḥara läʾafras	Gəᶜəz **ሊቀ ፡ ሐራ ፡ ለአፍራስ** 'head of the cavalry'; s. also ↗*liq*.
liqä ḥara läʾagar	Gəᶜəz **ሊቀ ፡ ሐራ ፡ ለአጋር** 'head of the infantry'; s. also ↗*liq*.
liqä kahənat	Gəᶜəz **ሊቀ ፡ ካህናት** 'head of priests', administrative title given to the head of a monastery or of a church; s. also article and index.
liqä liqawənt	Gəᶜəz **ሊቀ ፡ ሊቃውንት** lit. 'head of the scholars'; also honorific title given to the head of the memorial of Mənilək II i.e. Baʾata Maryam church in Addis Abäba; s. also ↗*liq* and index.
liqä mäkʷas	Gəᶜəz **ሊቀ ፡ መኳስ** 'chief of the *mäkʷas*', court title; s. article and index
liqä mäsafənt	Gəᶜəz **ሊቀ ፡ መሳፍንት** 'head of the nobles'; s. also ↗*liq*.
liqä mäṭṭani	Gəᶜəz **ሊቀ ፡ መጣኒ** 'head of the *mäč̣äne*'; s. also index.
liqä mäzämməran	Gəᶜəz **ሊቀ ፡ መዘምራን** 'head of the cantors'; coordinator of the Ethiopian Orthodox liturgy; s. also ↗*liq*.
liqä mäṣ́bəʾət	Gəᶜəz **ሊቀ ፡ መፅብእት** 'chief of the army'; s. also ↗*liq*.
liqä mənet	Gəᶜəz **ሊቀ ፡ ምኔት** 'head of the monastery'; s. article, also ↗*abä mənet*.
liqä səlṭanat	Gəᶜəz **ሊቀ ፡ ሥልጣናት** lit. 'head of the authorities', honorific title given to the head of ↗Qəddəst Śəllase cathedral in Addis Abäba; s. also ↗*liq*.
liqä ṭäbbäbt	Gəᶜəz **ሊቀ ፡ ጠበብት** 'head of the wise'; honorific title for the head of the cantors of a church choir; s. also ↗*liq*.
liqä p̣ap̣p̣asat	Gəᶜəz **ሊቀ ፡ ጳጳሳት** lit. 'head of the *p̣ap̣p̣as*' or 'archbishop', ecclesiastical title. First used in Gəᶜəz for the Patriarch of Alexandria, starting from the 19th cent. it was increasingly used to designate the Coptic metropolitan sent to Ethiopia in Gəᶜəz and Amharic sources, while the Patriarch of Alexandria was titled *patriyark*. When three Coptic metropolitans, P̣eṭros, Matewos and Luqas, were sent to Ethiopia in 1881, P̣eṭros who had to stay with Yoḥannəs IV was sometimes called *liqä p̣ap̣p̣asat* while the two others were called ↗*p̣ap̣p̣as* reflecting a hierarchy established among them. In the Coptic Church, however, bishops were officially called *p̣ap̣p̣as* ('metropolitan'), until Basəlyos was officially appointed as the first (Ethiopian) archbishop (*liqä p̣ap̣p̣asat*) of Ethiopia in 1951 and was endowed with the right to consecrate *p̣ap̣p̣as* for Ethiopia until 1959. Since 1959, Ethiopian archbishops can only be consecrated by the Patriarch of Ethiopia (*patriyark*, s. below) and *liqä p̣ap̣p̣asat* was reduced to a merely honorific title; s. also index.
liqä ᶜaqabe dede	Gəᶜəz **ሊቀ ፡ ዐቃቤ ፡ ዴዴ** 'chief of the doorkeepers'.
liqä bariya	Gəᶜəz **ሊቀ ፡ ባሪያ** 'head of the *bariya* [servants or slaves]'.
liqä betä qäṭin	Gəᶜəz **ሊቀ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ቀጢን** 'head of the royal palace'
liqä mäsänqo, liqä mäsänaqut	Gəᶜəz **ሊቀ ፡ መሰንቆ**, **ሊቀ ፡ መሰናቁት** 'head of the *mäsänqo*(s)'.
mäč̣äne	Amh. **መጬኔ** 'the one who measures out', ecclesiastic administrative office; s. article and index.
maʾəkälä baḥər	Gəᶜəz **ማእከለ ፡ ባሕር**, title of debated interpretation, probably a provincial governor connected to the northern area near to the Red Sea; s. article and index.

mäggabe məśṭir	Gəᶜəz ‘administrator of the mystery/sacrament’, teacher at a ↗*qəne bet*.
mäggabi	Gəᶜəz **መጋቢ** ‘administrator, steward’; s. article and index.
mäkbəb	Gəᶜəz **መክብብ** ‘principal, supreme’, honorific title given to the head of ↗Atronsä Maryam and ↗Däbrä Məśwaᶜ; s. also index.
maharaanóo	Hadiyya ‘owner of a hundred cattle’, honorific title applied to a wealthy person or “big man” who gave a feast of merit (↗Meritorious complex).
mäkʷännən	Gəᶜəz **መኰንን** ‘governor’, in particular Təgre *mäkʷännən* ‘governor of Təgre’.
mälᵓakä bərhan	Gəᶜəz **መልአከ ፡ ብርሃን** ‘angel of light’, honorific title for the head of a churches bearing the name Däbrä Bərhan; title of the head of ↗Qəddəst Śəllase church in Addis Abäba before it was promoted to “cathedral”.
mälᵓakä gännät	Gəᶜəz **መልአከ ፡ ገነት** ‘angel of paradise’, honorific title for the head priest of Mikaᵓel’s church of Gondär.
mälᵓakä ṣäay	Gəᶜəz **መልአከ ፡ ፀሓይ** ‘angel of the sun’, honorific title for the head priest of ↗Däbrä äay Qʷəsqʷam and ↗Ǝnṭoṭṭo Maryam.
mälᵓakä sälam	Gəᶜəz **መልአከ ፡ ሰላም** ‘angel of peace’, honorific title for the head priest of Gondär Ewosṭatewos.
mälake Aksum	Gəᶜəz **መላኬ ፡ አክሱም** lit. ‘lord of Aksum’.
malāq	Har., chief of one of the five quarters of the City of Harär.
mämhər	Gəᶜəz **መምህር** lit. ‘teacher, master’, often ‘abbot’; s. article and index.
märəd azmač	Amh. **መርድ ፡ አዝማች**, title for the rulers of Šäwa; s. article and index.
märigeta	Amh. **መሪጌታ**, ecclesiastic office and title of a leading church cantor; s. article and index.
mäsfən	Gəᶜəz **መስፍን** ‘prince, governor, judge’, an aristocratic title.
mäto aläqa	Amh. **መቶ ፡ አለቃ** ‘*aläqa* of a hundred’, military rank and title comparable with a ‘captain’.
mäzämmər	Gəᶜəz **መዘምር**, title of the cantors in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.
mekk	*makk*, *mek*, Amh. **መክህ** *mäkh*, royal title used for the petty kings, tributary to the ↗Funǧ sultanate of ↗Sīnnar, in the Ethiopian Sudanese border-region. Possibly related to Ar. *malik* (‘king’).
moote	Sidaama ‘king, chief’, head of a Sidaama sub-group (*gare*); cp. also ↗*mooti*.
mooti	Or., title of an Oromo ‘chief’ or ‘king’; s. article and index.
muftī	Ar., title for an expert in Islamic law who issues legal opinions.
mukarrib, mkrb	title of a ruler of a South Arabian federation, e.g., in ↗Sabaᵓ, Qatabān, ↗Ḥaḍramawt, ↗DᶜMT.
muse	Gəᶜəz **ሙሴ** ‘Moses’, honorific, leader of the laymen of a parish, s. also index.
näfs abbat	Amh. **ነፍስ ፡ አባት** lit. ‘soul father’, ecclesiastic title of a confessor; s. article and index.
nägaš	Amh. **ነጋሽ**, regional governor, usually in composite titles (e.g., *goǧǧam nägaš*); s. also index.
näggäd azmač	Amh. **ነገድ ፡ አዝማች**, ‘*azmač* of the traders’.
näggädras	Amh. **ነገድ፡ራስ** ‘*ras* of the traders’, head of a caravan, head of a customs post; s. article and index
nāᵓib	Ar., Ottoman Turkish ‘deputy’, Amh./Tgn. *nayb*, administrative hereditary title of the Ottoman governors of the Red Sea coastal regions; s. article and index.
nəburä əd	Gəᶜəz **ንቡረ ፡ እድ**, lit. ‘the one on whom the hands are laid’, appointed, administrative title previously given to the head of an important monastery, and maybe similar to *liqä kahənat*; today exclusively head of Aksum Maryam Ṣəyon church
nəfqä diyaqon	Gəᶜəz **ንፍቀ ፡ ዲያቆን** ‘subdeacon, assistant deacon’, ecclesiastical title for somebody one who serves at the altar and watches over the assembly during the religious service; s. index.

nəgəśtä nägäśtat	Gəᶜəz **ንግሥት ፡ ነገሥታት** ‘queen of queens’, also *nəgəśtä nägäśt* ‘queen of kings’; title for a female sovereign supreme ruler or empress of the Christian Ethiopian kingdom; different from ↗*ətege*, the crowned spouse of an emperor.
nəguś	Gəᶜəz, Amh. **ንጉሥ** ‘king, ruler’, hereditary title for a sovereign ruler; s. article and index.
nəguśä Aksum	Gəᶜəz **ንጉሠ ፡ አክሱም** ‘king of Aksum’; s. also index.
nəguśä Amḥara	Gəᶜəz **ንጉሠ ፡ አምሐራ** ‘king of Amhara’, honorary hereditary title for kings of the ↗Solomonic dynasty; s. also index.
nəguśä baḥər	s. *baḥər nägaš*.
nəguśä nägäśt	Gəᶜəz **ንጉሠ ፡ ነገሥት** ‘king of kings’; hereditary title for the sovereign supreme ruler of the Christian Ethiopian empire, emperor above the many *nəguś*-kings; s. articles ↗*aṣe*, ↗*nəguś* and index.
obboo	Or., male honorific / term of address; s. article and index, cp. also ↗*obboo* and *č̣oora*.
p̣ap̣p̣as	Gəᶜəz **ጳጳስ** ‘metropolitan, metropolitan archbishop’, from Greek, ecclesiastical title used in Gəᶜəz sources to designate the Coptic metropolitan sent to Ethiopia; equivalent of the Ar. *muṭrān* ‘metropolitan archbishop’. The metropolitan of Ethiopia, like his counterparts in Egypt, lost his archepiscopal right to consecrate bishops probably during the 13th-14th cent. In 1929 and 1948, Ethiopian monks could be consecrated as bishops or *p̣ap̣p̣as*. Since then the bishop administrating a diocese bears the title *p̣ap̣p̣as*, in theory supervising an *ep̣p̣isqop̣os* or suffragan bishop; s. also article and index.
paşa	Ottoman Turkish (Ar. *bāšā*; Engl. sp. *pasha*), title of an officer or provincial governor appointed by the Ottoman state; s. also ↗*bašša*.
patriyark, patrəyark	Gəᶜəz/Amh. **ፓትሪያርክ**, **ፓትርያርክ**, from Gr., ‘patriarch’, ecclesiastic title used since the 19th cent. to refer to the Patriarch of Alexandria (instead of *liqä p̣ap̣p̣asat*, s. above) and, since 1959, also for the Patriarch of the autocephalous ↗Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church. The patriarch has the authority to consecrate archbishops (*liqä p̣ap̣p̣asat*), metropolitans (*p̣ap̣p̣as*) and bishops (*ep̣p̣isqop̣os*).
qabeen gärad	Cushitic ‘leader of the Qabeena’, s. also ↗*gärad*.
qāḍī	Ar., title of an Islamic judge.
qalä p̣ap̣p̣as, *qaläp̣p̣as*, etc.	Gəᶜəz **ቃለ ፡ ጳጳስ** ‘spokesman of the *p̣ap̣p̣as*’, ecclesiastic office.
qalä itäge	Gəᶜəz **ቃለ ፡ ኢተጌ** ‘spokesman of the *itäge*’, s. also ↗*ətege*.
qalä ḥəmmät	Gəᶜəz **ቃለ ፡ ሕመት** obscure, hypothetically ‘secretary’.
qal	Gəᶜəz **ቃል** lit. ‘word’, ‘spokesman’.
qalä nägaśi, qalä nəguś	Gəᶜəz **ቃለ ፡ ነጋሢ**, **ቃለ ፡ ንጉሥ** ‘spokesman of the *nägaśi*, spokesman of the *nəguś*’.
qalä ḥaṣ́e	Gəᶜəz **ቃለ ፡ ሐፄ** ‘spokesman of the *ḥaṣ́e*’.
qäññazmač	Amh. **ቀኛዝማች** ‘*azmač* of the right [wing]’; rank of a military commander between *grazmač* and *däğğazmač*, applied also to administrators, esp. in conquered areas; s. also *azmač* and index.
qäññ geta	Amh. **ቀኝ ፡ ጌታ** ‘master of the right’, title for a liturgical officiant; s. also index.
qäsä gäbäz, qasisä gäbäz, qäysä gäbäz etc.	Gəᶜəz/Amh. **ቀሰ ፡ ገበዝ**, **ቀሲሰ ፡ ገበዝ**, **ቀይሰ ፡ ገበዝ**, a priest with administrative functions, also ↗*gäbäz*.
qäs ḥaṣani	Gəᶜəz/Amh. **ቀስ ፡ ሐጻኒ**, royal father confessor, s. also ↗*ḥaṣani*; *näfs abbat*.
qäsis	Gəᶜəz **ቀሲስ** ‘priest’, ecclesiastical title for a priest who celebrates the Divine Liturgy, absolves the sins, teaches, baptizes and blesses; s. article and index.

qaṭ	Gəᶜəz **ቃጥ**, also **ቃጽ** *qa*, attested also in Ar. sources, ancient title for a provincial governor in the Christian as well as in the Islamic context; s. article and index.
qes	Amh. **ቄስ** ‘priest’, ecclesiastical title for a priest who celebrates the Divine Liturgy, absolves the sins, teaches, baptizes and blesses; s. also index.
qomos	Gəᶜəz **ቆሞስ**, administrative title given to the head of a monastery or a church as a representative of the bishop in one district; s. also index.
raq mäᵓasäre, raq masäre	Amh. **ራቅ ፡ መአሰሬ**, **ራቅ ፡ መሰሬ**, royal majordomo who takes care of introducing the foreigners to the king, s. also *ṣərag masäre* below.
ras	Amh. **ራስ** ‘head, prince’, title of a ruler ranking directly below a *nəguś*; s. article and index.
rašo	Käfa ‘head’, administrative title, often in composite titles, e.g., *worafe rašo* ‘head of the province’, chief of a *raše šowo* (‘head’s land’); *gučče rašo* ‘head of the slaves’, state official in control of slave trade and human labour resources in general, also head of the state counsel and in some cases empowered to remove the Käfa ↗*tato* from office; *kätäma rašo* ‘head of the camp’, commander of the king’s guard and councilor of state appointed by the *tato* due to military merit; *nagaada rašo* ‘chief of trade’, an officer in charge of trade affairs and taxes (cp. *näggäd azmač*) and spokesman or chief of the Käfa Muslims; *aade rašo* ‘head of the roads’, responsible for the construction and care of the roads. In the southern ↗Gonga states *raša* (Hinnaryo [↗Ǝnnarya], ↗Šeko) or *rasa* (↗Boša) was used in similar ways.
rəᵓəsä liqanä p̣ap̣asat	Gəᶜəz **ርእሰ ፡ ሊቃነ ፡ ጳጳሳት**, lit. ‘the chief of the archbishops’, honorific title of the head of the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church since 1959, probably the equivalent in Gəᶜəz of the title held by the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria, “Lord archbishop”; s. also index.
rəᵓəsä rəᵓusan	Gəᶜəz **ርእሰ ፡ ርኡሳን**, lit. ‘chief of the chiefs’, honorific title given to the abbot of Märṭulä Maryam monastery and several other churches.
rēdántu/rēzánto	ᶜAfar title for a regional ruler, used as equivalent of ↗*sulṭān*; applied in the northern ᶜAfar country.
sängaqoro	Amh. **ሰንጋቆሮ**, tax collector ranking above the ↗*č̣əqa šum*.
ṣäḥafe lam	Gəᶜəz/Amh. **ጸሓፌ ፡ ላም** ‘one who registers the cows’, function and title of a governor; s. article and index.
ṣäḥafe təᵓəzaz	Gəᶜəz, **ጸሓፌ ፡ ትኤዛዝ** ‘scribe of orders’, function and title of a royal secretary; s. article and index.
šaläqa	Amh. **ሻለቃ** ‘commander of a thousand’, military rank; s. article and index.
šambäl	Amh. **ሻምበል**, military rank in the Ethiopian army.
šarīf	Ar., hereditary title for someone claiming descent from the family of Prophet ↗Muḥammad, specifically for a descendant of Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī.
šayḫ	Ar., title for an Islamic scholar or holy man, also dignitary; s. article and index.
šayḫočč	Amh. **ሻይኆች** pl. of *šayḫ*, used as a honorific title for some important *šayḫ*s in the sense of ‘*šayḫ* of *šayḫ*s’ or ‘grand *šayḫ*’.
sayyid	Ar. ‘lord’, hereditary title for someone claiming descent from the family of Prophet Muḥammad, specifically for a descendant of Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlī.
səmen aggafari	Amh. **ስሜን ፡ አጋፋሪ** ‘[↗]*aggafari* of [↗]Səmen’, governor of Səmen province, s. also index.
ṣərag masäre, *ṣärag mäᵓasäre, ṣäragi m., ṣəragi m.*	Amh. **ጽራግ ፡ ማሰሬ**, **ጸራግ ፡ መአሰሬ**, **ጸራጊ ፡ መአሰሬ**, **ጽራጊ ፡ መአሰሬ**, title of a high-ranking officer at royal court, chief of protocol, sometimes same as *raq mäᵓasäre* above; s. article and index.
śəyyum	Gəᶜəz **ሥዩም** ‘the appointed one’, administrator, chief, governor, official of the Christian Ethiopian kingdom; s. ↗*šum* and index.

śəyyumä baḥər	Gə^{c}əz **ሥዩመ ፡ ባሕር** ‘governor/prefect of the sea’, also *šum baḥri*, *šumä baḥər*; deputy of the Dahlak *sulṭān* in Massawa, s. also index.
sitti	from Ar. *sīttī/sayyidati*, fem. of *sayyid*, respectful female honorific for women claiming descent from the family of the Prophet; also Arsi Or., Səle etc. ‘queen, lady’.
suldaan	Somali ‘*sulṭān*’ or ‘king’, title of the political head of ↗Gadabuursi and ↗Majeerteen clans; s. also index.
sulṭān	Ar., title of a high ranking Islamic ruler, often hereditary head of state; s. article and index.
šum	Amh., **ሹም** ‘lord’, governor or a province of Christian Ethiopian kingdom, cp. *śəyyum* above; s. article and index.
šumbaš	Amh. **ሹምባሽ**, Italian military rank for Eritrean soldiers, highest rank among the *askari*; s. article and index.
ṭaräsamba azzaž	Amh. **ጣረሳምባ ፡ አዛዥ** ‘[↗]*azzaž* of Ṭaräsamba’, court functionary responsible for the royal stables; s. also index.
tato	Omotic ‘king’ (Käfa *taatoo*); s. article and index.
təgre mäk^{w}ännən	Amh.**ትግሬ ፡ መኰንን**, governor of the historical Təgray province; s. article and index.
turk bašša	Amh. **ቱርክ ፡ ባሻ** ‘head of the Turks’, commander of the royal artillery; s. also ↗*bašša* and index.
ugaas	Somali, title of a chief (and judge) of the Gadabuursi.
ustāḏ	Ar. (from Persian) ‘master’, title of address and reference for an Islamic teacher, used also for a highly skilled professional in any field.
wag šum	Amh. **ዋግ ፡ ሹም** ‘*šum* of [↗]Wag’, title for the governor of Wag; s. article and index.
wähni azzaž	Amh. **ወህኒ ፡ አዛዥ** ‘*azzaž* of Wähni’, commandant of the royal prison (cp. ↗Wähni Amba); s. also index.
wälasma	Amh. **ወላስማ**, title for a chief in ↗Argobba and ↗Yəfat; s. also ↗Walašma, s. article and index.
wälab gärad	Cushitic, also *wolab garaad*, ‘leader of the *wälaba* [i.e. freemen]’, title of a judge or sub-chief, spokesman of a *gärad*, used among the Hadiyya, Səlṭe and beyond.
wälättä nägäśtat	Gə^{c}əz **ወለተ ፡ ነገሥታት** ‘royal daughter’ lit. ‘daughter of kings’ according to the ↗*Sər^{c}atä mängəśt*.
wäyzärit	Gə^{c}əz **ወይዘሪት** ‘miss/Ms’, honorific used for an unmarried woman.
wäyzäro	Amh. **ወይዘሮ** ‘mylady, Mrs’, term of address to a female member of the royal court, today a honorific used for all married women; s. article and index.
wazīr	Ar. ‘minister’, high-level minister of a ruler; s. article and index.
wəsṭ azzaž	Amh. **ውስጥ ፡ አዛዥ** ‘commander of the inner chamber’, court official, jurist, former *azzaž* who remained a court.
wəsṭ blatten	Amh. **ውስጥ ፡ ብላቴን** ‘page of the inner chamber’, court official in regular direct contact with the ruler, s. also ↗*blatten geta*.
woma	Cushitic royal title; s. article.
žan däräba azzaž	Amh. **ዣንደራባ ፡ አዛዥ** ‘commander of the eunuchs’, s. also ↗castration.
žanhoy	Amh. **ዣንሆይ** ‘Majesty’, honorific for the Ethiopian emperor; s. article and index
žan, zan	Amh. (from Cushitic) **ዣን**, **ዛን**, s. *žanhoy*; also *žan däräba*, *žan ḥaṣäna*, *žan mä^{ɔ}asäre*, *žan ṣərar*, *žan täkäl*.

Maps

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Introduction to the map section

This section is intended to provide the reader of the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* with cartographic material to improve the understanding of some of the data referred to in the articles. The present series of maps covers a vast array of themes.

Maps 1 and 2 deal with physical and geographical topics. Map 3 focuses on the languages of Ethiopia and Eritrea. Maps 4 to 20 illustrate different historical periods, from prehistoric times to the present. Maps 21 to 31 present the administrative division of Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, and Somalia. The corpus includes materials that have been mapped for the first time.

The preparation of the maps, especially those concerning historical processes and formations, has not been an easy task. On occasion, some important historical features had to be mapped on the basis of scant historical evidence. Complex diachronic developments such as migrations, processes of state-formation or consolidation of power, were only presented in a static, two-dimensional form. Further problems arose from conflicting interpretations of the historical events, which were not represented with the accuracy that had hoped for.

Maps 3a and 3b show a necessarily schematic representation of language borders. The reader should be aware that these borders only ideally mirror the multi-ethnic and linguistic realities of the respective areas on the ground and do not take into account the natural fuzziness of these boundaries.

Maps 5a and 5b show some important, although not all, boundary agreements that have been signed between Ethiopia, her neighbouring polities and the different colonial powers. A selection of the several border agreements signed throughout history was necessary due to the amount of historical materials available. The presentation of boundaries here is limited to one set of original data (Hertslett, Atlas, s. sources), since other materials, using a different scale, would have distorted the boundaries due to the technical process of geo-referencing. The borders shown do not claim legal accuracy. The topography of the area has intentionally been left out, to give the map a more schematic and less "realistic" look.

Map 8 shows the distribution of major excavated and not excavated archaeological sites in Ethiopia and Eritrea, dating between the 1st millennium B.C. and the 1st millennium A.D. Most of them are mentioned in the corresponding *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* articles, others have been included to provide a complete and updated archaeological map of these regions. The term "Pre-Aksumite culture", nowadays largely debated, is used conventionally in this context to refer to the archaeological cultures that emerged in northern Ethiopia/central Eritrea during the first half of the 1st millennium B.C. Although it is not a primary site, but a cache containing chronologically mixed artifacts, ᶜAddi Gälämo has been displayed on the map due to the historical relevance of some of the items recorded.

Maps 9 and 10 illustrate the Christian Kingdom during the Zagʷe and early Solomonid periods. The boundaries shown are approximate and they should not be seen as modern administrative boundaries, but rather as the area of maximum range of influence of the state. The same applies to Map 14 on the *Zämänä mäsafənt*, where only the maximum potential extension of control by the state is represented. Similarly, Map 15 illustrates the spatial location of the most important ethnic and political units in southern Ethiopia shortly before they were integrated into Mənilək II's empire. The reader should take into account that political and ethnic boundaries are approximate and the classification of the different polities under such terms as "chiefdom", "kingdom" etc. is not meant to be an actual description of the political functioning of the unit in question. Due to insufficient souces on the historical distribution of a unit or a set of migration movements, the present location of the ethnic or political unit was used.

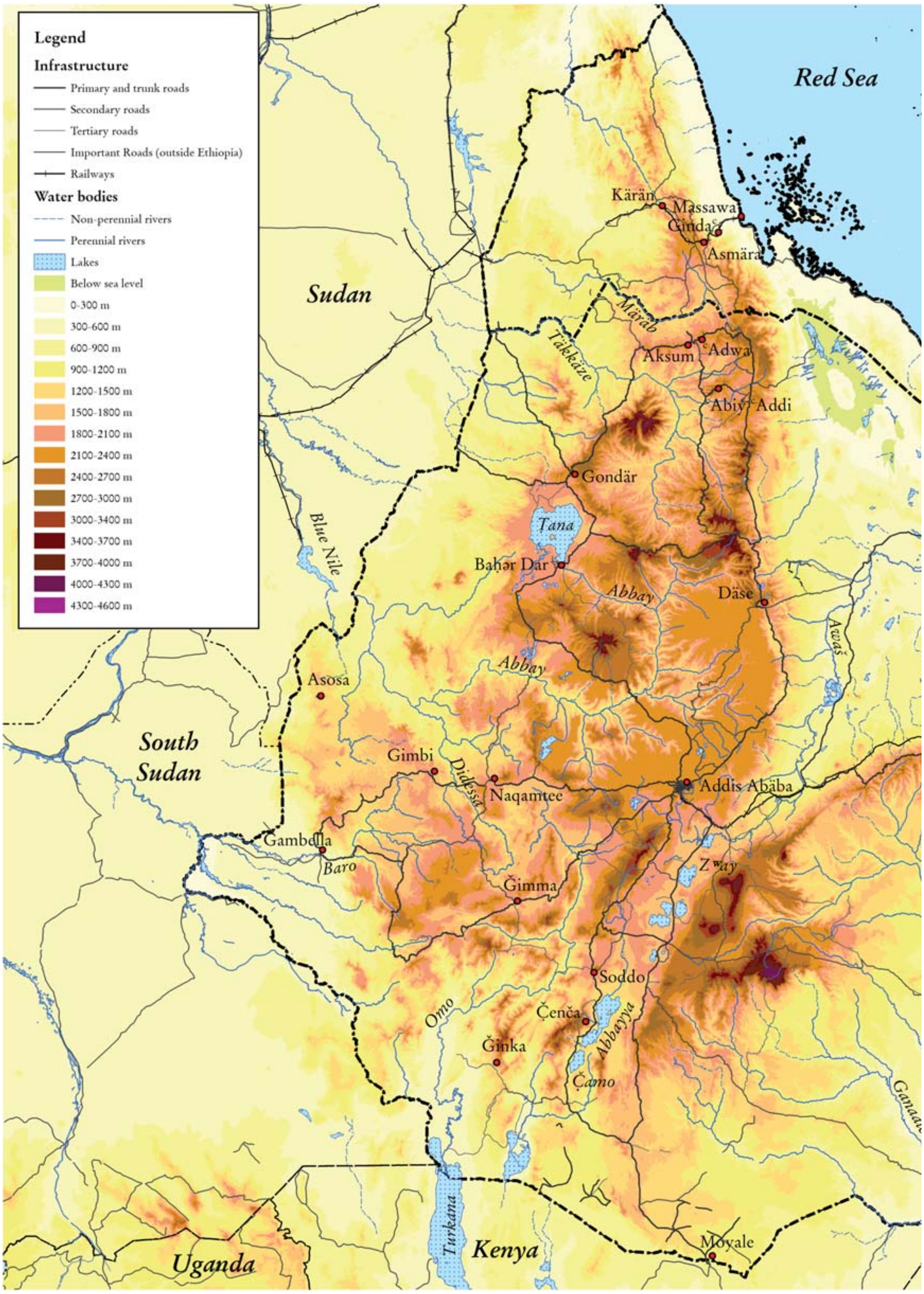
Map 17 shows important Muslim sites in mixed religious areas. Obvious Muslim centres such as Massawa, Baylūl, ᶜAsäb or Djibouti have thus been excluded here despite their rich Muslim heritage.

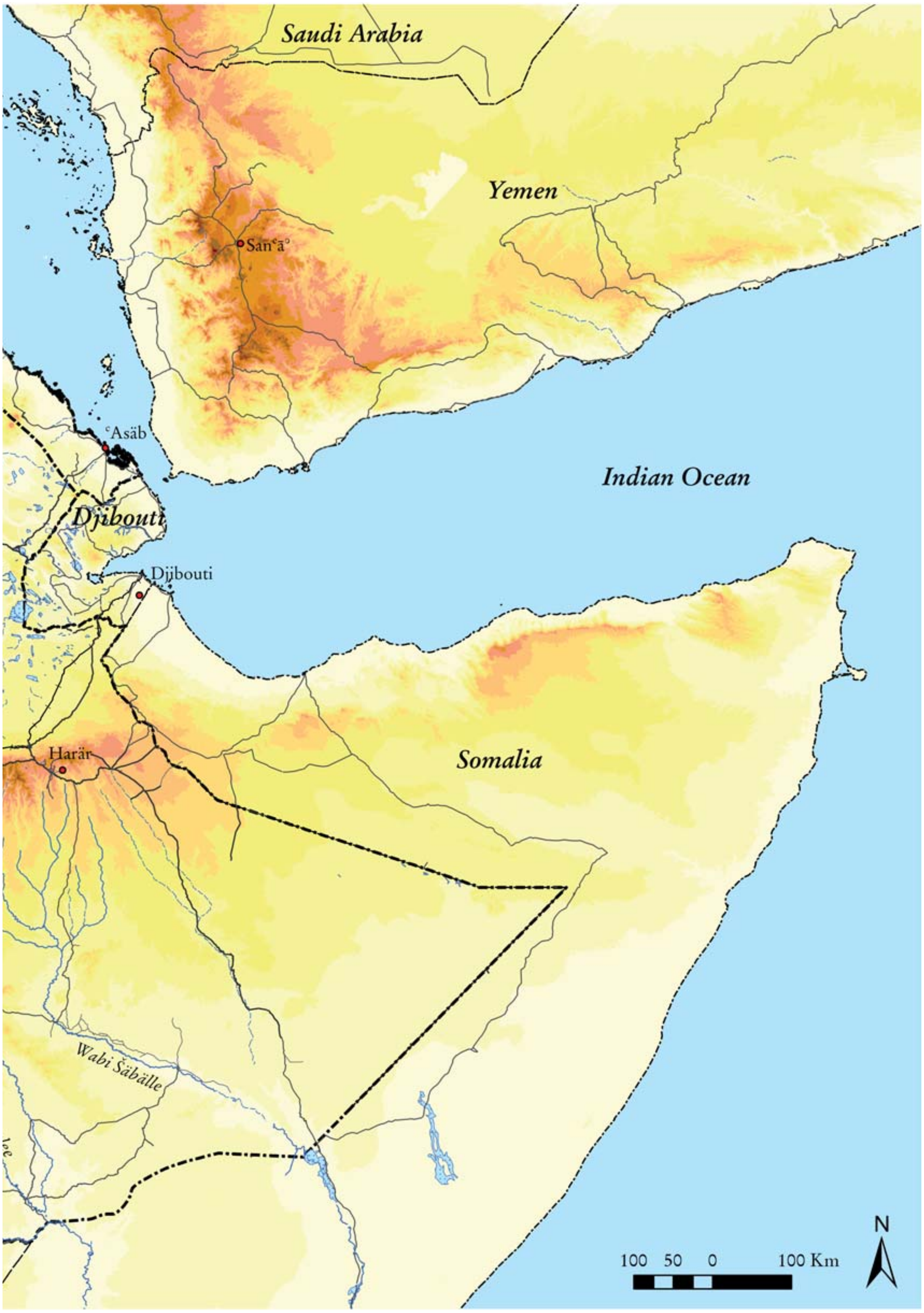
Whenever possible regional writing systems were used for the transliteration of administrative maps (21–31). Otherwise, transliteration relies on the Amharic version of "The Atlas of Ethiopian Rural Economy" (Addis Ababa 2006).

The software ArcGIS 10 by ESRI has been used for the technical preparation of the maps. For the conceptualization of the maps a variety of sources, textual as well as cartographic, have been used. A database containing over 1,000 maps found in books and other publications was set up with the help of Janneke Langen-Hegemann. Additionally, some maps have benefited from field research. All the sources used have been listed at the end of the map section. Several data sources available on the Internet have been used for hypsometry, hydrography, infrastructure (road and rail networks), and settlements. Most prominent among these sources were the Diva-Gis-Project (developed by Robert Hijmans, *www.diva-gis.org*) and the free data provided by the GISDataDepot of Geocommunity (*www.geocomm.com*). The original hypsometric data was provided in "feet" (1 foot = 0.305 m). The altitudes in feet were converted into metric values rounded to 100 m, e.g., "1,000 feet" became "300 m" instead of the exact 305 m, "12,000 feet", "3,700 m" instead of the exact 3,660 m.

The maps have further benefited from the help of many individuals who have given advice and comments according to their expertise, namely Abbebe Kifleyesus, Jon Abbink, Stéphane Ancel, Azeb Amha, Giulio Calegari, Gabriele Ciampi, Sophia Dege, François-Xavier Fauvelle Aymar, Éloi Ficquet, Gidena Mesfin, Alessandro Gori, Federica Guazzini, Grover Hudson, James McCann, Didier Morin, Denis Nosnitsin, Wolbert Smidt, Solomon Gebreyes, and Irma Taddia.

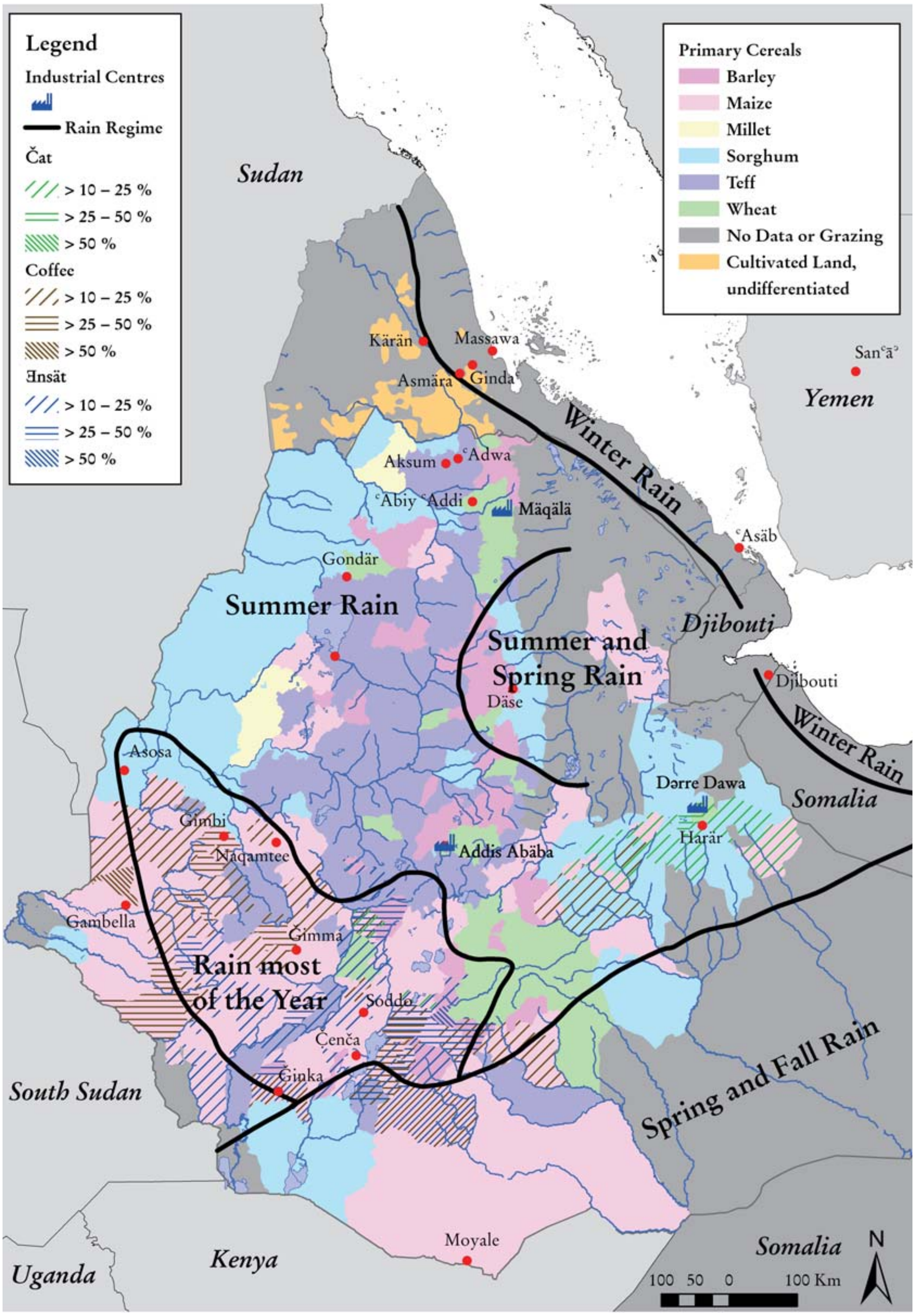
Map 1: Physical map of the Horn of Africa

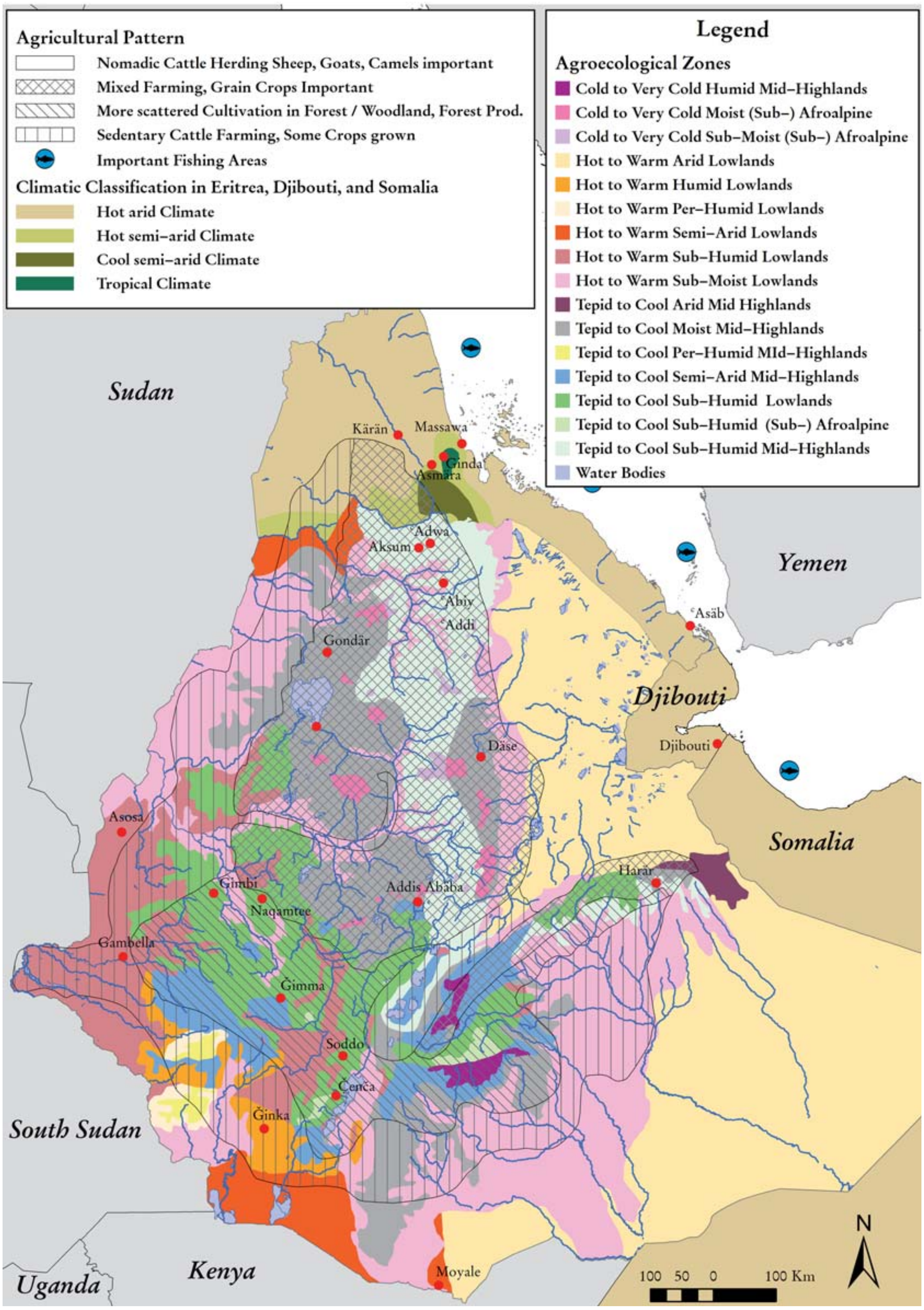

Legend
Infrastructure
Primary and trunk roads
Secondary roads
Tertiary roads
Important Roads (outside Ethiopia)
Railways
Water bodies
Non-perennial rivers
Perennial rivers
Lakes
Below sea level
0-300 m
300-600 m
600-900 m
900-1200 m
1200-1500 m
1500-1800 m
1800-2100 m
2100-2400 m
2400-2700 m
2700-3000 m
3000-3400 m
3400-3700 m
3700-4000 m
4000-4300 m
4300-4600 m
Red Sea
Kärän
Massawa
Gïnda
Asmära
Sudan
Märäb
Täkkäze
Aksum
Adwa
Abiy Addi
Gondär
Tana
Baḥər Dar
Abbay
Däse
Blue Nile
Awaš
Abbay
Asosa
South Sudan
Gimbi
Didessa
Naqamtee
Addis Abäba
Gambella
Baro
Ǧimma
Zʷay
Soddo
Omo
Čenča
Abbayya
Ǧinka
Čamo
Ganale
Turkana
Kenya
Uganda
Moyale


Saudi Arabia
Yemen
Sanʿaʾ
ʿAsäb
Djibouti
Djibouti
Indian Ocean
Somalia
Harär
Wabi Šäbälle
100 50 0 100 Km
N

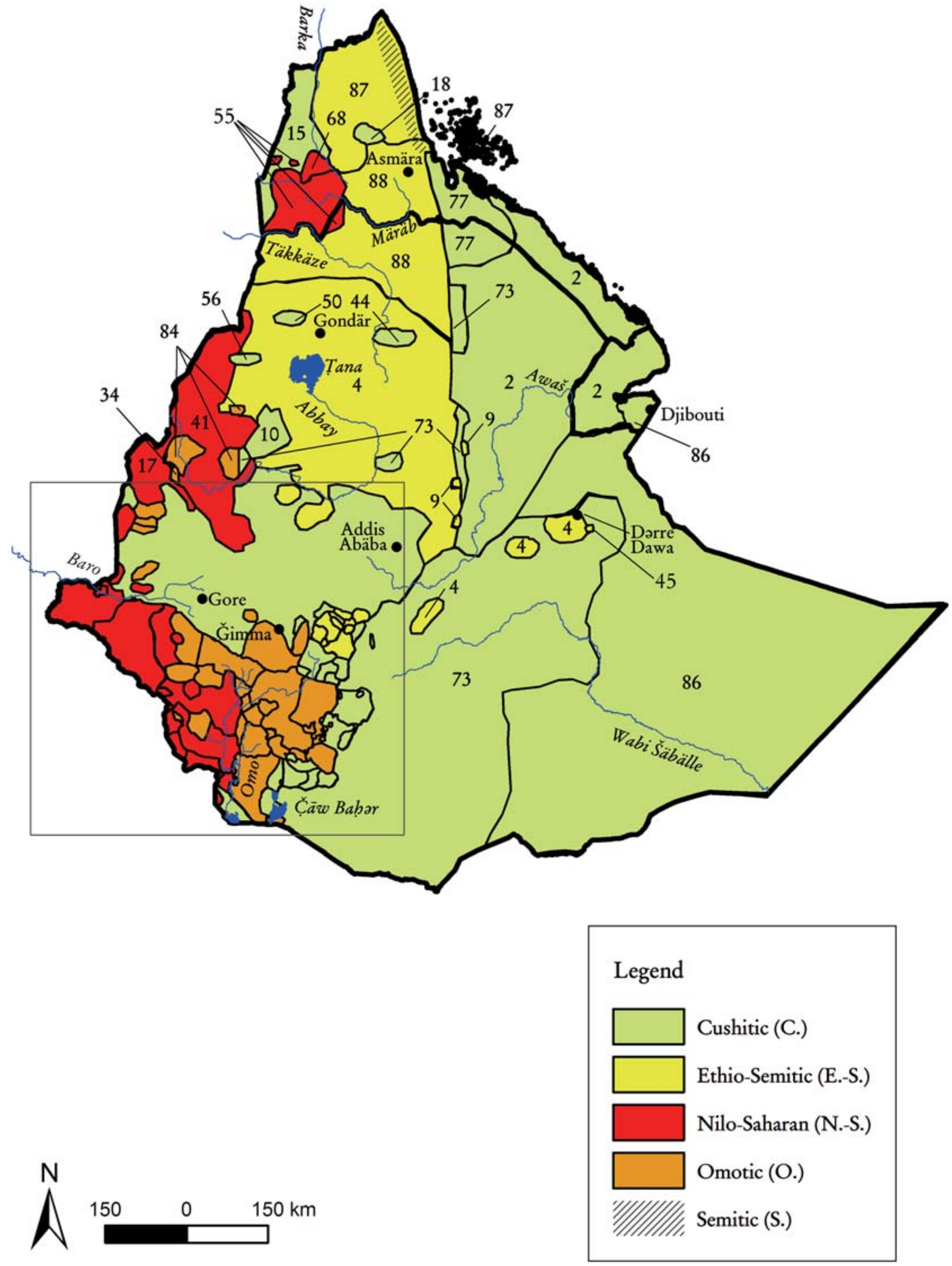
Map 1: Physical map of the Horn of Africa

Map 2a: Climate and agriculture

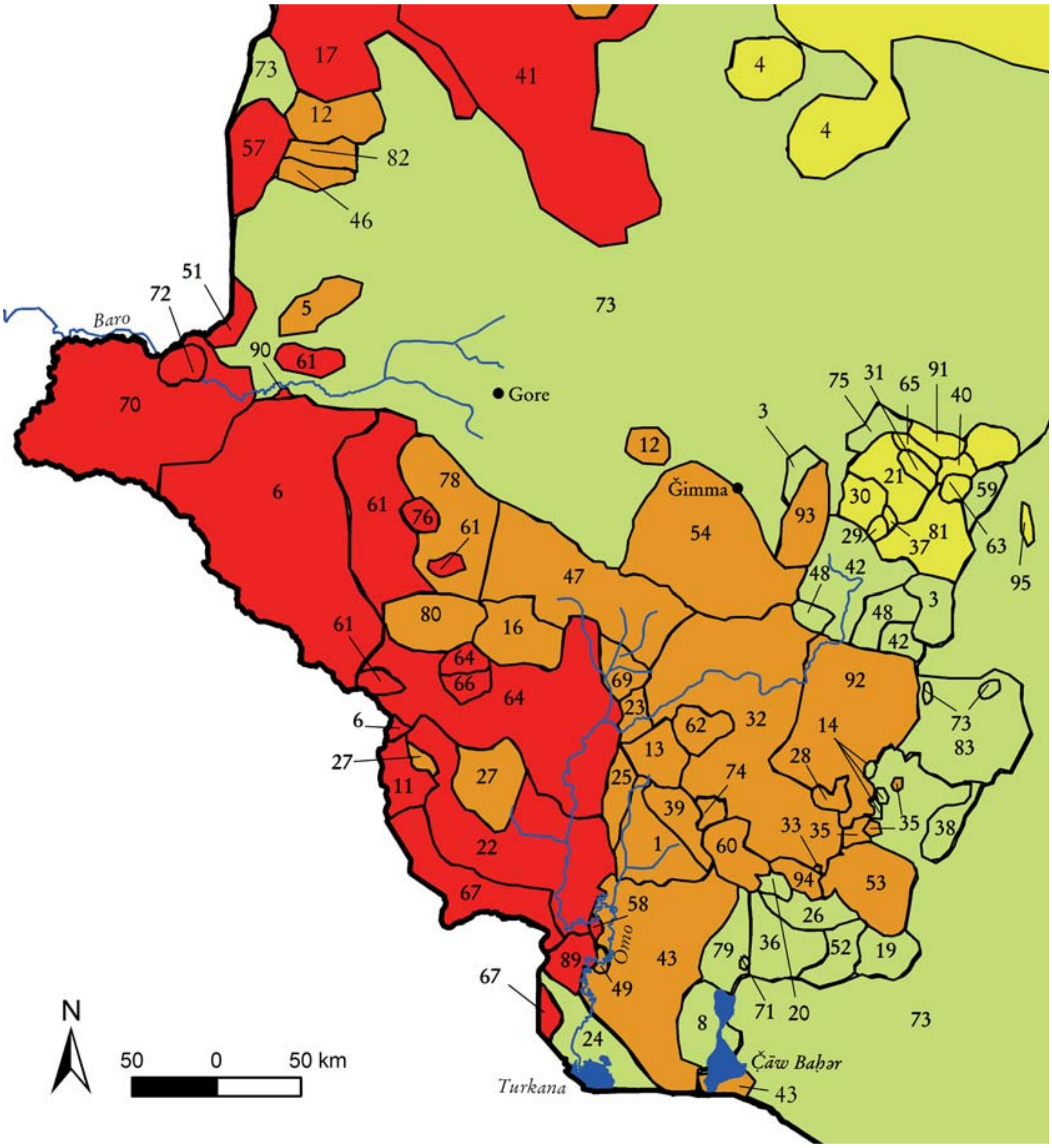

Legend
Industrial Centres
Rain Regime
Čat
> 10 – 25 %
> 25 – 50 %
> 50 %
Coffee
> 10 – 25 %
> 25 – 50 %
> 50 %
Ənsät
> 10 – 25 %
> 25 – 50 %
> 50 %
Primary Cereals
Barley
Maize
Millet
Sorghum
Teff
Wheat
No Data or Grazing
Cultivated Land, undifferentiated
Sudan
Kärän
Massawa
Asmära
Ginda'
Sanʿāʾ
Yemen
Winter Rain
Aksum
ʿAdwa
ʿAbiy ʿAddi
Mäqälä
ʿAsäb
Gondär
Summer Rain
Djibouti
Summer and Spring Rain
Däse
Djibouti
Winter Rain
Asosa
Dərre Dawa
Somalia
Gimbi
Naqamtee
Harär
Addis Abäba
Gambella
Gimma
Rain most of the Year
Soddo
Čenča
Ginka
Spring and Fall Rain
South Sudan
Moyale
Somalia
Kenya
Uganda
100 50 0 100 Km
N


Agricultural Pattern
Nomadic Cattle Herding Sheep, Goats, Camels important
Mixed Farming, Grain Crops Important
More scattered Cultivation in Forest / Woodland, Forest Prod.
Sedentary Cattle Farming, Some Crops grown
Important Fishing Areas
Climatic Classification in Eritrea, Djibouti, and Somalia
Hot arid Climate
Hot semi–arid Climate
Cool semi–arid Climate
Tropical Climate
Legend
Agroecological Zones
Cold to Very Cold Humid Mid–Highlands
Cold to Very Cold Moist (Sub–) Afroalpine
Cold to Very Cold Sub–Moist (Sub–) Afroalpine
Hot to Warm Arid Lowlands
Hot to Warm Humid Lowlands
Hot to Warm Per–Humid Lowlands
Hot to Warm Semi–Arid Lowlands
Hot to Warm Sub–Humid Lowlands
Hot to Warm Sub–Moist Lowlands
Tepid to Cool Arid Mid Highlands
Tepid to Cool Moist Mid–Highlands
Tepid to Cool Per–Humid MId–Highlands
Tepid to Cool Semi–Arid Mid–Highlands
Tepid to Cool Sub–Humid Lowlands
Tepid to Cool Sub–Humid (Sub–) Afroalpine
Tepid to Cool Sub–Humid Mid–Highlands
Water Bodies
Sudan
Kärän
Massawa
Ginda
Asmara
Adwa
Aksum
Yemen
Abiy
Addi
Asäb
Gondär
Djibouti
Djibouti
Däse
Somalia
Asosa
Harär
Gimbi
Addis Ababa
Naqamtee
Gambella
Gimma
Soddo
Čenča
Ginka
South Sudan
Kenya
Uganda
Moyale
N
100 50 0 100 Km

Map 3a: Languages of Ethiopia and Eritrea


Barka
87
18
87
55
68
15
Asmära
88
77
Märäb
Täkkäze
88
77
2
73
56
50
44
Gondär
84
Ṭana
4
34
41
10
Abbay
73
9
2
Awaš
2
Djibouti
86
17
9
Addis Abäba
4
4
Dərre Dawa
45
Baro
Gore
4
Ǧimma
73
86
Wabi Šäbälle
Omo
Čāw Baḥər
Legend
Cushitic (C.)
Ethio-Semitic (E.-S.)
Nilo-Saharan (N.-S.)
Omotic (O.)
Semitic (S.)
N
150
0
150 km

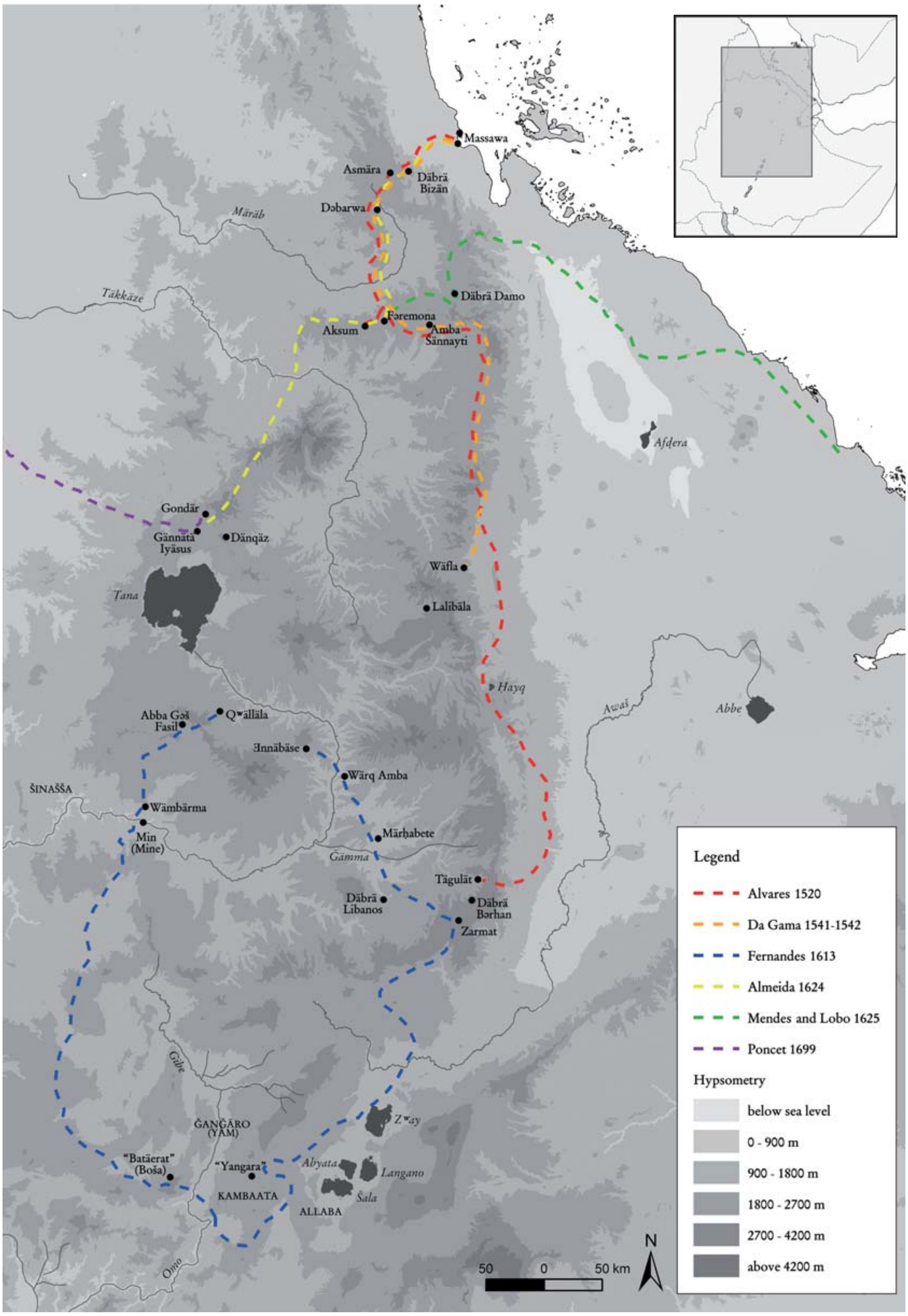
Map 3b: Languages of Ethiopia and Eritrea, detail



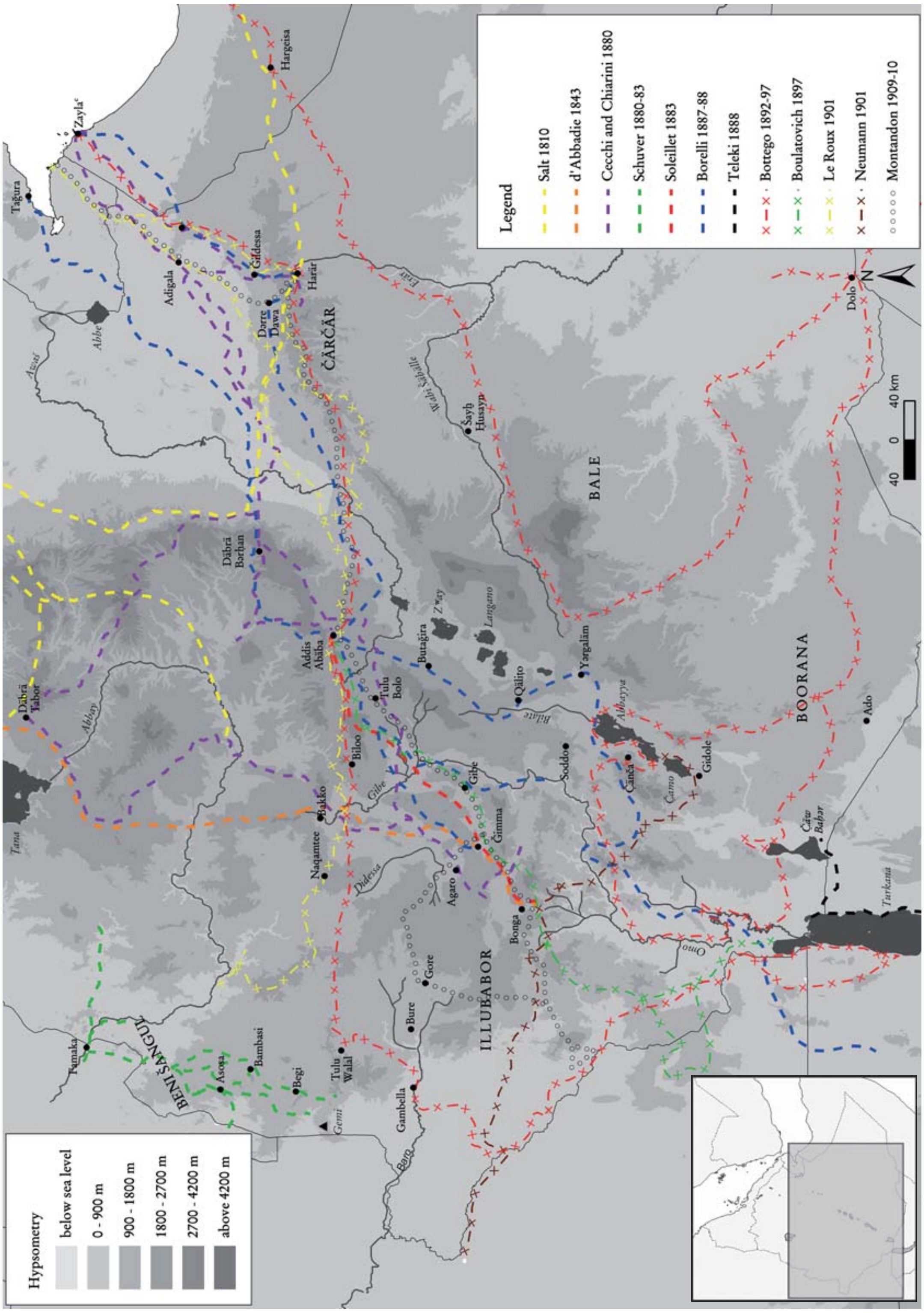
Language names

1 Aari (O.); **2** ᶜAfar (C.); **3** Allaaba (C.); **4** Amharic (E.-S.); **5** Anfillo (O.); **6** Añwaa (N.-S.); **7** Arabic (Semitic); **8** Arbore (C.); **9** Argobba (E.-S.); **10** Awŋi (C.); **11** Baale (N.-S.); **12** Bambasi Mao (O.); **13** Basketo (O.); **14** Bayso (C.); **15** Beğa (C.); **16** Benč̣ (O.); **17** Berta (N.-S.); **18** Bilin (C.); **19** Burği (C.); **20** Bussa (C.); **21** Čaha and Gumär (E.-S.); **22** Čai – Tirma – Mursi (N.-S.); **23** Č̣ara (O.); **24** Đáasanač (C.); **25** Dime (O.); **26** Diraašša (C.); **27** Dizi (O.); **28** Dorze (O.); **29** Ǝndägañ (E.-S.); **30** Ǝnnämor (E.-S.); **31** Ǝža (E.-S.); **32** Gamo (O.); **33** Ganğule (O.); **34** Ganza (O.); **35** Gaṣame (O.); **36** Gawwada (C.); **37** Geto (E.-S.); **38** Gideᵓo (C.); **39** Gofa (O.); **40** Gogot (E.-S.); **41** Gumuz (N.-S.); **42** Hadiyya (C.); **43** Hamär (O.); **44** Ḫamtaŋa (C.); **45** Harari (E.-S.); **46** Hozo (O.); **47** Käfa (O.); **48** Kambaata (C.); **49** Karo (O.); **50** Kəmantənäy (C.); **51** Komo (N.-S.); **52** Konso (C.); **53** Koorete (O.); **54** Kullo (O.); **55** Kunama (N.-S.); **56** Kunfäl (C.); **57** Kwama (N.-S.); **58** Kʷegu-Muguği (N.-S.); **59** Libido (C.); **60** Maale (O.); **61** Mağaŋgir (N.-S.); **62** Malo (O.); **63** Mäsqan (E.-S.); **64** Meᵓen (N.-S.); **65** Muḫər (E.-S.); **66** Murle (N.-S.); **67** Ñaŋatom (N.-S.); **68** Nara (N.-S.); **69** Nayi (O.); **70** Nuer (N.-S.); **71** ᶜOngota (C.); **72** Opuuo (N.-S.); **73** Oromo (C.); **74** Oyda (O.); **75** Qabeena (C.); **76** Šabo (N.-S.); **77** Sāho (C.); **78** Šakačo (O.); **79** Ṣamay (C.); **80** Šeko (O.); **81** Səlṭi (E.-S.); **82** Sezo (O.); **83** Sidaama (C.); **84** Šinašša (O.); **85** Soddo (E.-S.); **86** Somali (C.); **87** Təgre (E.-S.); **88** Təgrəñña (E.-S.); **89** Turkana (N.-S.); **90** Ṭwampa [Uduk] (N.-S.); **91** Wälane (E.-S.); **92** Wälaytta (O.); **93** Yäm (O.); **94** Zayse and Zargulla (O.); **95** Zʷay (E.-S.)

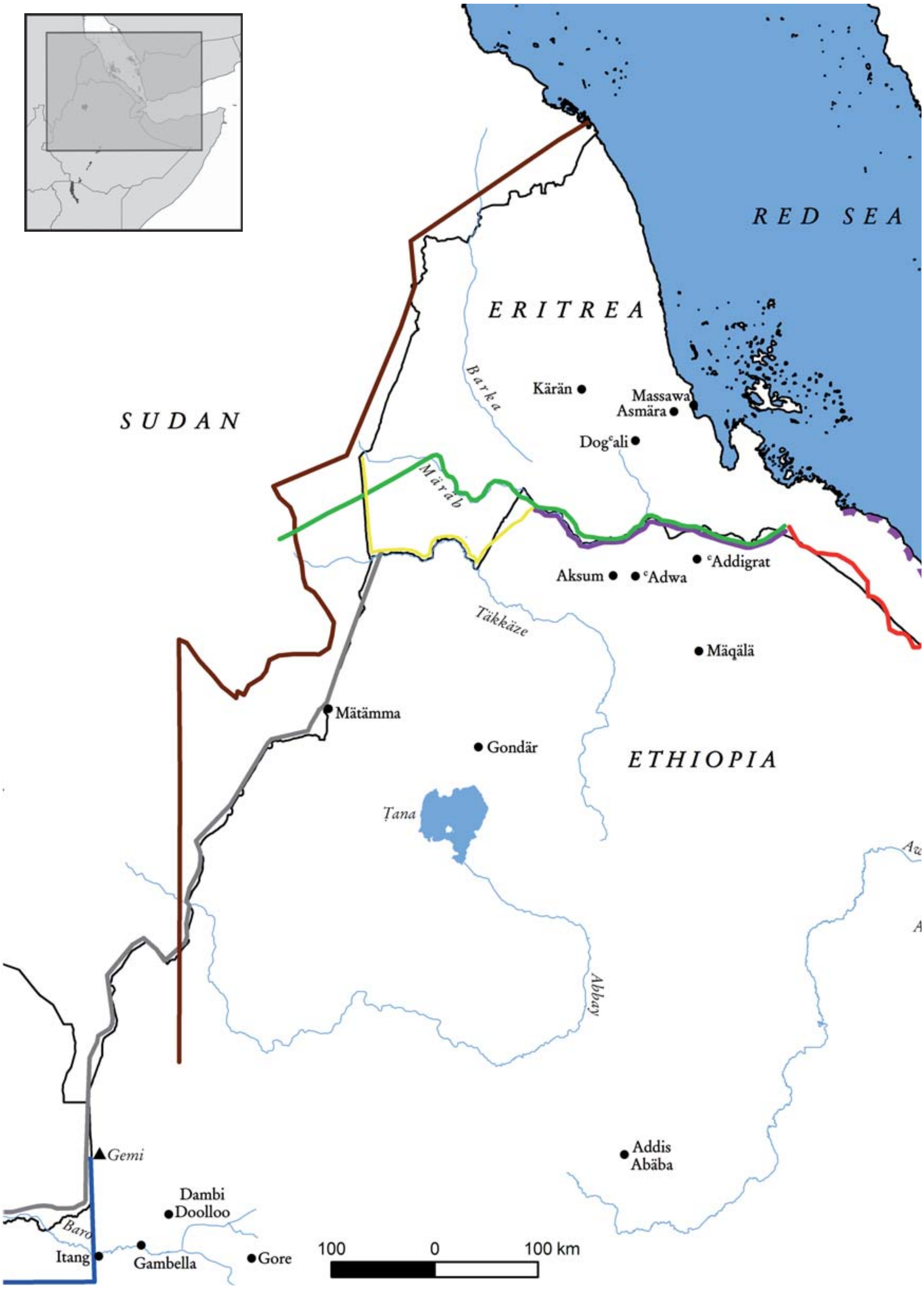
Map 4a: European travellers until the 18th century


Massawa
Asmära
Däbrä Bizän
Dəbarwa
Märäb
Täkkäze
Däbrä Damo
Fəremona
Aksum
Amba Sännayti
Afdera
Gondär
Gännätä Iyäsus
Dänqäz
Ṭana
Wäfla
Lalibäla
Hayq
Awaš
Abbe
Abba Gəš Fasil
Qʷälläla
Ənnäbäse
Wärq Amba
ŠINAŠŠA
Wämbärma
Min (Mine)
Märḥabete
Ĝämma
Tägulät
Däbrä Libanos
Däbrä Bərhan
Zarmat
Gibe
ĞANĞÄRO (YAM)
"Batäerat" (Boša)
"Yangara"
KAMBAATA
ALLABA
Zʷay
Abyata
Langano
Šala
Omo
50
0
50 km
N
Legend
Alvares 1520
Da Gama 1541-1542
Fernandes 1613
Almeida 1624
Mendes and Lobo 1625
Poncet 1699
Hypsometry
below sea level
0 - 900 m
900 - 1800 m
1800 - 2700 m
2700 - 4200 m
above 4200 m

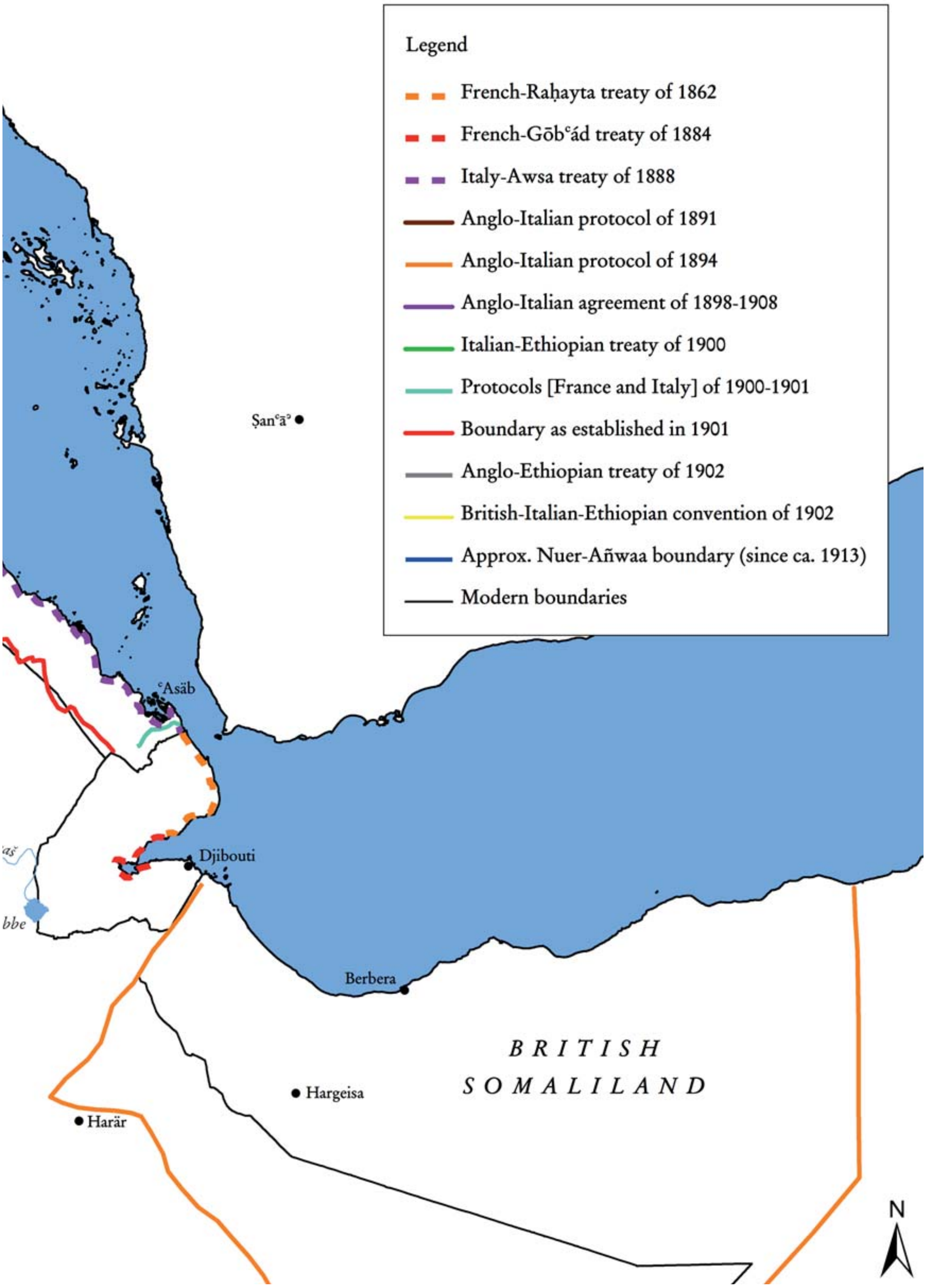
Map 4b: European travellers in the 19th century (selection of travel routes in the southern region)


Legend
Salt 1810
d'Abbadie 1843
Cecchi and Chiarini 1880
Schuver 1880-83
Soleillet 1883
Borelli 1887-88
Teleki 1888
Bottego 1892-97
Boulatovich 1897
Le Roux 1901
Neumann 1901
Montandon 1909-10
Hypsometry
below sea level
0 - 900 m
900 - 1800 m
1800 - 2700 m
2700 - 4200 m
above 4200 m
40 0 40 km
N
Zaylaʿ
Taǧura
Hargeisa
Gildessa
Harär
Adigala
Dorre Dawa
ČARČAR
Abbe
Awaš
Wabi Šäbäle
Fafǝn
Šayḫ Husayn
BALE
Dolo
Däbrä Bǝrhan
Addis Abäba
Buraǧira
Zway
Langano
Qälito
Yǝrgaläm
Tulu Bolo
Bilate
Abbayya
BOORANA
Ado
Däbrä Tabor
Abbay
Tana
Biloo
Bakko
Gibe
Soddo
Čänča
Gidole
Čamo
Čäw Bahǝr
Turkana
Gimma
Naqamtee
Didessa
Agaro
Bonga
Omo
Gore
Bure
ILLUBABOR
Tulu Walal
Gambella
Baro
Begi
Bambasi
Asosa
BENI ŠANGUL
Famaka
Gemi

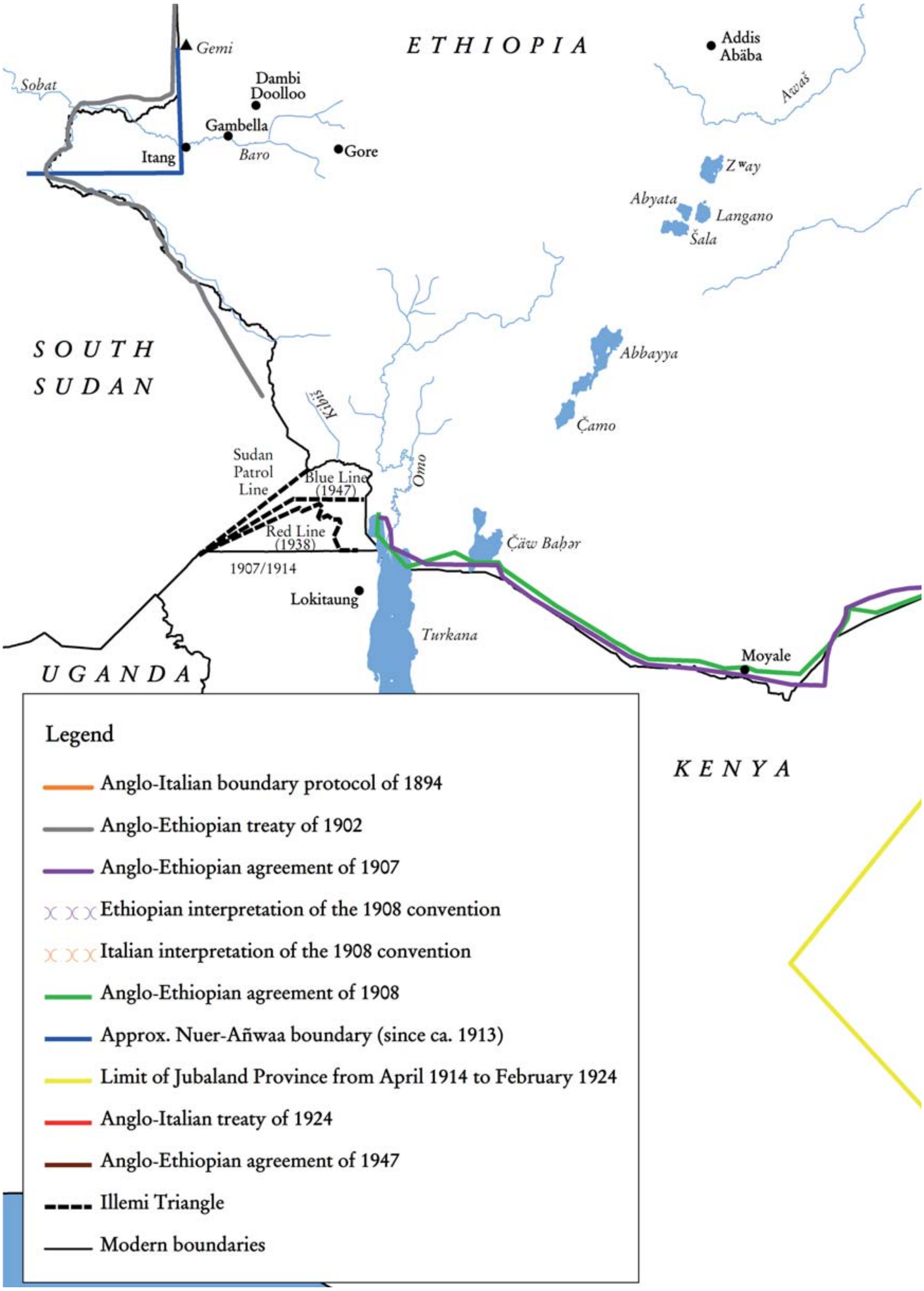
Map 5a: Colonialism in the Horn of Africa (Treaties and boundaries): northern Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Sudan, Somalia


RED SEA
ERITREA
SUDAN
Barka
Kärän
Massawa
Asmära
Dogʿali
Märäb
ʿAddigrat
Aksum
ʿAdwa
Täkkäze
Mäqälä
Mätämma
Gondär
ETHIOPIA
Ṭana
Abbay
Addis Abäba
Gemi
Dambi Doolloo
Baro
Itang
Gambella
Gore
100
0
100 km

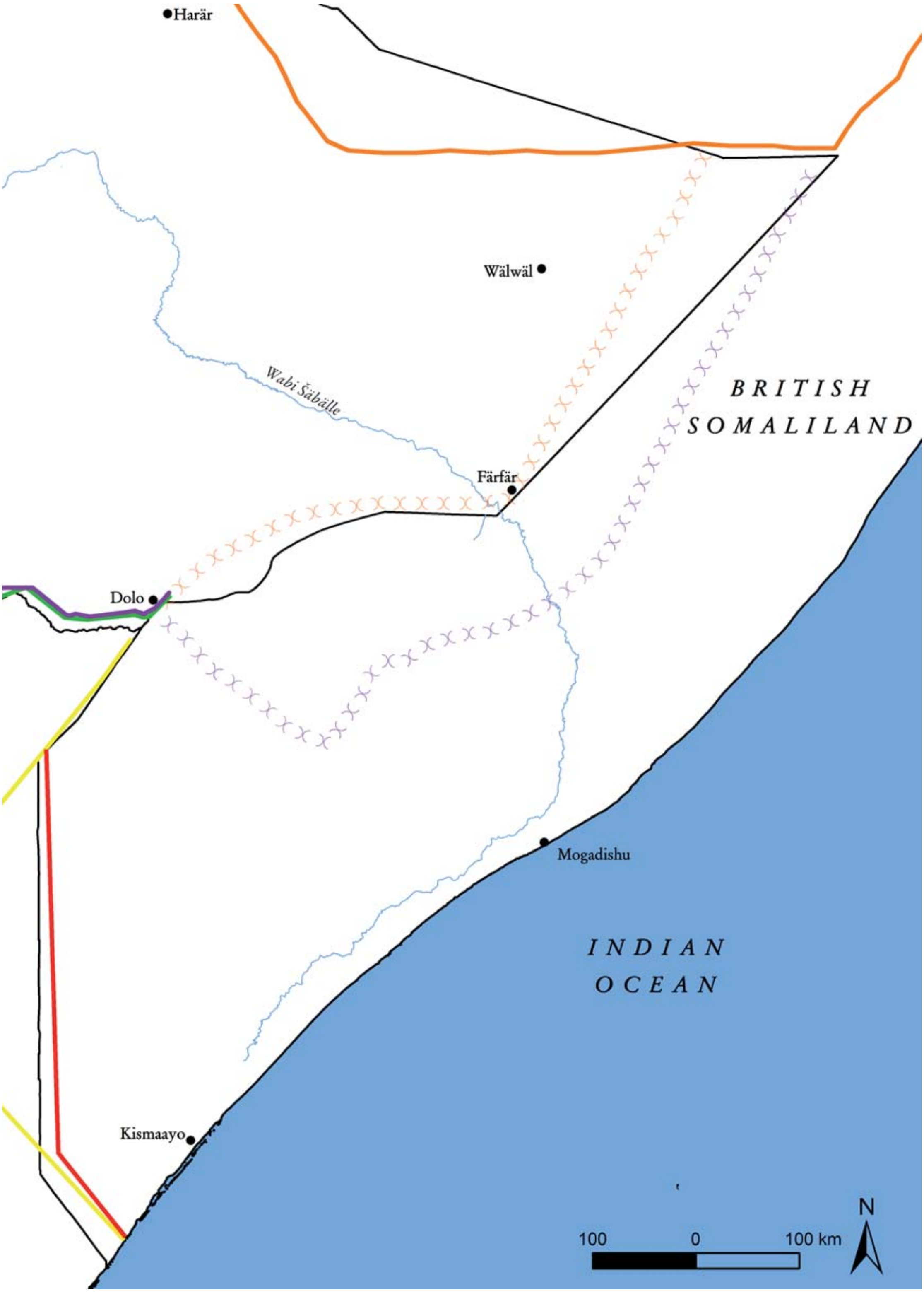
Map 5a: Colonialism in the Horn of Africa (Treaties and boundaries): northern Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Sudan, Somalia


Legend
French-Raḥayta treaty of 1862
French-Gōbʿád treaty of 1884
Italy-Awsa treaty of 1888
Anglo-Italian protocol of 1891
Anglo-Italian protocol of 1894
Anglo-Italian agreement of 1898-1908
Italian-Ethiopian treaty of 1900
Protocols [France and Italy] of 1900-1901
Boundary as established in 1901
Anglo-Ethiopian treaty of 1902
British-Italian-Ethiopian convention of 1902
Approx. Nuer-Añwaa boundary (since ca. 1913)
Modern boundaries
Ṣanʿāʾ
ʿAsäb
aš
Djibouti
bbe
Berbera
BRITISH
SOMALILAND
Hargeisa
Harär
N

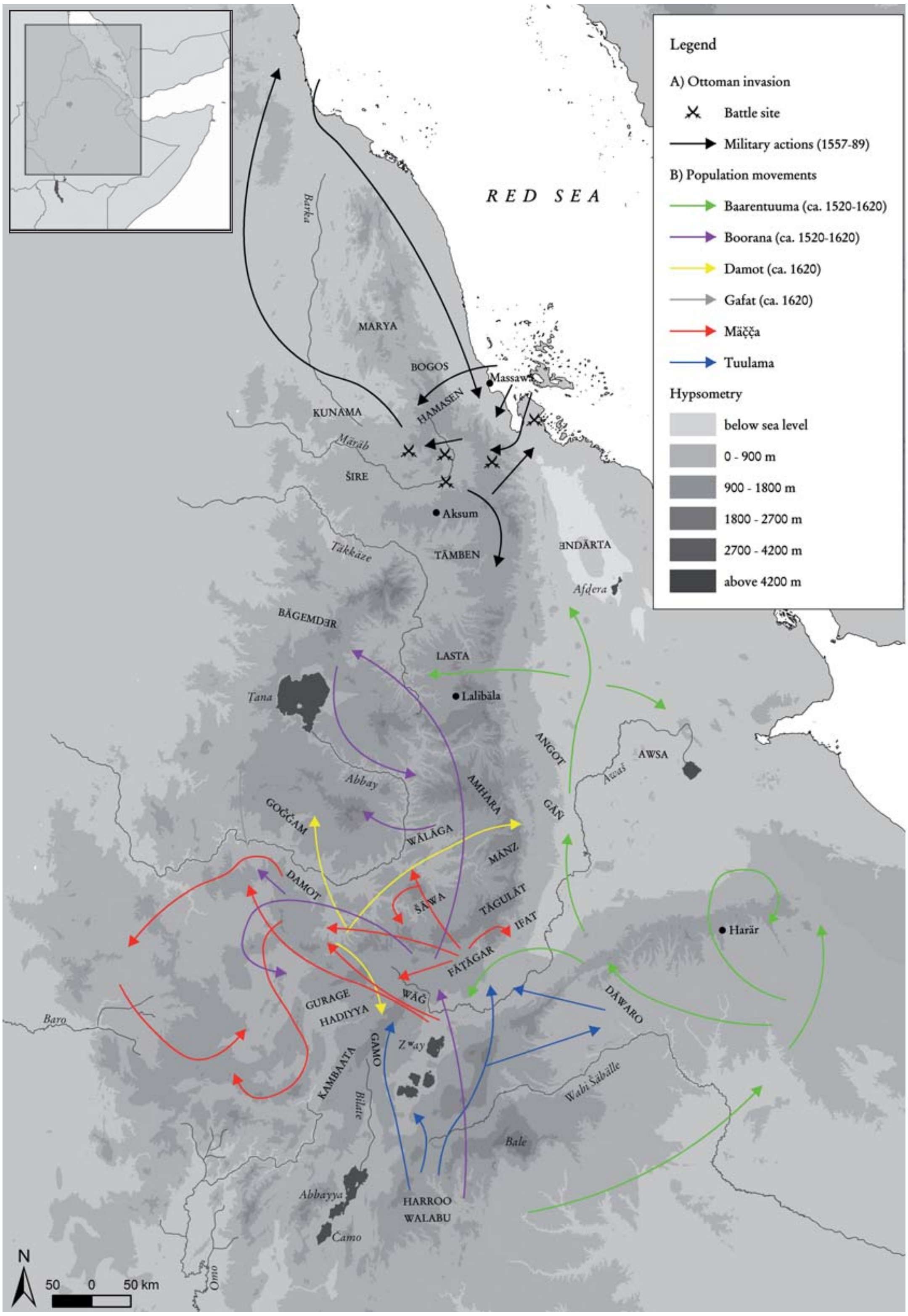
Map 5b: Colonialism in the Horn of Africa (Treaties and boundaries): southern Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan


Gemi
ETHIOPIA
Addis Abäba
Sobat
Dambi Doolloo
Gambella
Itang
Baro
Gore
Awaš
Zʷay
Abyata
Langano
Šala
Abbayya
Čamo
SOUTH SUDAN
Kibiš
Sudan Patrol Line
Blue Line (1947)
Omo
Red Line (1938)
Čäw Bahər
1907/1914
Lokitaung
Turkana
Moyale
UGANDA
KENYA
Legend
Anglo-Italian boundary protocol of 1894
Anglo-Ethiopian treaty of 1902
Anglo-Ethiopian agreement of 1907
Ethiopian interpretation of the 1908 convention
Italian interpretation of the 1908 convention
Anglo-Ethiopian agreement of 1908
Approx. Nuer-Añwaa boundary (since ca. 1913)
Limit of Jubaland Province from April 1914 to February 1924
Anglo-Italian treaty of 1924
Anglo-Ethiopian agreement of 1947
Illemi Triangle
Modern boundaries

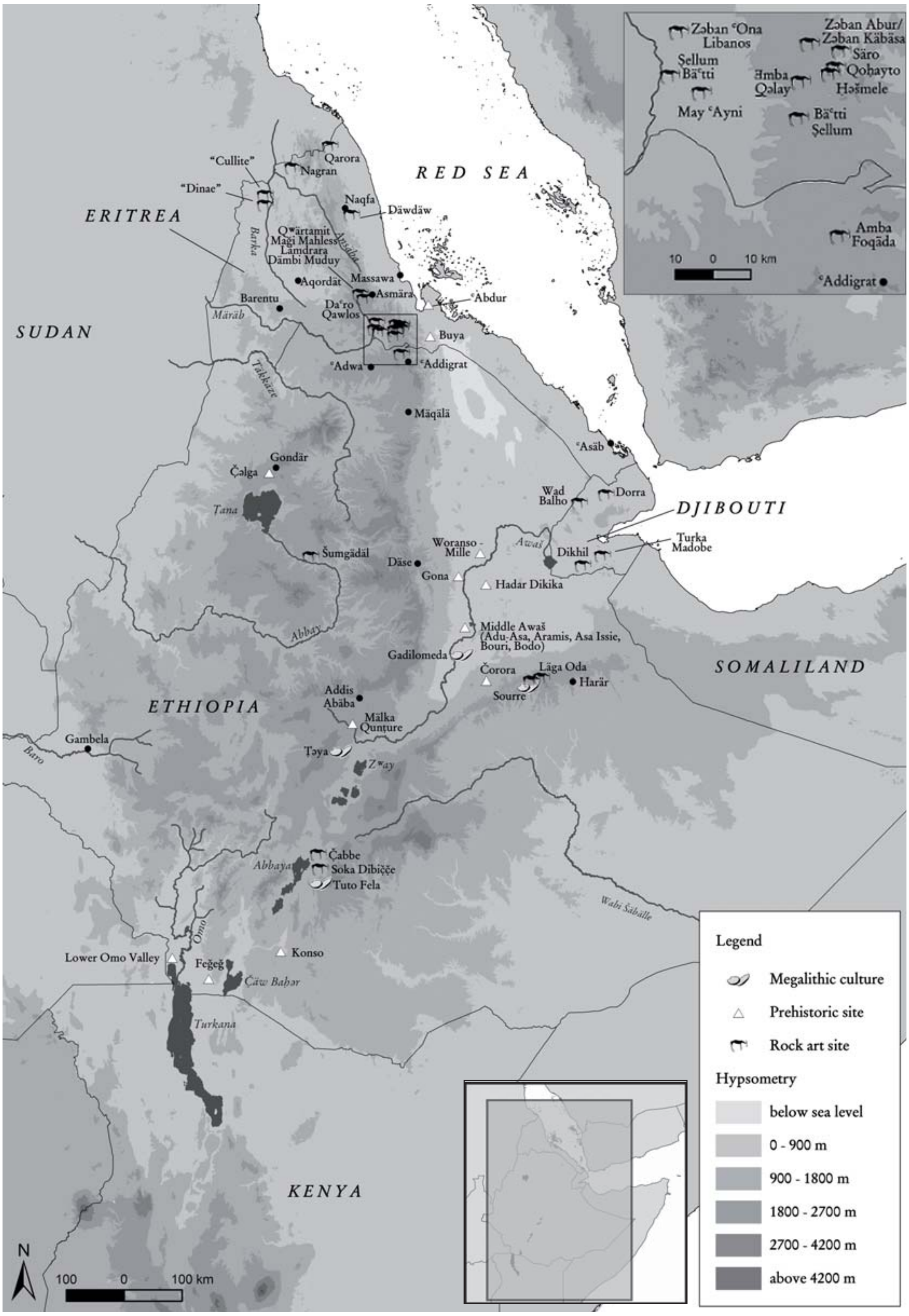
Map 5b: Colonialism in the Horn of Africa (Treaties and boundaries): southern Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan


Harär
Wälwäl
Wabi Šäbälle
BRITISH SOMALILAND
Färfär
Dolo
Mogadishu
INDIAN OCEAN
Kismaayo
N
100
0
100 km

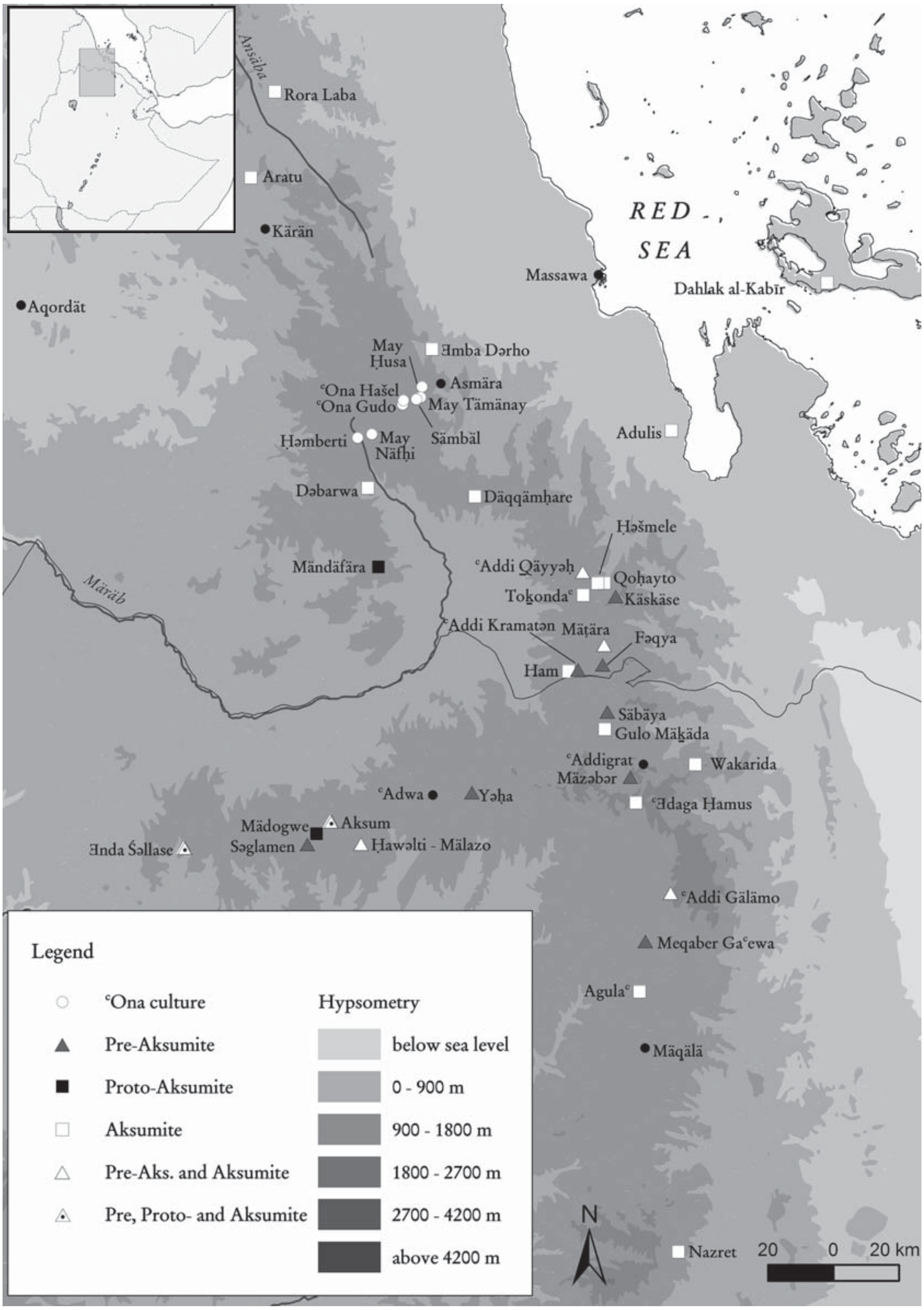
Map 6: Ethiopia in the 16th century (Ottoman war; Great population movements)


RED SEA
Legend
A) Ottoman invasion
Battle site
Military actions (1557-89)
B) Population movements
Baarentuuma (ca. 1520-1620)
Boorana (ca. 1520-1620)
Damot (ca. 1620)
Gafat (ca. 1620)
Mäčča
Tuulama
Hypsometry
below sea level
0 - 900 m
900 - 1800 m
1800 - 2700 m
2700 - 4200 m
above 4200 m
Barka
MARYA
BOGOS
Massawa
HAMASEN
KUNAMA
Märäb
ŠIRE
Aksum
Täkkäze
TÄMBEN
ƎNDÄRTA
Afdera
BÄGEMDƎR
LASTA
Lalibäla
Ṭana
ANGOT
AWSA
Awaš
Abbay
AMHARA
GOǦǦAM
GAÑ
WÄLAQA
MANZ
DAMOT
ŠÄWA
TÄGULAT
IFAT
Harär
FÄTÄGAR
DAWARO
WÄǦ
GURAGE
HADIYYA
Baro
GAMO
Zʷay
KAMBAATA
Wabi Šäbälle
Bilate
Bale
Abbayya
HARROO
WALABU
Čamo
Omo
N
50
0
50 km

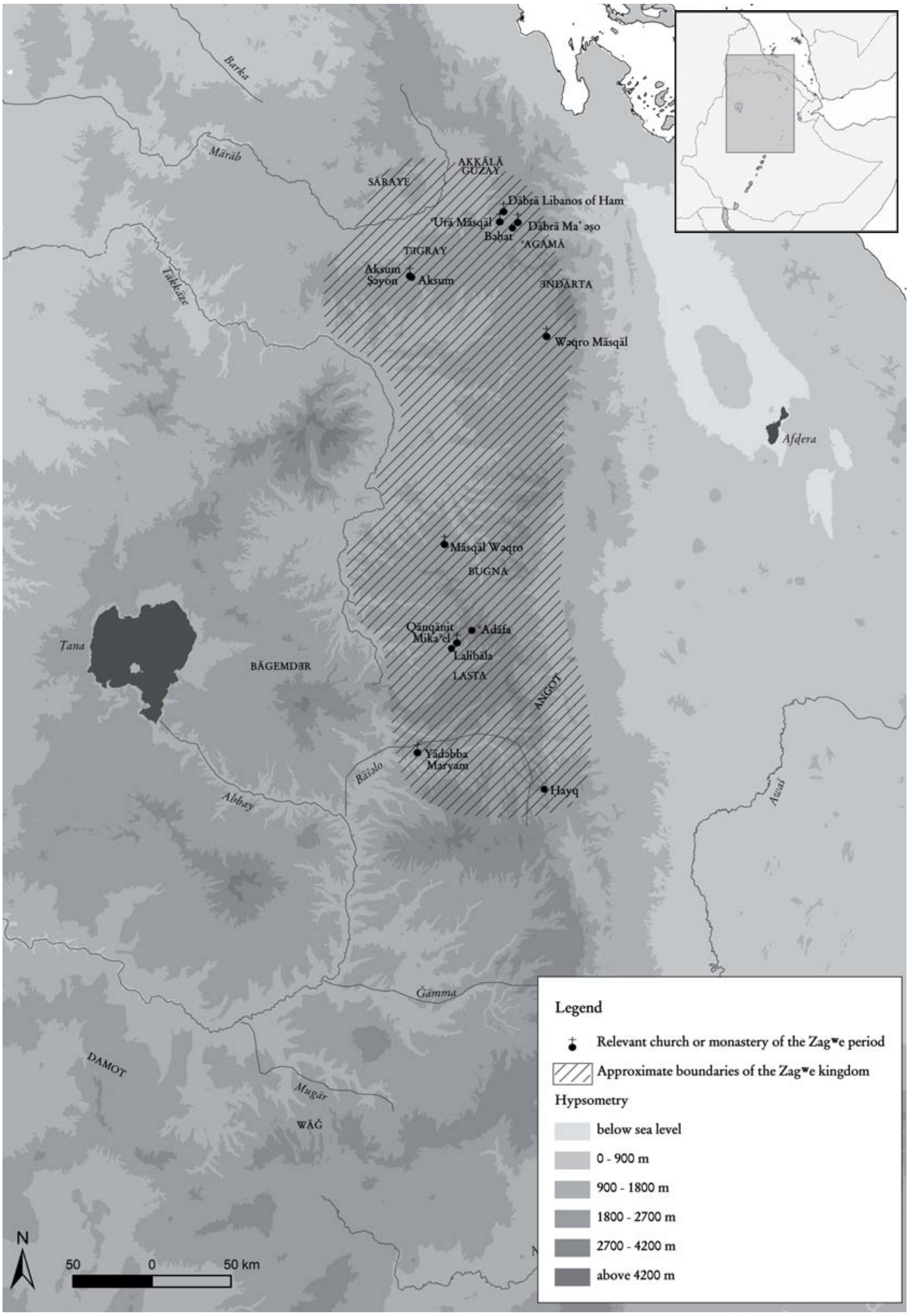
Map 7: Main prehistoric and rock-art sites; Megalithic cultures


Zəban ʿOna
Libanos
Ṣellum
Bäʿtti
May ʿAyni
Zəban Abur/
Zəban Käbäsa
Säro
Qoḥayto
Ḥəšmele
Ǝmba
Qəlay
Bäʿtti
Ṣellum
Amba
Foqāda
10 0 10 km
ʿAddigrat
"Cullite"
"Dinae"
Qarora
Nagran
RED SEA
ERITREA
Naqfa
Ḍäwdäw
Barka
Qʷärtamit
Mağī Mahless
Lamdrara
Dāmbi Muduy
Ansäba
Massawa
Aqordät
Asmära
ʿAbdur
Barentu
Märäb
Daʿro
Qawlos
Buya
SUDAN
Täkkäze
ʿAdwa
ʿAddigrat
Mäqälä
ʿAsäb
Gondär
Ç̣əlga
Ṭana
Wad
Balho
Dorra
DJIBOUTI
Turka
Madobe
Awaš
Dikhil
Woranso -
Mille
Šumgädäl
Däse
Gona
Hadar Dikika
Abbay
Middle Awaš
(Adu-Asa, Aramis, Asa Issie,
Bouri, Bodo)
Gadilomeda
SOMALILAND
Čorora
Läga Oda
Harär
Sourre
Addis
Ababa
ETHIOPIA
Mälka
Qunṭure
Gambela
Baro
Ṭəya
Zʷay
Ç̣abbe
Soka Dibiç̣ç̣e
Abbaya
Tuto Fela
Wabi Šäbäle
Omo
Lower Omo Valley
Konso
Feğeğ
Ç̣äw Baḥər
Turkana
KENYA
N
100 0 100 km
Legend
Megalithic culture
△ Prehistoric site
Rock art site
Hypsometry
below sea level
0 - 900 m
900 - 1800 m
1800 - 2700 m
2700 - 4200 m
above 4200 m

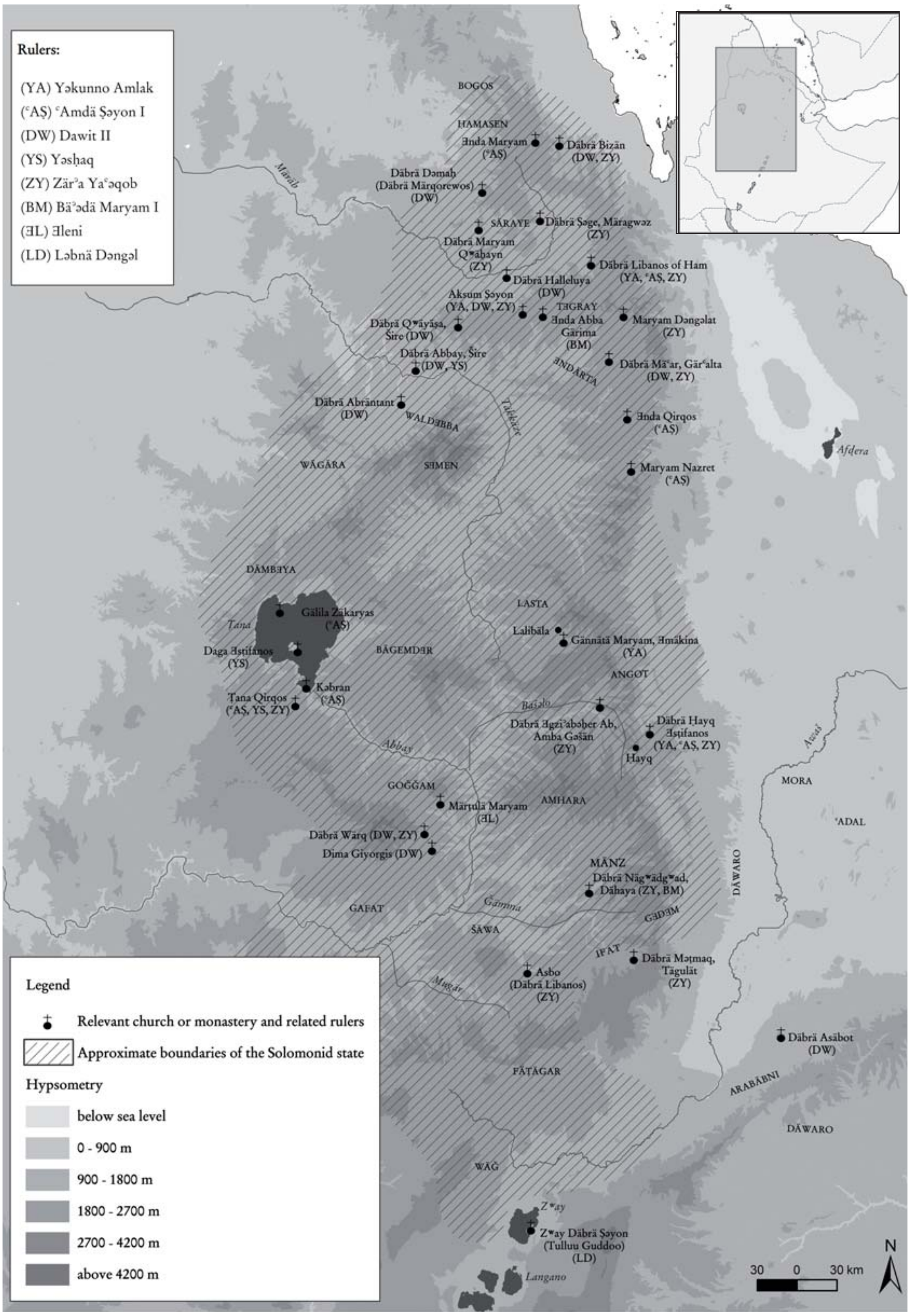
Map 8: Main archaeological sites (1st millennium B.C.–1st millennium A.D.)


Ansäba
Rora Laba
Aratu
Kärän
Aqordät
RED SEA
Massawa
Dahlak al-Kabīr
May Ḥusa
Ǝmba Dərho
Asmära
ʿOna Hašel
ʿOna Gudo
May Tämänay
Sämbäl
Ḥəmberti
May Näfḥi
Adulis
Dəbarwa
Däqqämḥare
Ḥəšmele
Mändäfära
ʿAddi Qäyyəḥ
Qoḥayto
Märäb
Toḵondaʿ
Käskäse
ʿAddi Kramatən
Mäṭära
Fəqya
Ham
Säbäya
Gulo Mäḵäda
ʿAddigrat
Wakarida
Mäzəbər
ʿAdwa
Yəḥa
ʿƎdaga Ḥamus
Mädogwe
Aksum
Ǝnda Śəllase
Səglamen
Ḥawəlti - Mälazo
ʿAddi Gälämo
Meqaber Gaʿewa
Agulaʿ
Mäqälä
Nazret
Legend
○ ʿOna culture
▲ Pre-Aksumite
■ Proto-Aksumite
□ Aksumite
△ Pre-Aks. and Aksumite
◬ Pre, Proto- and Aksumite
Hypsometry
below sea level
0 - 900 m
900 - 1800 m
1800 - 2700 m
2700 - 4200 m
above 4200 m
N
20
0
20 km

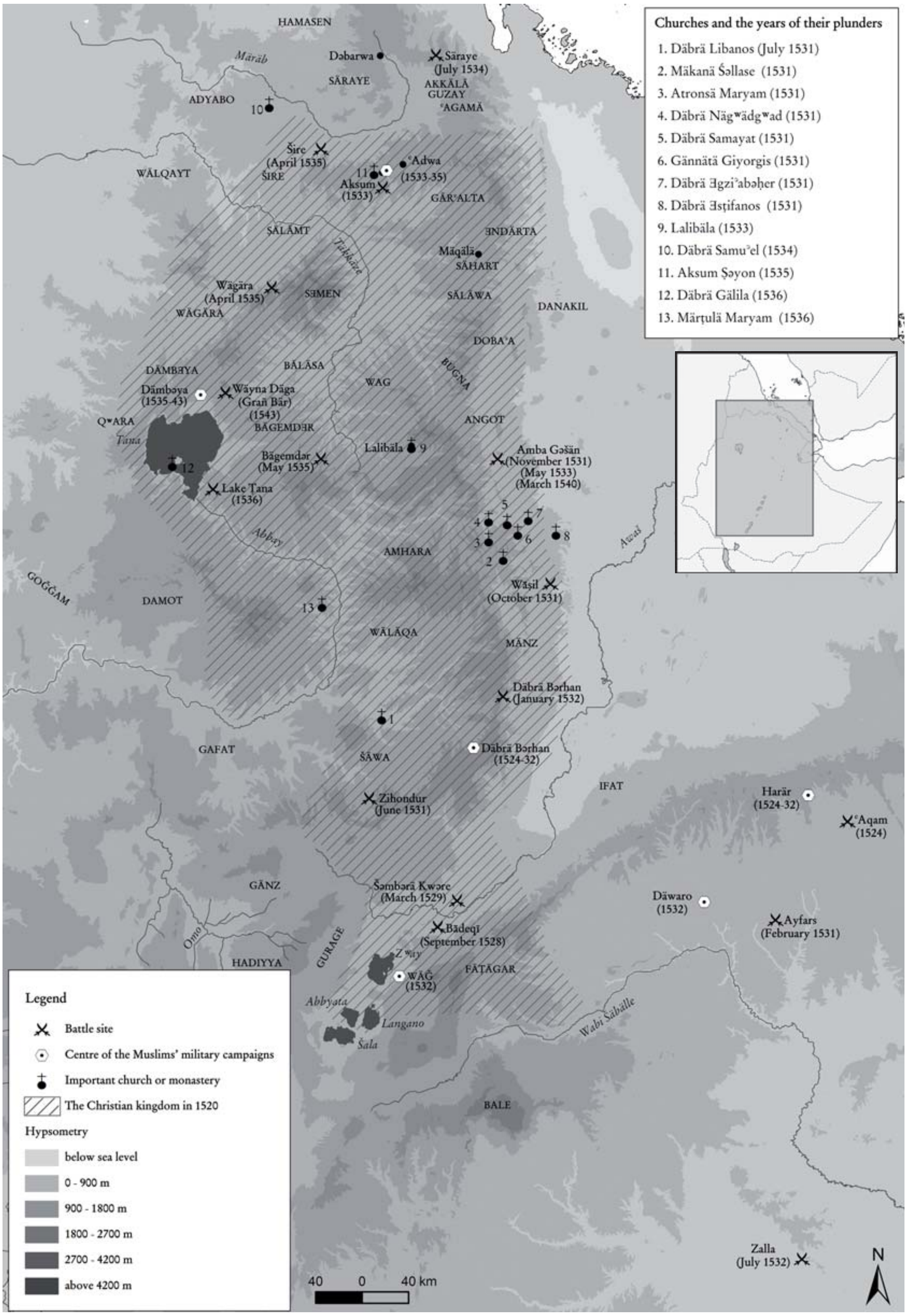
Map 9: Zagʷe period


Barka
Märäb
SÄRAYE
AKKÄLÄ GUZAY
Däbrä Libanos of Ham
ʿUrä Mäsqäl
Däbrä Maʾ əṣo
Bəḥat
ʿAGAMÄ
TƎGRAY
Aksum Ṣəyon
Aksum
ƎNDÄRTA
Täkkäze
Wəqro Mäsqäl
Afdera
Mäsqäl Wəqro
BUGNA
Qänqänit Mikaʾel
ʿAdäfa
Lalibäla
LASTA
ANGOT
Ṭana
BÄGEMDƎR
Yädəbba Maryam
Bäšalo
Hayq
Abbay
Awaš
Ǧämma
DAMOT
Mugär
WÄǦ
N
50
0
50 km
Legend
Relevant church or monastery of the Zagʷe period
Approximate boundaries of the Zagʷe kingdom
Hypsometry
below sea level
0 - 900 m
900 - 1800 m
1800 - 2700 m
2700 - 4200 m
above 4200 m

Map 10: Early Solomonic Christianity



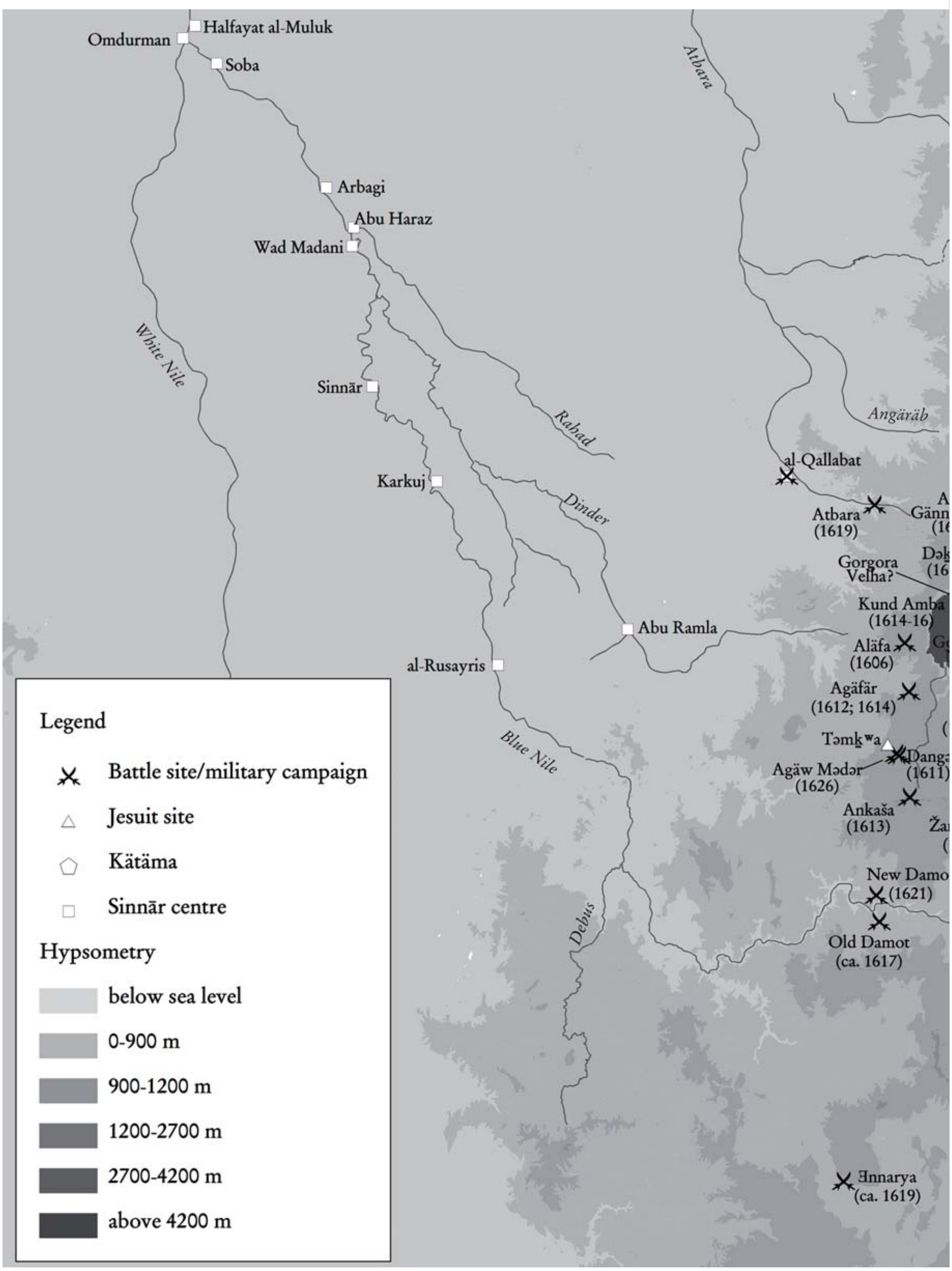
Rulers:
(YA) Yəkunno Amlak
(ʿAṢ) ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I
(DW) Dawit II
(YS) Yəsḥaq
(ZY) Zärʾa Yaʿəqob
(BM) Bäʾədä Maryam I
(ƎL) Ǝleni
(LD) Ləbnä Dəngəl
BOGOS
HAMASEN
Ǝnda Maryam (ʿAṢ)
Däbrä Bizän (DW, ZY)
Märäb
Däbrä Dəmah (Däbrä Märqorewos) (DW)
SÄRAYE
Däbrä Ṣəge, Märagwəz (ZY)
Däbrä Maryam Qʷäḥayn (ZY)
Däbrä Libanos of Ham (YA, ʿAṢ, ZY)
Däbrä Halleluya (DW)
Aksum Ṣəyon (YA, DW, ZY)
TƎGRAY
Ǝnda Abba Gärima (BM)
Maryam Dəngəlat (ZY)
Däbrä Qʷäyäṣa, Šire (DW)
Däbrä Abbay, Šire (DW, YS)
ƎNDÄRTA
Däbrä Mäʿar, Gärʿalta (DW, ZY)
Däbrä Abräntant (DW)
WALDƎBBA
Täkkäze
Ǝnda Qirqos (ʿAṢ)
WÄGÄRA
SƎMEN
Maryam Nazret (ʿAṢ)
Afdera
DÄMBƎYA
LASTA
Gälila Zäkaryas (ʿAṢ)
Ṭana
Daga Ǝsṭifanos (YS)
BÄGEMDƎR
Lalibäla
Gännätä Maryam, Ǝmäkina (YA)
Kəbran (ʿAṢ)
ANGOT
Ṭana Qirqos (ʿAṢ, YS, ZY)
Bäšəlo
Däbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Ab, Amba Gəšän (ZY)
Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos (YA, ʿAṢ, ZY)
Ḥayq
Abbay
Awaš
MORA
GOĞĞAM
Märṭulä Maryam (ƎL)
AMHARA
ʿADAL
Däbrä Wärq (DW, ZY)
Dima Giyorgis (DW)
MÄNZ
Däbrä Nägʷädgʷad, Dähaya (ZY, BM)
DÄWARO
GAFAT
Ǧämma
GƎDƎM
ŠÄWA
IFAT
Däbrä Məṭmaq, Tägulät (ZY)
Asbo (Däbrä Libanos) (ZY)
Mugär
Däbrä Asäbot (DW)
FÄṬÄGAR
ARABÄBNI
DÄWARO
WÄĞ
Zʷay
Zʷay Däbrä Ṣəyon (Tulluu Guddoo) (LD)
Langano
30 0 30 km
N
Legend
Relevant church or monastery and related rulers
Approximate boundaries of the Solomonid state
Hypsometry
below sea level
0 - 900 m
900 - 1800 m
1800 - 2700 m
2700 - 4200 m
above 4200 m



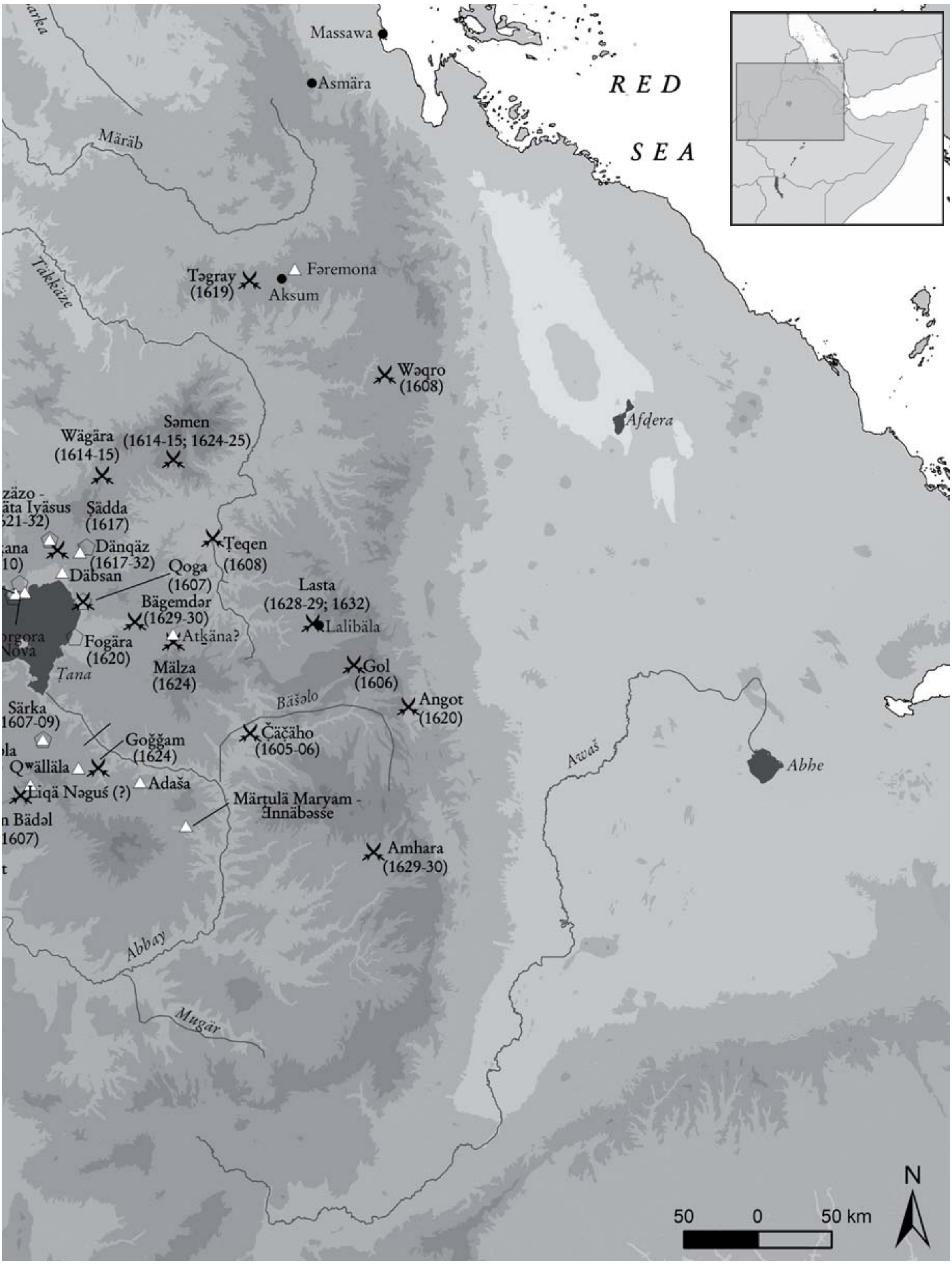
Map 11: Christian–Muslim conflicts in the 16th century

Churches and the years of their plunders
1. Däbrä Libanos (July 1531)
2. Mäkanä Śəllase (1531)
3. Atronsä Maryam (1531)
4. Däbrä Nägʷädgʷad (1531)
5. Däbrä Samayat (1531)
6. Gännätä Giyorgis (1531)
7. Däbrä Ǝgzi'abəḥer (1531)
8. Däbrä Ǝsṭifanos (1531)
9. Lalibäla (1533)
10. Däbrä Samu'el (1534)
11. Aksum Ṣəyon (1535)
12. Däbrä Gälila (1536)
13. Märṭulä Maryam (1536)
HAMASEN
Märäb
Dəbarwa
Säraye (July 1534)
SÄRAYE
AKKÄLÄ GUZAY
ʿAGAMÄ
ADYABO
10
Šire (April 1535)
ŠIRE
WÄLQAYT
11
ʿAdwa (1533-35)
Aksum (1533)
GÄRʿALTA
ṢALÄMT
Täkkäze
ƎNDÄRTA
Mäqälä
SÄḤART
Wägära (April 1535)
WÄGÄRA
SƎMEN
SÄLÄWA
DANAKIL
DOBAʾA
DÄMBƎYA
BÄLÄSA
WAG
BUGNA
Dämbəya (1535-43)
Wäyna Däga (Grañ Bär) (1543)
QʷARA
Tana
BÄGEMDƎR
ANGOT
Lalibäla 9
Bägemdər (May 1535)
Amba Gəšän (November 1531) (May 1533) (March 1540)
12
Lake Tana (1536)
Abbay
AMHARA
4 5 7 3 6 8 2
Awaš
GOǦǦAM
DAMOT
Wäṣil (October 1531)
13
WÄLÄQA
MÄNZ
Däbrä Bərhan (January 1532)
1
GAFAT
ŠÄWA
Däbrä Bərhan (1524-32)
IFAT
Harär (1524-32)
ʿAqam (1524)
Zihondur (June 1531)
GÄNZ
Šəmbərä Kʷəre (March 1529)
Däwaro (1532)
Bädeqī (September 1528)
Ayfars (February 1531)
Omo
GURAGE
HADIYYA
Zʷay
WÄǦ (1532)
FÄṬÄGAR
Abbyata
Langano
Šala
Wabi Säbälle
BALE
Legend
Battle site
Centre of the Muslims' military campaigns
Important church or monastery
The Christian kingdom in 1520
Hypsometry
below sea level
0 - 900 m
900 - 1800 m
1800 - 2700 m
2700 - 4200 m
above 4200 m
40 0 40 km
Zalla (July 1532)
N

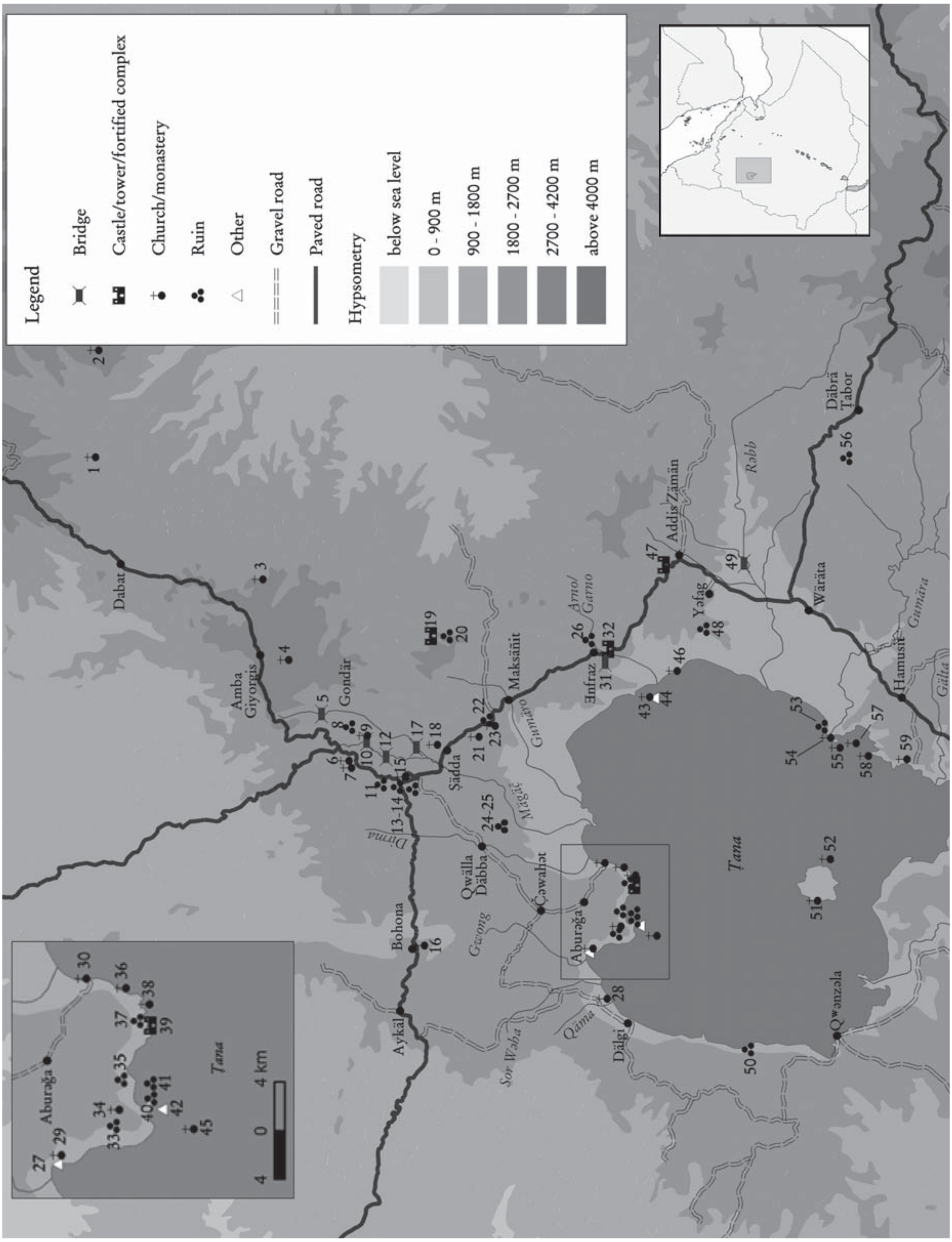
Map 12: Christian Ethiopia and Sinnār in the early 17th century


Halfayat al-Muluk
Omdurman
Soba
Atbara
Arbagi
Abu Haraz
Wad Madani
White Nile
Sinnār
Rahad
Angäräb
al-Qallabat
Karkuj
Dinder
Atbara
(1619)
A
Gänn
(16
Dək
(16
Gorgora
Velha?
Kund Amba
(1614-16)
Aläfa
(1606)
Abu Ramla
al-Rusayris
Agäfär
(1612; 1614)
Təmkʷa
Danga
(1611)
Agäw Mədər
(1626)
Blue Nile
Ankaša
(1613)
Ža
New Damo
(1621)
Old Damot
(ca. 1617)
Debus
Ǝnnarya
(ca. 1619)
Legend
Battle site/military campaign
△ Jesuit site
⬠ Kätäma
□ Sinnār centre
Hypsometry
below sea level
0-900 m
900-1200 m
1200-2700 m
2700-4200 m
above 4200 m

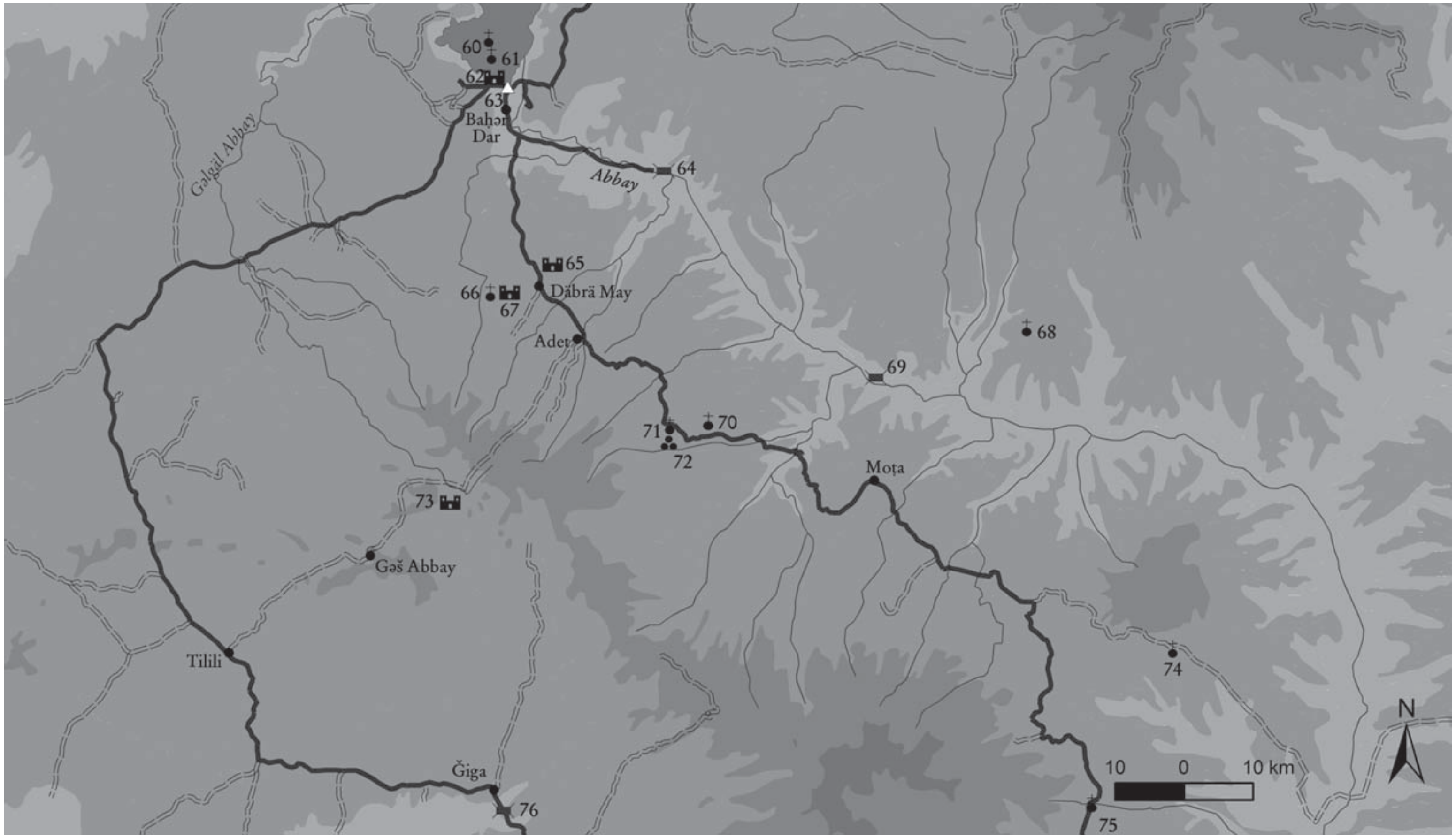
Map 12: Christian Ethiopia and Sinnār in the early 17th century


arka
Massawa
Asmära
RED
SEA
Märäb
Täkkäze
Təgray
(1619)
Fəremona
Aksum
Wəqro
(1608)
Afdera
Səmen
(1614-15; 1624-25)
Wägära
(1614-15)
zäzo -
äta Iyäsus
521-32)
Ṣädda
(1617)
ana
10)
Dänqäz
(1617-32)
Ṭeqen
(1608)
Qoga
(1607)
Däbsan
Lasta
(1628-29; 1632)
Bägemdər
(1629-30)
Lalibäla
orgora
Nova
Fogära
(1620)
Atḵäna?
Ṭana
Mälza
(1624)
Gol
(1606)
Bäšəlo
Angot
(1620)
Särka
1607-09)
Goǧǧam
(1624)
Čäčäho
(1605-06)
la
Qʷällala
Adaša
Liqä Nəguś (?)
Märtulä Maryam -
Ǝnnäbəsse
n Bädəl
1607)
t
Awaš
Abhe
Amhara
(1629-30)
Abbay
Mugär
N
50
0
50 km

Map 13a: Architectural heritage of the Gondärine period

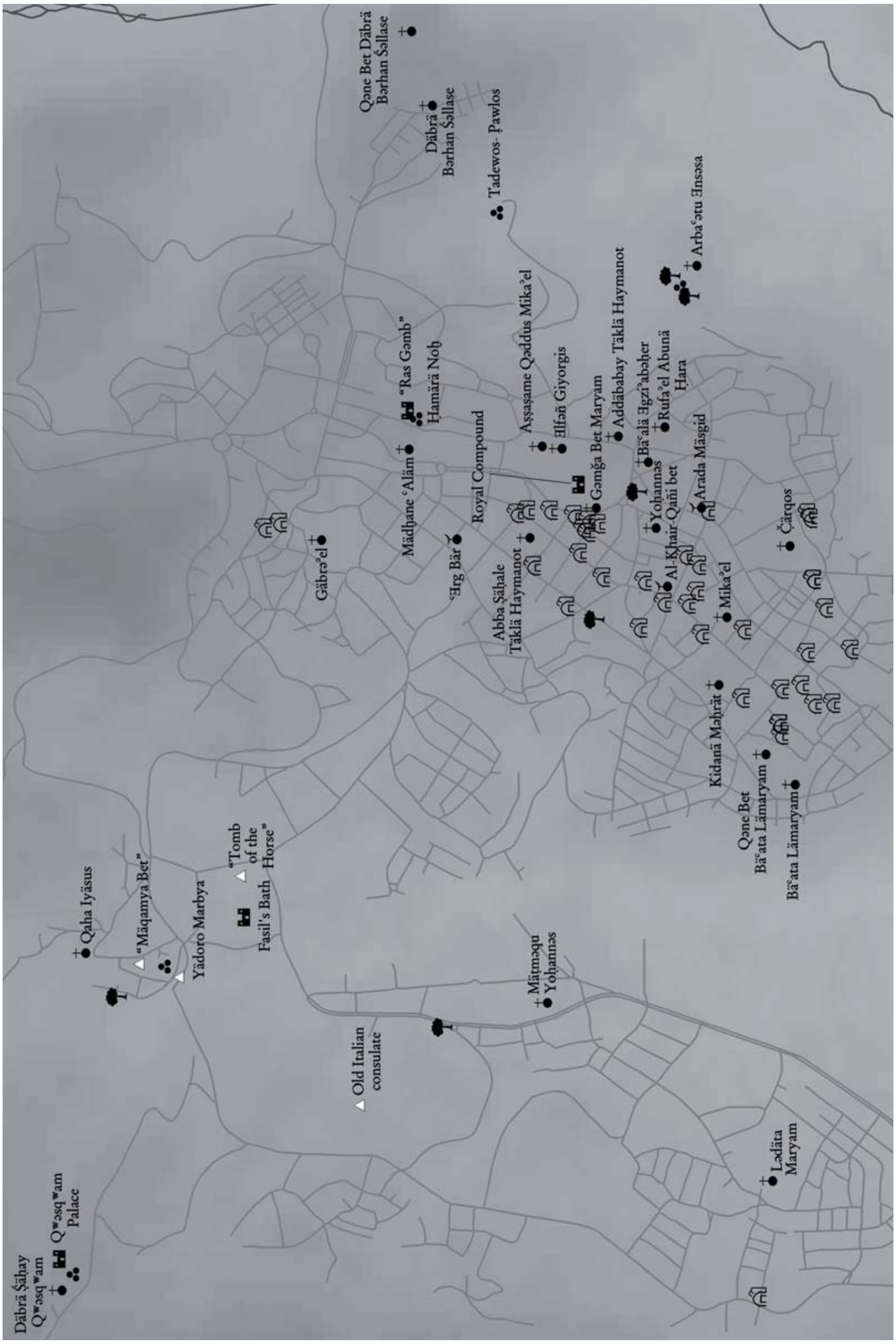

Legend
Bridge
Castle/tower/fortified complex
Church/monastery
Ruin
Other
Gravel road
Paved road
Hypsometry
below sea level
0 - 900 m
900 - 1800 m
1800 - 2700 m
2700 - 4200 m
above 4000 m
Dabat
Amba Giyorgis
Gondär
Ṣädda
Maksäñit
Ǝnfraz
Arnol Garno
Addis Zämän
Yəfag
Rəbb
Däbrä Ṭabor
Wäräta
Hamusit
Gumära
Gälta
Gumäro
Mägäč
Dərma
Qwälla Däbba
Čawahət
Bohona
Gwang
Aykäl
Aburäǧa
Dälgi
Qäma
Sor Wəha
Qwənzəla
Ṭana
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13-14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24-25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
4
0
4 km

Map 13a: Architectural heritage of the Gondärine period

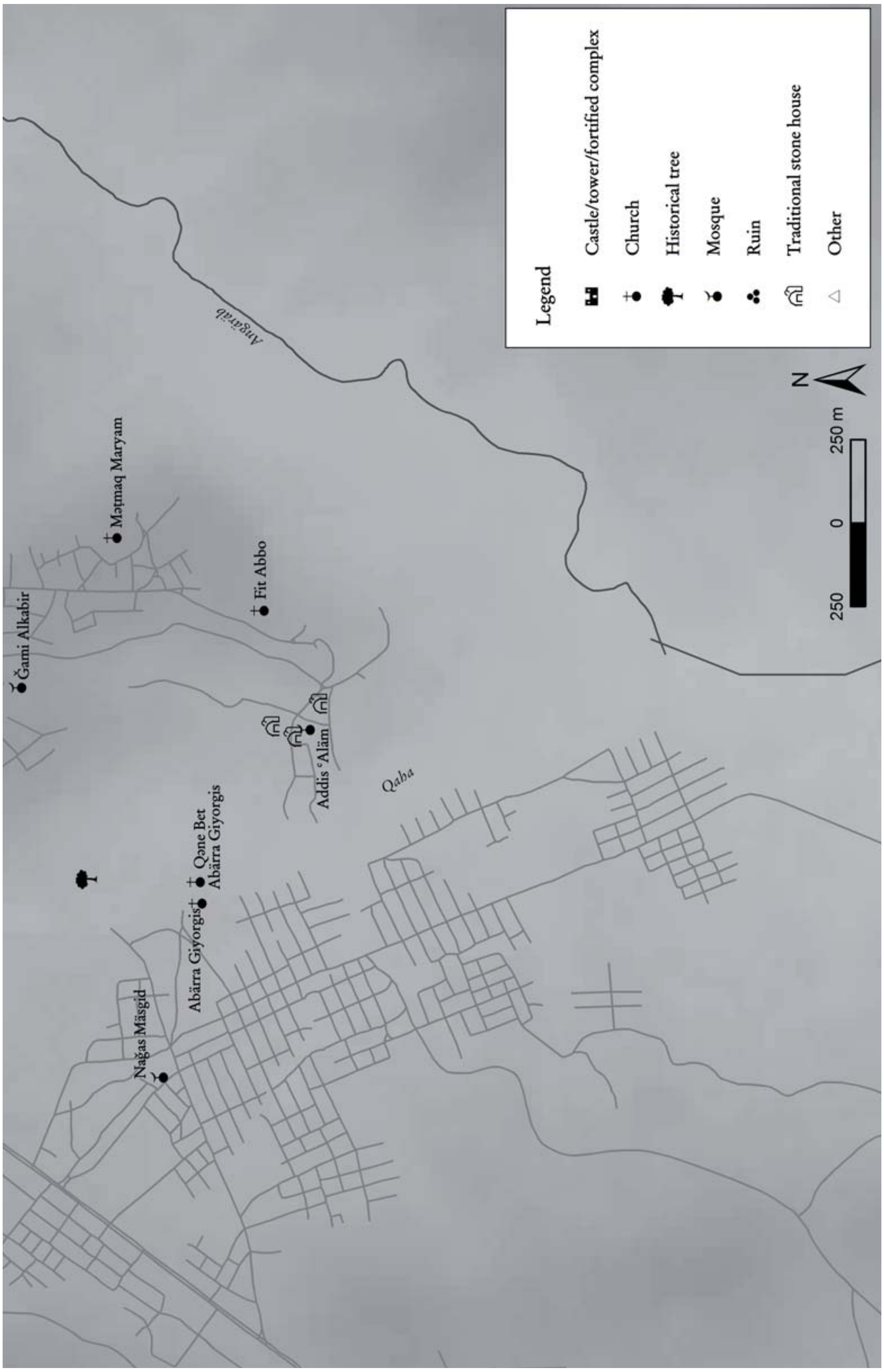


1 Däkʷa Kidanä Məḥrät; **2** Däräsge Maryam; **3** Goränko Maryam; **4** Arwagəh Maryam; **5** River Bambulo bridge; **6** Gondaročč Giyorgis; **7** Abba Ǝnṭonyos; **8** ruins of structures at Däfaç̣a; **9** Däfäçạ Kidanä Məḥrät; **10** River Angäräb bridge; **11** Mikaʾel; **12** "Gobatit" Angäräb bridge; **13** Jesuit church of Iyäsus; **14** Gännätä Iyäsus; **15** Azäzo Täklä Haymanot; **16** Dəwad Gäbrəʾel; **17** River Mägäč̣ "Fänṭar" bridge; **18** Ǝgziʾabəḥer Ab; **19** Dänqäz Gəmb; **20** Jesuit cathedral at Dänqäz; **21** Mənzoro Täklä Haymanot; **22** Lwa Maryam; **23** Baḥrəy Gəmb Mikaʾel; **24** Merow; **25** Abba Kiros (Merow); **26** Jesuit residence of Däbsan; **27** Quarry/Cave of Wuša Śəllase; **28** Ṣuhəl Giyorgis; **29** Däbbäsä Śəllase; **30** Däbrä Sina; **31** Garno river "Tekara"; **32** Guzara Gəmb; **33** Nora Warka; **34** Ğagära Mikaʾel; **35** Qändo Nora/Nora Mikaʾel; **36** Birgida Maryam; **37** Gəmb of Bäkkafa; **38** Mändabba Mädḫane ʿAläm; **39** Fortification on Giyorgis island; **40** Jesuit church of Iyäsus; **41** Gəmb Maryam; **42** Jesuit residence of Gorgora "Nova"; **43** Məṣraḫa Maryam; **44** tomb of Iyasu I; **45** Gälila Zäkaryas; **46** Ǝgziʾabəḥer Ab; **47** Wähni Amba; **48** Gəmb of Iyasu I; **49** River Rəbb bridge; **50** Isäy Däbər Maryam; **51** Narga Śəllase; **52** Daga Ǝsṭifanos; **53** Gəmb of Iyasu I (Çạ̈qla Mänzo); **54** Krəstos Śämra; **55** Ṭana Qirqos; **56** Aringo; **57** Məṣəle Fasilädäs; **58** Rema Mädḫane ʿAläm; **59** Kʷərʿatä Wälättä Ṗeṭros; **60** Kəbran Gäbrəʾel; **61** Ǝnṭonəs; **62** Šəmbəṭ Mikaʾel; **63** "Portuguese house"; **64** Ṭis Abbay bridge; **65** Yəbaba; **66** Jesuit church of Särka (Gəmb Maryam); **67** Gəmb Giyorgis; **68** Qoma Fasilädäs; **69** Abbay river "Säbärä" bridge; **70** Wäyzazərt Kidanä Məḥrät; **71** Jesuit church of St. Ignatius; **72** Jesuit residence of Qwällälа; **73** Abba Gəš Fasil; **74** Jesuit church of Märṭulä Maryam; **75** Däbrä Wärq; **76** Bərr river bridge

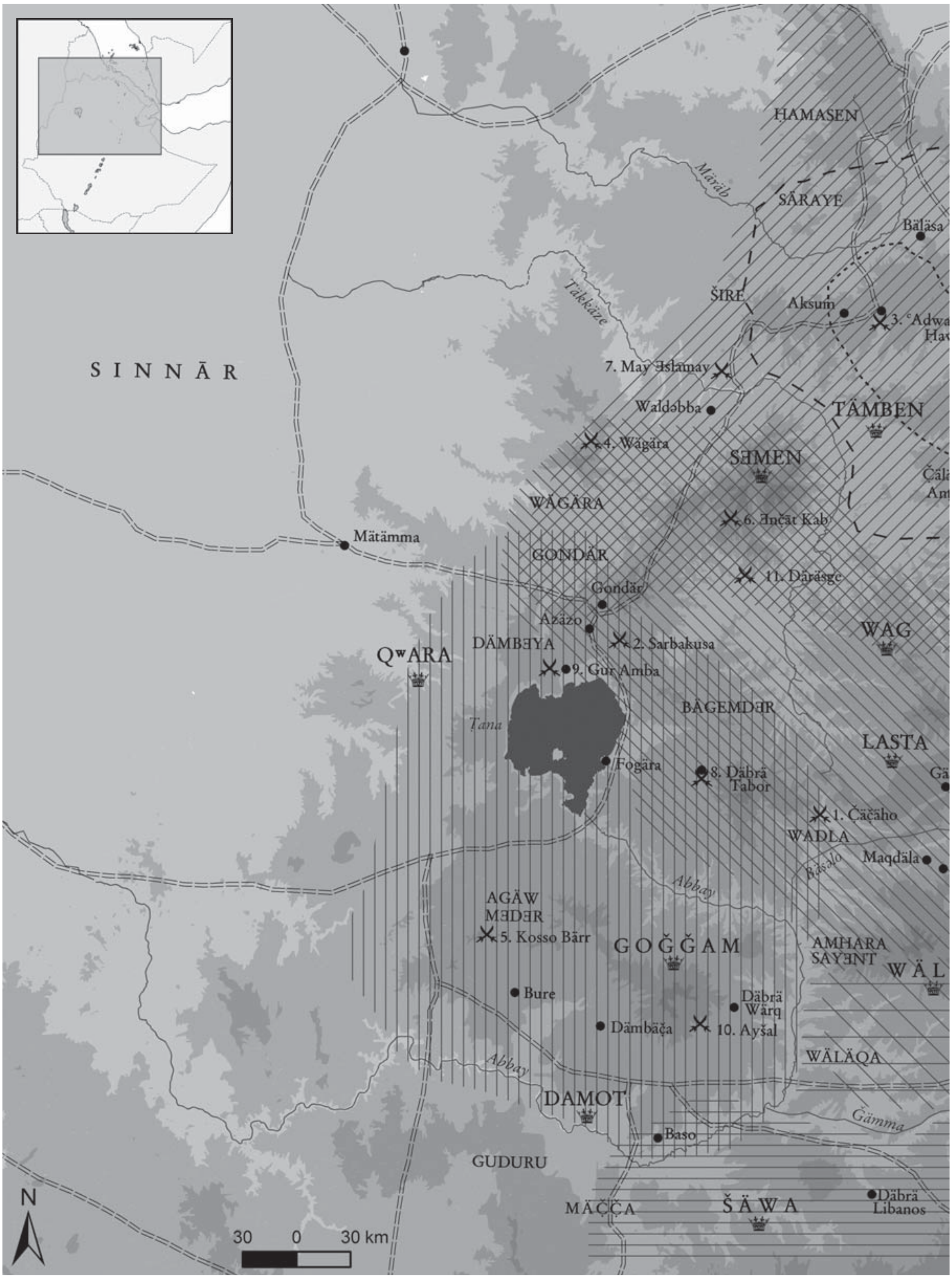
Map 13b: Architectural heritage of Gondär town

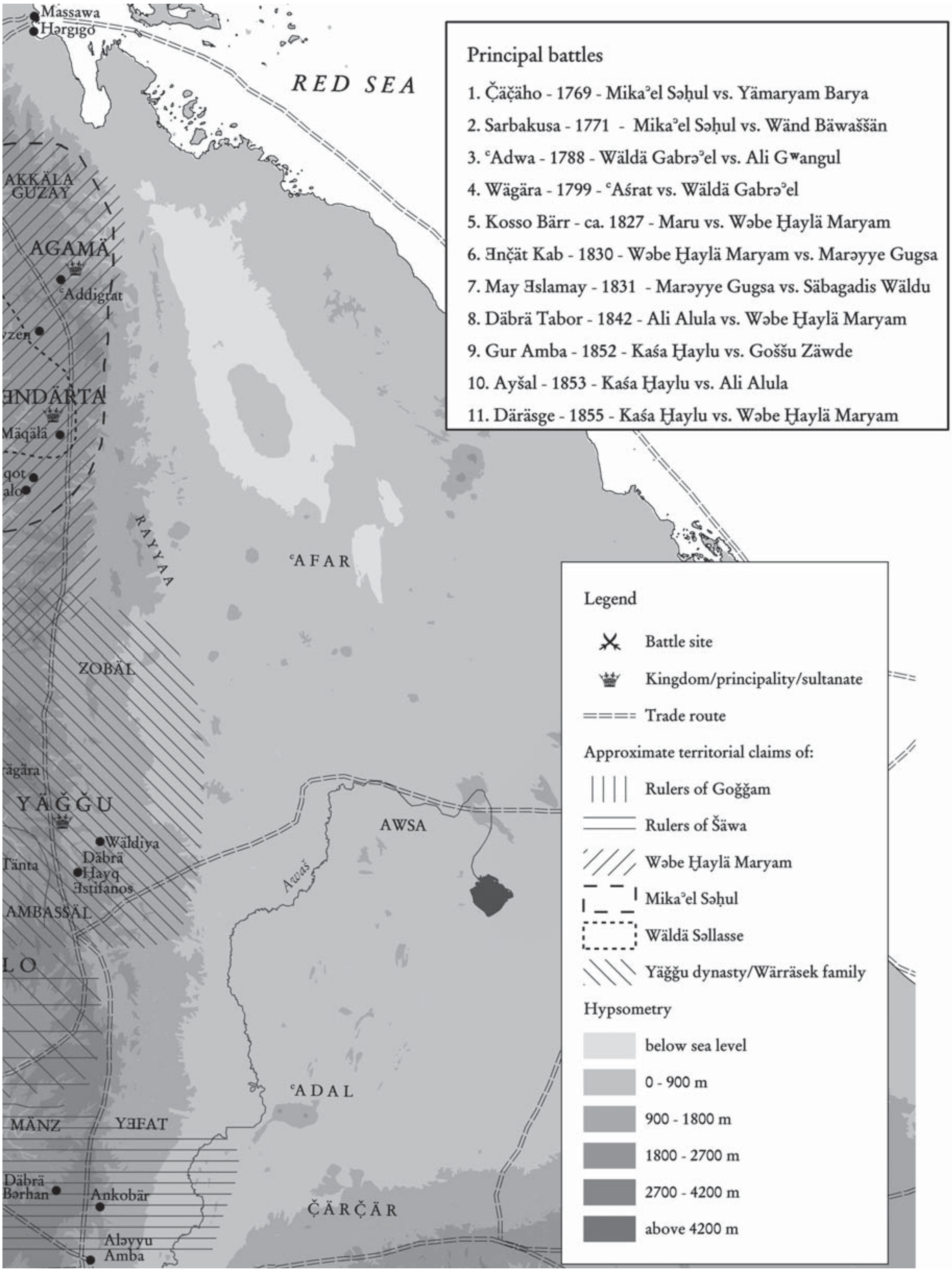

Qəne Bet Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase
Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase
Tadewos- Pawlos
Arbaʿətu Ǝnsəsa
Aṣṣaṣame Qəddus Mikaʾel
Addäbabay Täklä Haymanot
Ǝlfən Giyorgis
Bäʿalä Ǝgziʾabəḥer
Rufaʾel Abunä
Hara
"Ras Gəmb"
Ḥamärä Noḫ
Gəmǧa Bet Maryam
Mädḫane ʿAläm
Royal Compound
Yoḥannəs
Arada Mäsgid
Al-Khair-Qaḍi bet
Čärqos
Gäbrəʾel
ʿƎrg Bär
Abba Śäḥale
Täklä Haymanot
Mikaʾel
Kidanä Məḥrät
Qəne Bet
Bäʿata Lämaryam
Bäʿata Lämaryam
Qaha Iyäsus
"Mäqamya Bet"
Yädoro Marbya
"Tomb
of the
Horse"
Fasil's Bath
Mätməqu
Yoḥannəs
Old Italian
consulate
Lədäta
Maryam
Däbrä Ṣäḥay
Qʷəsqʷam
Qʷəsqʷam
Palace

Map 13b: Architectural heritage of Gondär town

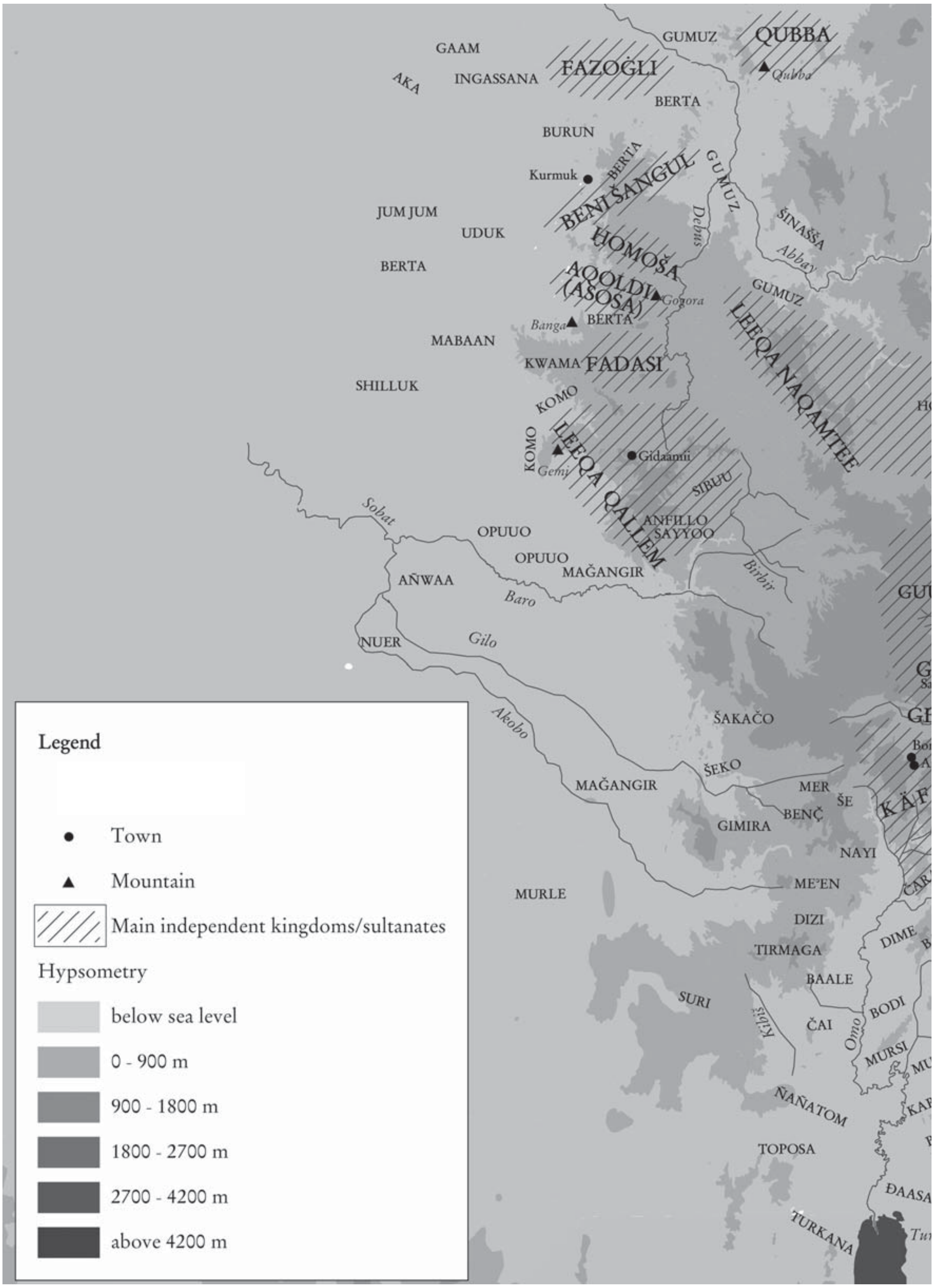

Legend
Castle/tower/fortified complex
Church
Historical tree
Mosque
Ruin
Traditional stone house
Other
N
250
0
250 m
Angärab
Qaha
Ǧami Alkabir
Mətmaq Maryam
Fit Abbo
Addis ʿAläm
Qəne Bet
Abärra Giyorgis
Abärra Giyorgis
Nağas Mäsgid

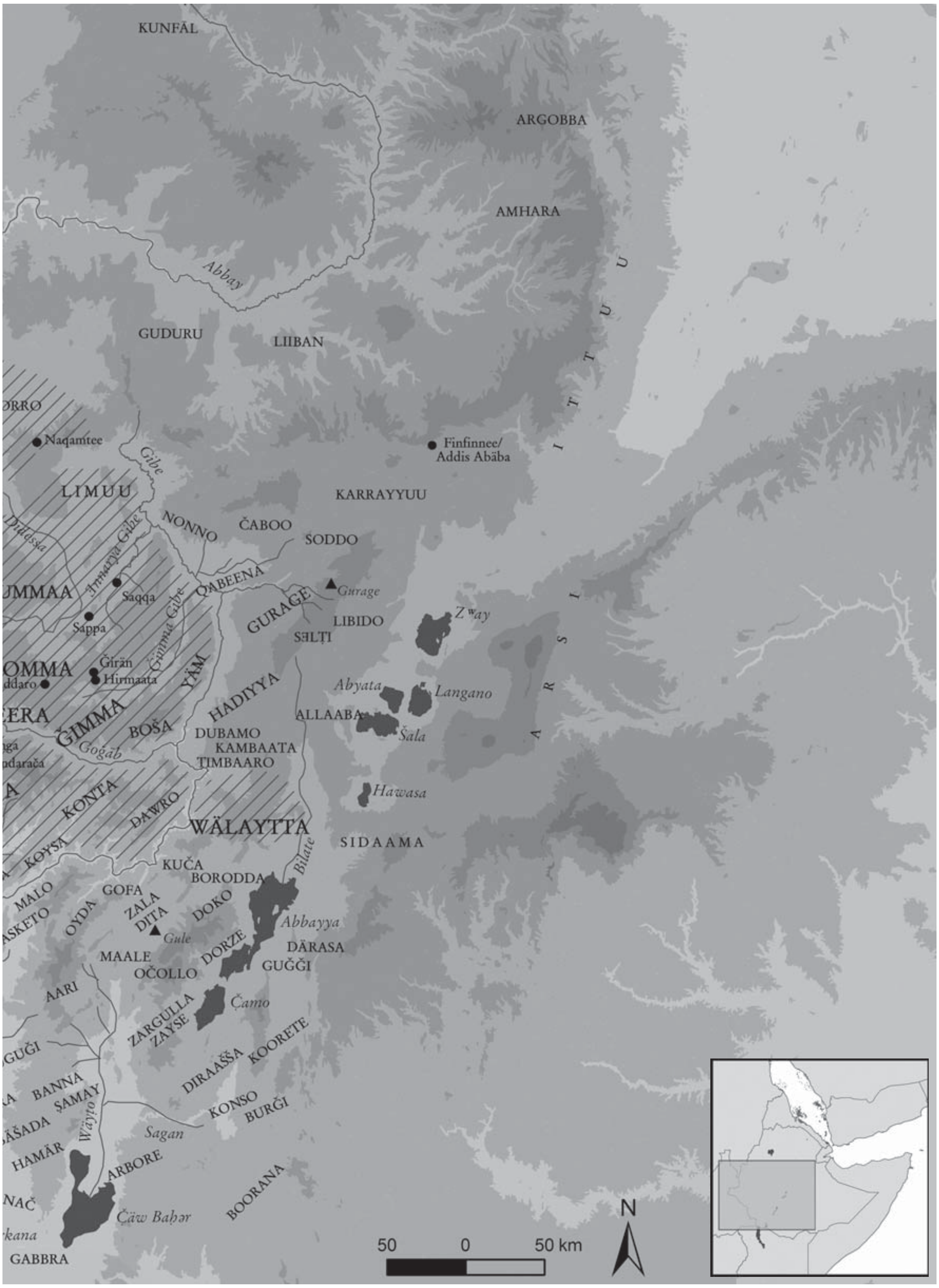
Map 14: *Zämänä mäsafənt*


HAMASEN
Märäb
SÄRAYE
Bäläsa
Täkkäze
ŠIRE
Aksum
3. ʿAdwa
Ha
SINNĀR
7. May Ǝslamay
Waldəbba
TÄMBEN
4. Wägära
SƎMEN
Čälä
Am
WÄGÄRA
6. Ǝnčät Kab
Mätämma
GONDÄR
11. Däräsge
Gondär
Azäzo
WAG
DÄMBƎYA
2. Sarbakusa
QʷARA
9. Gur Amba
Ṭana
BÄGEMDƎR
LASTA
Fogära
8. Däbrä Tabor
Gä
1. Čäčäho
WADLA
Bäšəlo
Maqdäla
Abbay
AGÄW MƎDƎR
5. Kosso Bärr
GOĞĞAM
AMHARA SAYƎNT
WÄL
Bure
Däbrä Wärq
Dämbäča
10. Ayšal
WÄLÄQA
Abbay
DAMOT
Gämma
Baso
GUDURU
MÄČČA
ŠÄWA
Däbrä Libanos
N
30 0 30 km


Massawa
Hərgigo
RED SEA
Principal battles
1. Çäçäho - 1769 - Mikaᵓel Səḥul vs. Yämaryam Barya
2. Sarbakusa - 1771 - Mikaᵓel Səḥul vs. Wänd Bäwaššän
3. ᶜAdwa - 1788 - Wäldä Gabrəᵓel vs. Ali Gʷangul
4. Wägära - 1799 - ᶜAśrat vs. Wäldä Gabrəᵓel
5. Kosso Bärr - ca. 1827 - Maru vs. Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam
6. Ǝnčät Kab - 1830 - Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam vs. Marəyye Gugsa
7. May Ǝslamay - 1831 - Marəyye Gugsa vs. Säbagadis Wäldu
8. Däbrä Tabor - 1842 - Ali Alula vs. Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam
9. Gur Amba - 1852 - Kaśa Ḫaylu vs. Goššu Zäwde
10. Ayšal - 1853 - Kaśa Ḫaylu vs. Ali Alula
11. Däräsge - 1855 - Kaśa Ḫaylu vs. Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam
AKKÄLA GUZAY
AGAMÄ
ᶜAddigrat
ƎNDÄRTA
Mäqälä
RAYYAA
ᶜAFAR
ZOBÄL
YÄǦǦU
Wäldiya
Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝstifanos
AMBASSÄL
AWSA
Awaš
ᶜADAL
MÄNZ
YƎFAT
Däbrä Bərhan
Ankobär
Aləyyu Amba
ÇÄRÇÄR
Legend
Battle site
Kingdom/principality/sultanate
Trade route
Approximate territorial claims of:
Rulers of Goǧǧam
Rulers of Šäwa
Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam
Mikaᵓel Səḥul
Wäldä Səllasse
Yäǧǧu dynasty/Wärräsek family
Hypsometry
below sea level
0 - 900 m
900 - 1800 m
1800 - 2700 m
2700 - 4200 m
above 4200 m

Map 15: Ethnic and political units in southern Ethiopia before Mənilək II's conquest (ca. 1890–95)

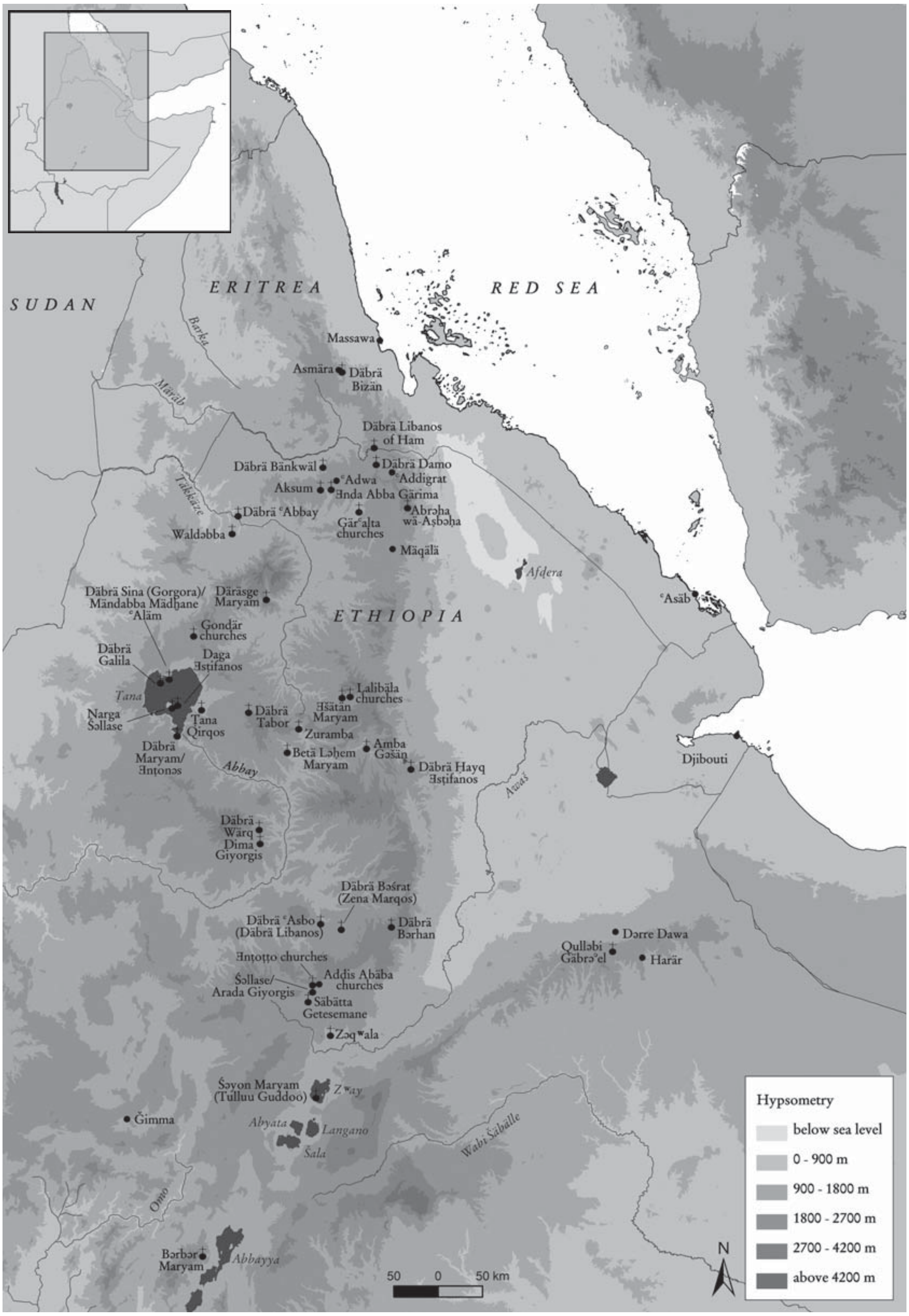

GAAM
AKA
INGASSANA
FAZOĠLI
GUMUZ
QUBBA
Qubba
BERTA
BURUN
Kurmuk
BERTA
BENI ŠANGUL
GUMUZ
JUM JUM
UDUK
Debus
ŠINAŠA
Abbay
ḪOMOŠA
BERTA
AQOLDI (ASOSA)
Gogora
GUMUZ
Banga
BERTA
LEEQA NAQAMTEE
MABAAN
KWAMA
FADASI
SHILLUK
KOMO
KOMO
LEEQA QALLEM
Gemi
Gidaamii
SIBUU
Sobat
ANFILLO
SAYYOO
OPUUO
OPUUO
MAĠANGIR
Birbir
AÑWAA
Baro
NUER
Gilo
Akobo
ŠAKAČO
ŠEKO
MAĠANGIR
MER
ŠE
BENČ
GIMIRA
NAYI
MURLE
ME'EN
DIZI
TIRMAGA
DIME
BAALE
SURI
Kibiš
ČAI
Omo
BODI
MURSI
ÑAÑATOM
TOPOSA
ĐAASA
TURKANA
Legend
Town
Mountain
Main independent kingdoms/sultanates
Hypsometry
below sea level
0 - 900 m
900 - 1800 m
1800 - 2700 m
2700 - 4200 m
above 4200 m



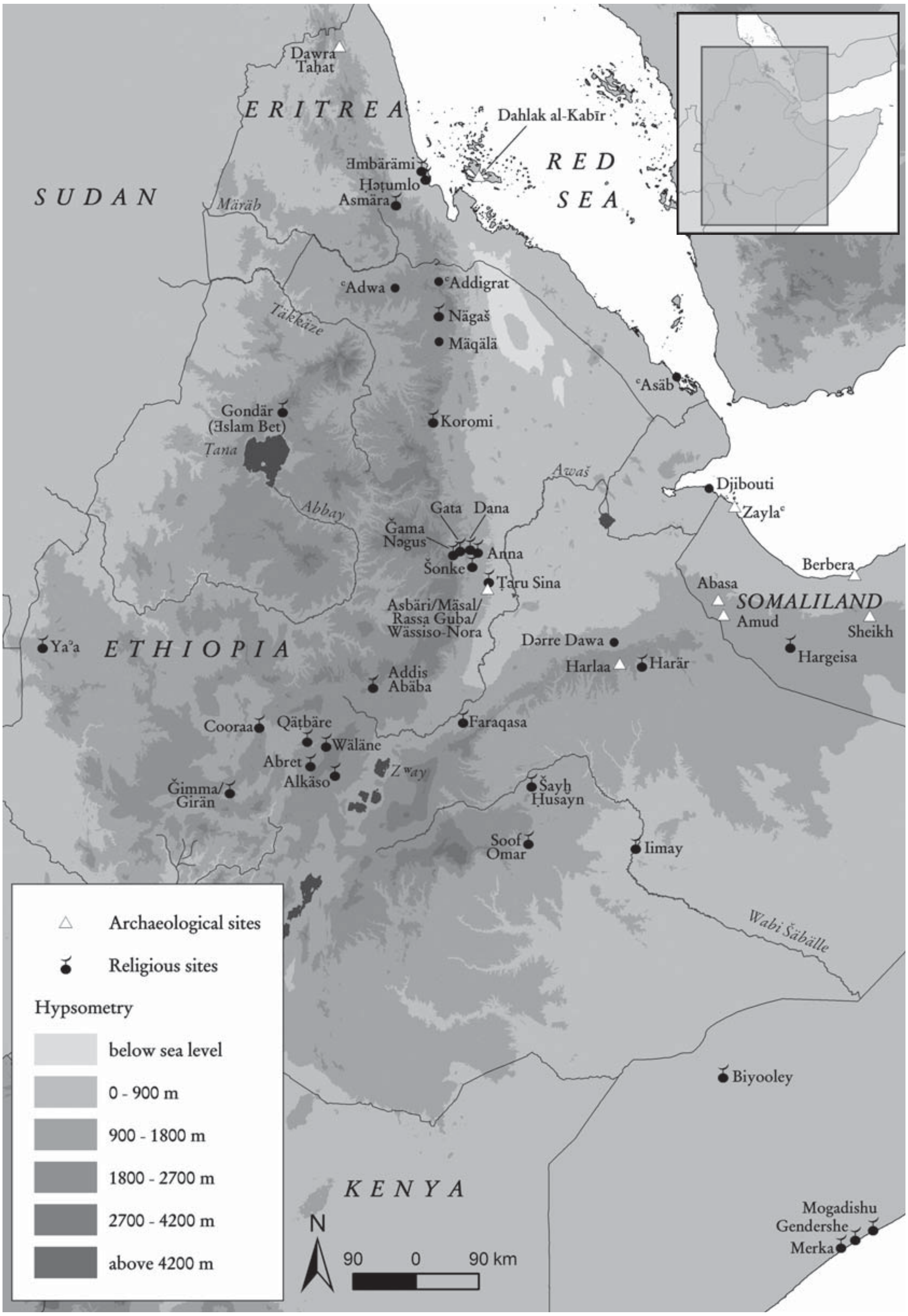
Map 15: Ethnic and political units in southern Ethiopia before Mənilək II's conquest (ca. 1890–95)

KUNFÄL
ARGOBBA
AMHARA
Abbay
GUDURU
LIIBAN
ITTUU
ƏRRO
Naqamtee
Finfinnee/
Addis Abäba
Gibe
LIMUU
KARRAYYUU
Didessa
NONNO
ČABOO
SODDO
Innarya Gibe
UMMAA
Saqqa
QABEENA
Gurage
Sappa
GURAGE
LIBIDO
SƎLṬI
Zʷay
Ǧimma Gibe
OMMA
Ǧirän
Hirmaata
ddaro
YÄM
Abyata
Langano
HADIYYA
ARSI
ERA
ALLAABA
Šala
ǦIMMA
BOŠA
DUBAMO
KAMBAATA
Goǧāb
TIMBAARO
ngā
ndarača
A
Hawasa
KONTA
DAWRO
WÄLAYTTA
SIDAAMA
KOYSA
Bilate
KUČA
BORODDA
MALO
GOFA
ASKETO
OYDA
ZALA
DITA
DOKO
Abbayya
Gule
MAALE
DORZE
DÄRASA
OČOLLO
GUĞĞI
AARI
Čamo
ZARGULLA
ZAYSE
GUĞI
KOORETE
DIRAAŠŠA
RA
BANNA
ŞAMAY
KONSO
BURĞI
BÄŠADA
Wäyṭo
Sagan
HAMÄR
ARBORE
BOORANA
NAČ
Čäw Baḥər
N
rkana
50
0
50 km
GABBRA

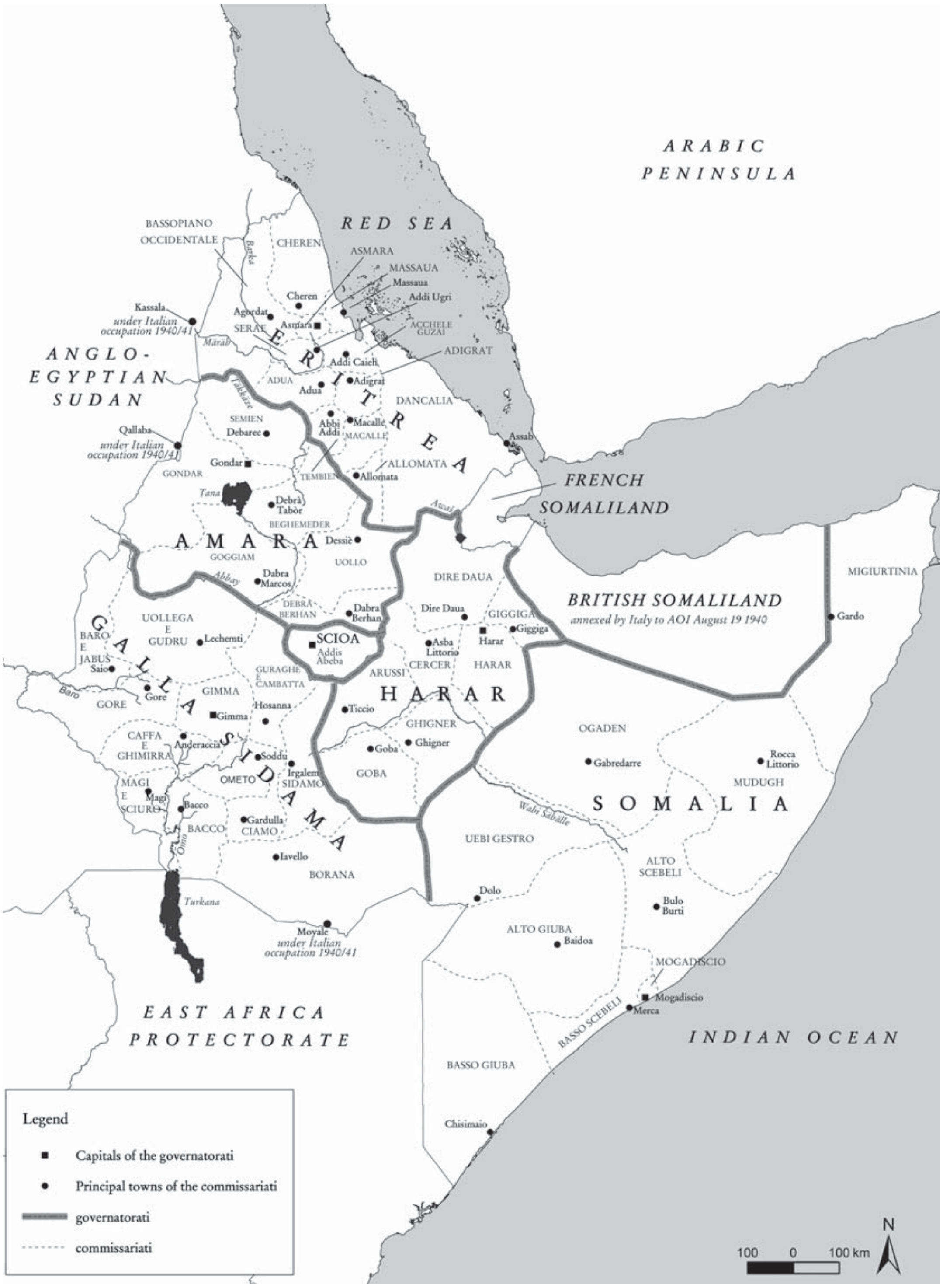
Map 16: Main Christian sites


SUDAN
ERITREA
RED SEA
ETHIOPIA
Barka
Märäb
Täkkäze
Massawa
Asmära
Däbrä Bizän
Däbrä Libanos of Ham
Däbrä Bänkwäl
Däbrä Damo
ʿAdwa
ʿAddigrat
Aksum
Ǝnda Abba Gärima
Däbrä ʿAbbay
Abrəha wä-Aṣbəḥa
Gärʿalta churches
Waldəbba
Mäqälä
Afdera
ʿAsäb
Däbrä Sina (Gorgora)/ Mändabba Mädḫane ʿAläm
Däräsge Maryam
Gondär churches
Däbrä Galila
Daga Ǝsṭifanos
Tana
Narga Śəllase
Ṭana Qirqos
Däbrä Maryam/ Ǝnṭonəs
Däbrä Tabor
Lalibäla churches
Ǝšätän Maryam
Zuramba
Betä Ləḥem Maryam
Amba Gəšän
Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos
Abbay
Awaš
Djibouti
Däbrä Wärq
Dima Giyorgis
Däbrä Bəśrat (Zena Marqos)
Däbrä ʿAsbo (Däbrä Libanos)
Däbrä Bərhan
Ǝnṭoṭṭo churches
Addis Abäba churches
Śəllase/ Arada Giyorgis
Säbätta Getesemane
Zəqʷala
Dərre Dawa
Qulləbi Gäbrəʾel
Harär
Śəyon Maryam (Tulluu Guddoo)
Zʷay
Ǧimma
Abyata
Langano
Šala
Wabi Šäbälle
Omo
Bərbər Maryam
Abbayya
50
0
50 km
N
Hypsometry
below sea level
0 - 900 m
900 - 1800 m
1800 - 2700 m
2700 - 4200 m
above 4200 m

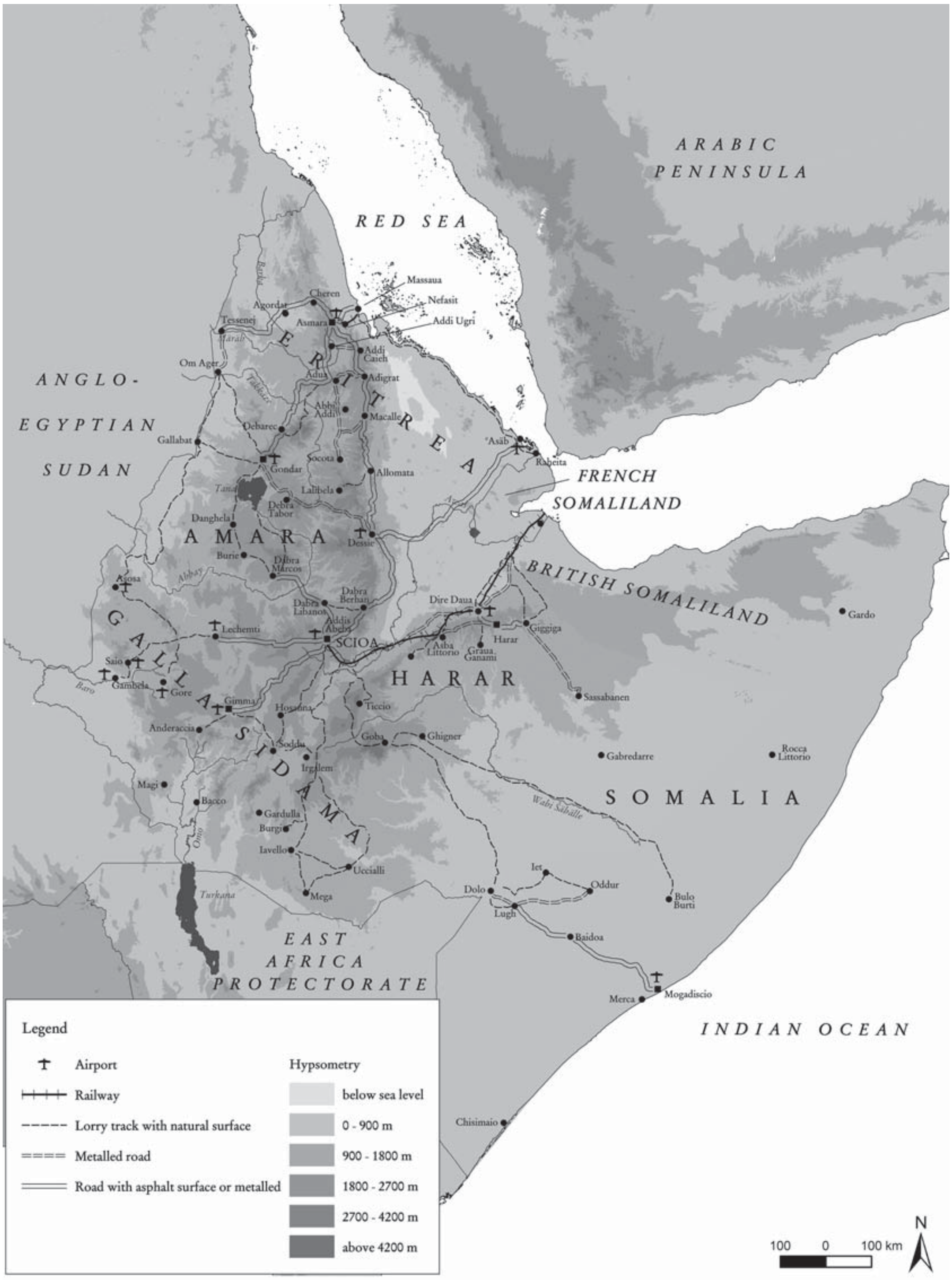
Map 17: Main Islamic sites


Dawra Taḥat
ERITREA
Dahlak al-Kabīr
RED SEA
Əmbärämi
Ḥəṭumlo
Asmära
SUDAN
Märäb
ʿAdwa
ʿAddigrat
Nägaš
Mäqälä
Täkkäze
ʿAsäb
Gondär (Əslam Bet)
Koromi
Ṭana
Awaš
Djibouti
Zaylaʿ
Abbay
Gata
Dana
Ǧama Nəgus
Anna
Šonke
Ṭaru Sina
Berbera
Abasa
SOMALILAND
Amud
Sheikh
Asbäri/Mäsal/ Rassa Guba/ Wässiso-Nora
Dərre Dawa
Hargeisa
Yaʾa
ETHIOPIA
Harlaa
Harär
Addis Abäba
Cooraa
Qäṭbäre
Faraqasa
Wäläne
Abret
Alkäso
Zway
Ǧimma/ Girän
Šayḫ Ḥusayn
Soof Omar
Iimay
Wabi Šäbälle
△ Archaeological sites
● Religious sites
Hypsometry
below sea level
0 - 900 m
900 - 1800 m
1800 - 2700 m
2700 - 4200 m
above 4200 m
Biyooley
KENYA
N
90
0
90 km
Mogadishu
Gendershe
Merka

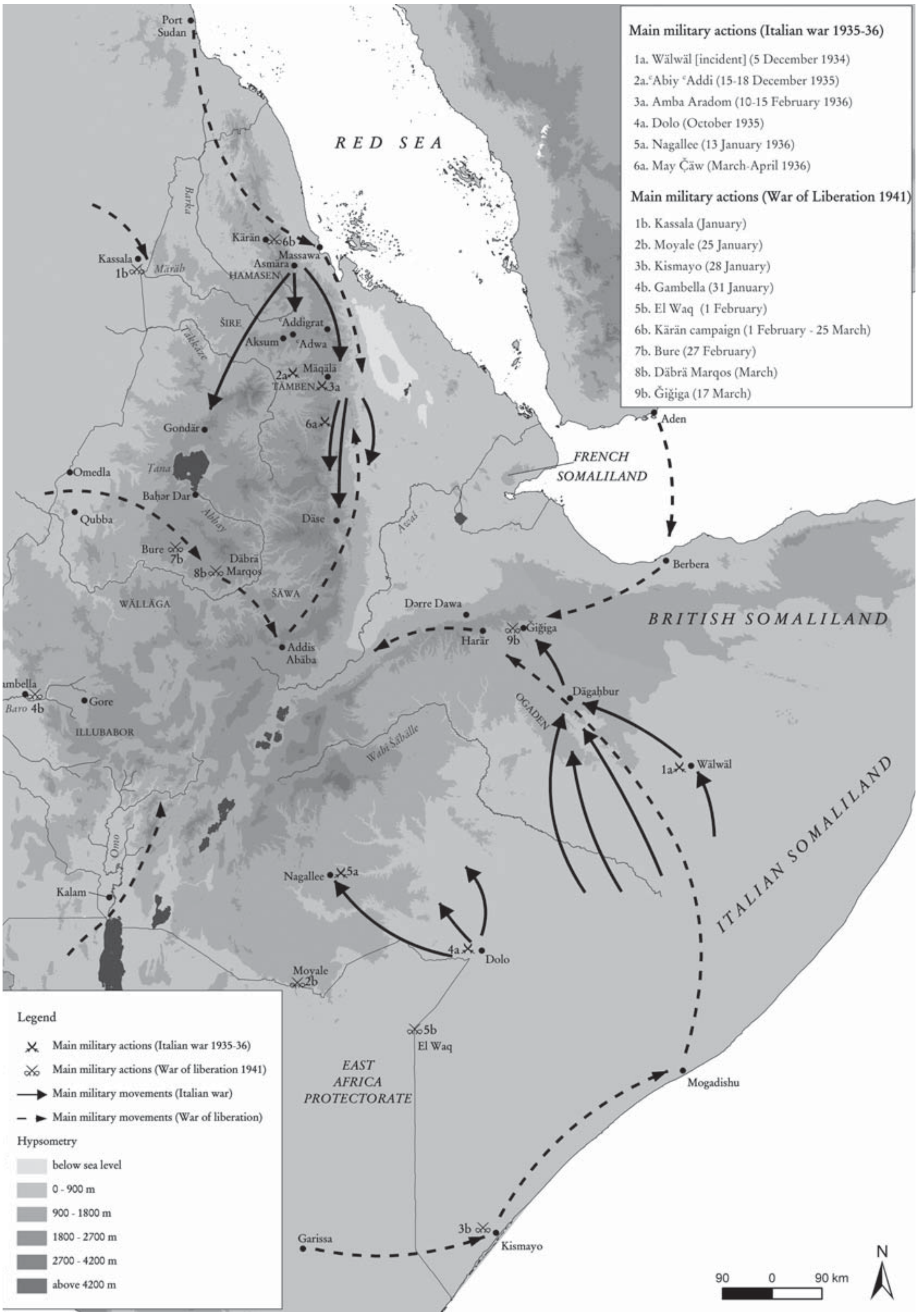
Map 18: Africa Orientale Italiana


ARABIC PENINSULA
RED SEA
BASSOPIANO OCCIDENTALE
Barka
CHEREN
ASMARA
MASSAUA
Massaua
Addi Ugri
Cheren
Kassala
under Italian occupation 1940/41
Agordat
Asmara
SERAE
ACCHELE GUZAI
ADIGRAT
Mārāb
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN
ERITREA
Addi Caieh
ADUA
Adua
Adigrat
Takkaze
DANCALIA
SEMIEN
Debarec
Abbi Addi
Macallè
MACALLE
Assab
Qallaba
under Italian occupation 1940/41
Gondar
GONDAR
TEMBIEN
ALLOMATA
Allomata
FRENCH SOMALILAND
Tana
Debrà Tabòr
BEGHEMEDER
Awash
AMARA
Dessiè
GOGGIAM
UOLLO
DIRE DAUA
Abbay
Dabra Marcos
MIGIURTINIA
BRITISH SOMALILAND
annexed by Italy to AOI August 19 1940
Gardo
DEBRÀ BERHAN
Dabra Berhan
Dire Daua
GIGGIGA
Giggiga
Harar
UOLLEGA E GUDRU
Lechemti
SCIOA
Addis Abeba
BARO E JABUS
Saio
Asba Littorio
CERCER
HARAR
GALLA SIDAMA
GURAGHE E CAMBATTA
ARUSSI
Baro
GORE
Gore
GIMMA
Gimma
Hosanna
Ticcio
HARAR
GHIGNER
Ghigner
OGADEN
CAFFA E GHIMIRRA
Anderaccia
Soddu
Goba
Gabredarre
Rocca Littorio
Irgalem
SIDAMO
GOBA
MUDUGH
OMETO
MAGI E SCIURO
Magi
Bacco
SOMALIA
Wabi Sabālle
BACCO
Gardulla
CIAMO
UEBI GESTRO
Omo
Iavello
ALTO SCEBELI
BORANA
Dolo
Turkana
Bulo Burti
ALTO GIUBA
Baidoa
Moyale
under Italian occupation 1940/41
MOGADISCIO
Mogadiscio
Merca
BASSO SCEBELI
EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE
INDIAN OCEAN
BASSO GIUBA
Chisimaio
Legend
■ Capitals of the governatorati
● Principal towns of the commissariati
▬ governatorati
------ commissariati
N
100
0
100 km

Map 19: Infrastructure during the Italian occupation

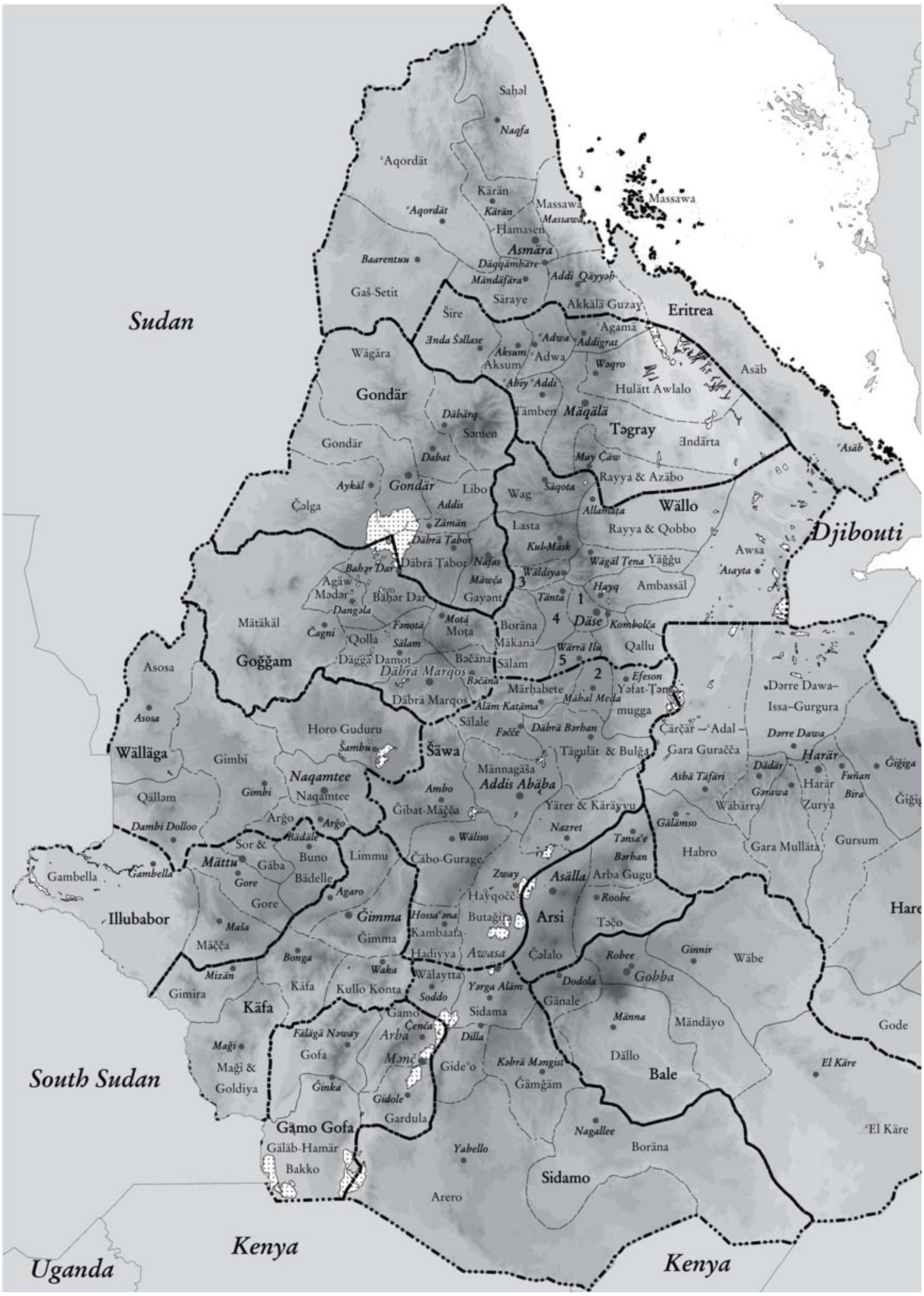

ARABIC PENINSULA
RED SEA
Massaua
Nefasit
Addi Ugri
Cheren
Agordat
Tessenej
Asmara
Barka
Marab
ERITREA
Om Ager
Addi Caieh
Adua
Adigrat
Takkaze
Abbi Addi
Macalle
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN
Gallabat
Debarec
Asab
Raheita
Gondar
Socota
Allomata
FRENCH SOMALILAND
Tana
Lalibela
Debra Tabor
Danghela
AMARA
Dessie
Burie
Dabra Marcos
BRITISH SOMALILAND
Asosa
Abbay
Dabra Berhan
Dabra Libanos
Dire Daua
Gardo
Lechemti
Addis Abeba
SCIOA
Harar
Giggiga
GALLA SIDAMA
Saio
Asba Littorio
Graua Ganami
Gambela
Baro
Gore
HARAR
Sassabanen
Gimma
Hosanna
Ticcio
Anderaccia
Goba
Ghigner
Sodda
Irgalem
Gabredarre
Rocca Littorio
Magi
Bacco
Wabi Saballe
SOMALIA
Gardulla
Burgi
Omo
Iavello
Ucciali
Iet
Turkana
Dolo
Oddur
Mega
Lugh
Bulo Burti
EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE
Baidoa
Merca
Mogadiscio
INDIAN OCEAN
Chisimaio
Legend
Airport
Railway
Lorry track with natural surface
Metalled road
Road with asphalt surface or metalled
Hypsometry
below sea level
0 - 900 m
900 - 1800 m
1800 - 2700 m
2700 - 4200 m
above 4200 m
100
0
100 km
N

Map 20: Italian War (1935–36) and War of Liberation (1941)

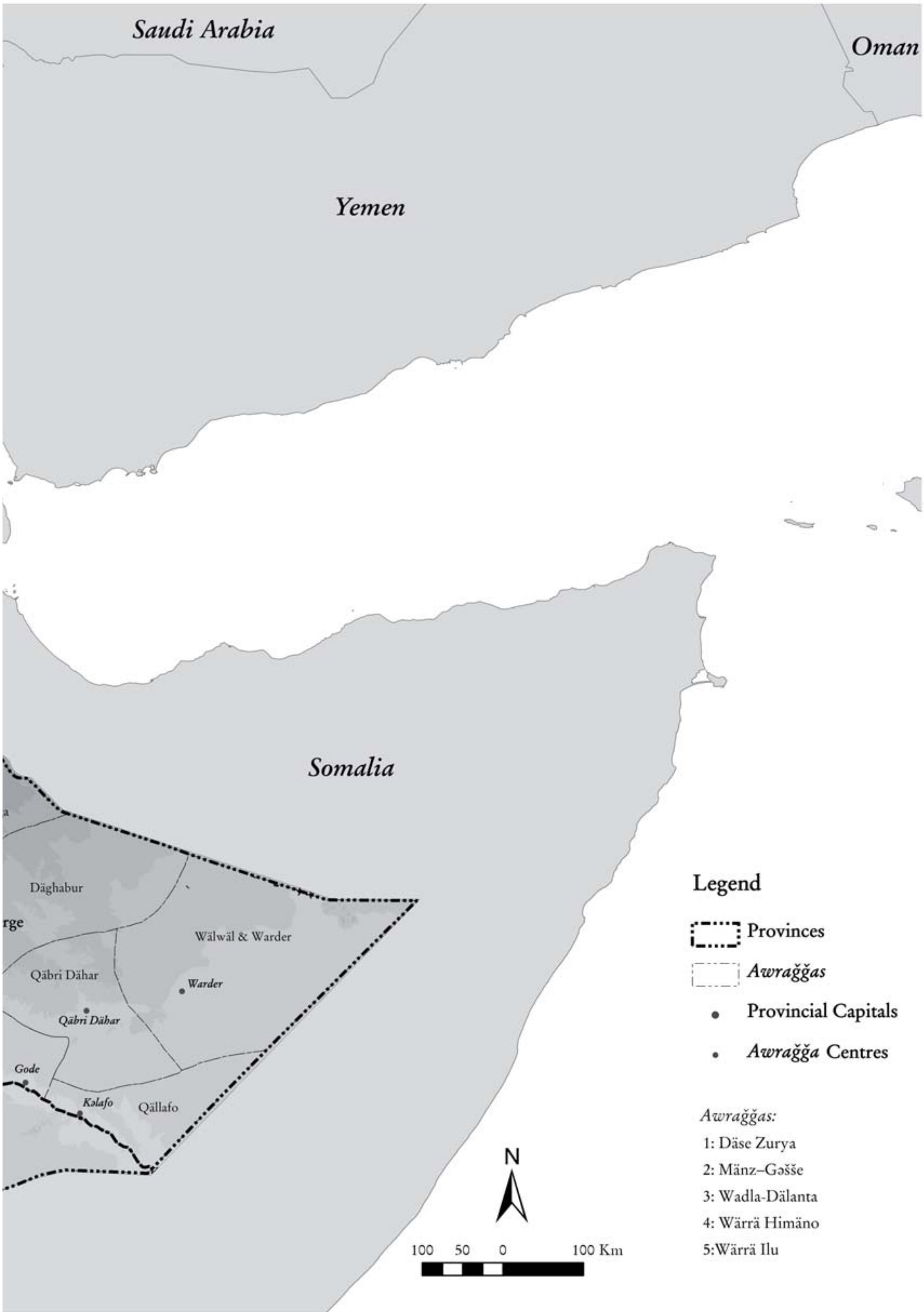

Main military actions (Italian war 1935-36)
1a. Wälwäl [incident] (5 December 1934)
2a. ʿAbiy ʿAddi (15-18 December 1935)
3a. Amba Aradom (10-15 February 1936)
4a. Dolo (October 1935)
5a. Nagallee (13 January 1936)
6a. May Čäw (March-April 1936)
Main military actions (War of Liberation 1941)
1b. Kassala (January)
2b. Moyale (25 January)
3b. Kismayo (28 January)
4b. Gambella (31 January)
5b. El Waq (1 February)
6b. Kärän campaign (1 February - 25 March)
7b. Bure (27 February)
8b. Däbrä Marqos (March)
9b. Ğiğiga (17 March)
Legend
Main military actions (Italian war 1935-36)
Main military actions (War of liberation 1941)
Main military movements (Italian war)
Main military movements (War of liberation)
Hypsometry
below sea level
0 - 900 m
900 - 1800 m
1800 - 2700 m
2700 - 4200 m
above 4200 m
RED SEA
FRENCH SOMALILAND
BRITISH SOMALILAND
ITALIAN SOMALILAND
EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE
Port Sudan
Kassala
Kärän
Massawa
Asmära
HAMASEN
Barka
Märäb
Täkkäze
ŠIRE
Aksum
Addigrat
Adwa
Mäqälä
TÄMBEN
Gondär
Tana
Omedla
Bahər Dar
Abbay
Qubba
Bure
Däbrä Marqos
WÄLLÄGA
ŠÄWA
Däse
Addis Abäba
Awaš
Aden
Berbera
Dərre Dawa
Harär
Ğiğiga
Gambella
Baro
Gore
ILLUBABOR
Dägaḥbur
OGADEN
Wälwäl
Wabi Šäbälle
Omo
Kalam
Nagallee
Dolo
Moyale
El Waq
Mogadishu
Garissa
Kismayo
1a
2a
3a
4a
5a
6a
1b
2b
3b
4b
5b
6b
7b
8b
9b
N
90
0
90 km

Administrative division

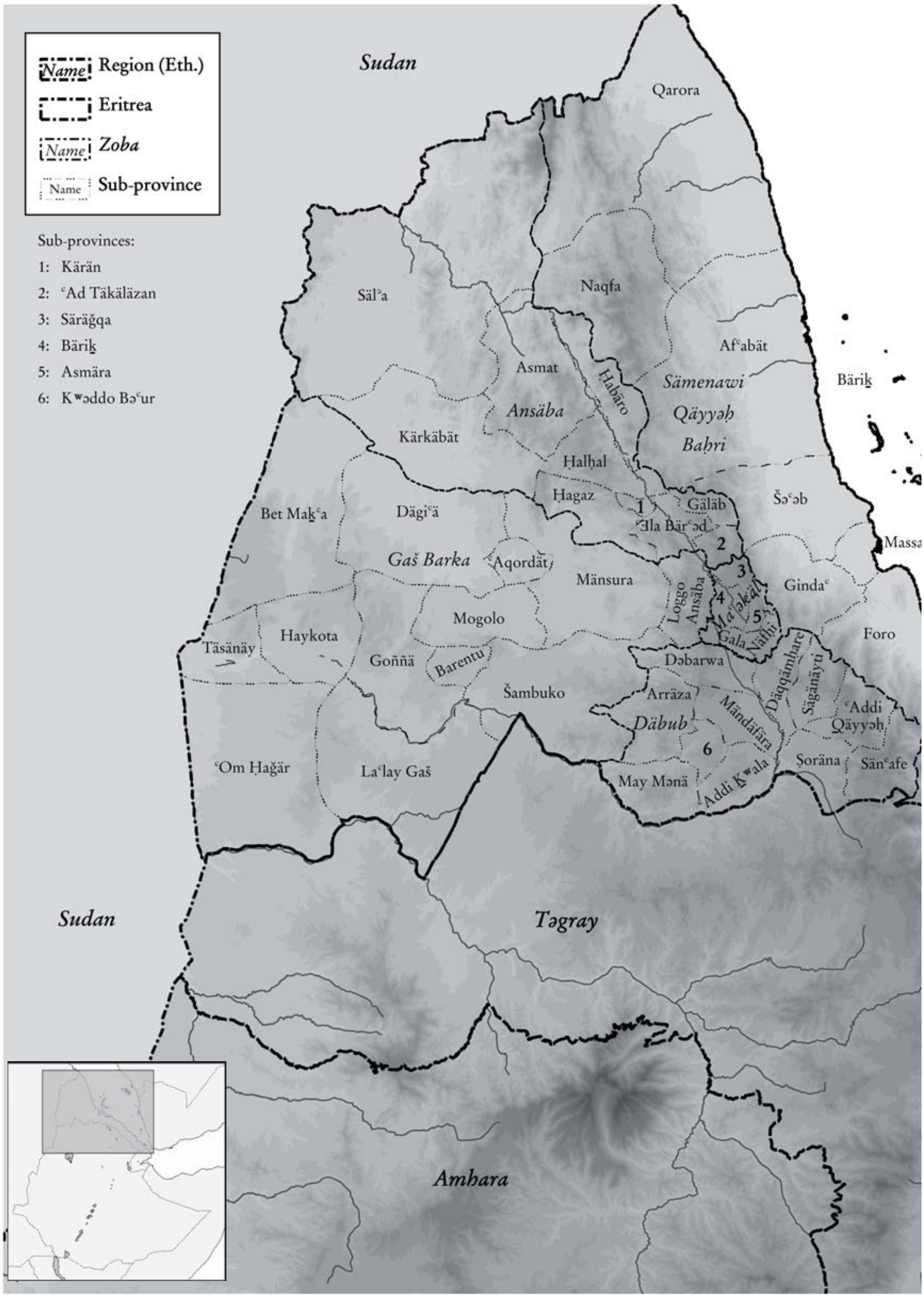
Map 21: Administrative division of Ethiopia: *awrağğa*s (1984)


Sudan
Eritrea
Djibouti
South Sudan
Kenya
Uganda
Saḥəl
Naqfa
ʿAqordät
Kärän
Massawa
Hamasen
Asmära
Däqqämḥäre
Mändäfära
Addi Qäyyəḥ
Baarentuu
Gaš-Setit
Säraye
Akkälä Guzay
Šire
Ǝnda Śəllase
Aksum
Adwa
ʿAgamä
Addigrat
Asäb
Wäqro
Hulätt Awlalo
Abiy ʿAddi
Tämben
Mäqälä
Təgray
Ǝndärta
May Čäw
Rayya & Azäbo
Wäg
Säqota
Wällo
Allamaṭa
Rayya & Qobbo
Awsa
Asayta
Lasta
Kul-Mäsk
Wägäl Ṭena
Yäğğu
Wäldiya
Ḥayq
Ambassäl
Tänta
Däse
Kombolča
Boräna
Mäkanä
Qallu
Wärrä Ilu
Sälam
Efeson
Yəfat-Tәmuga
Märḥabete
Mahal Meda
Wägära
Gondär
Däbärq
Səmen
Dabat
Aykäl
Libo
Čəlga
Addis Zämän
Däbrä Ṭabor
Bahər Dar
Agäw Mədər
Näfas Mäwča
Gayənt
Dangəla
Mätäkäl
Čagni
Fənotä
Qolla
Motä
Moṭa
Sälam
Däğğa
Damot
Goğğam
Däbrä Marqos
Bočäna
Asosa
Wälläga
Gimbi
Horo Guduru
Šambu
Šäwa
Naqamtee
Qälləm
Dambi Dolloo
Arğo
Aläm Katäma
Sälale
Fəčče
Däbrä Bərhan
Tägulät & Bulga
Mannagäša
Addis Abäba
Ambo
Čibat-Mäčča
Yärer & Käräyyu
Nazret
Wäliso
Čäbo-Gurage
Zway
Čärčär
Adal
Gara Guračča
Asbä Täfäri
Dərre Dawa–Issa–Gurgura
Dərre Dawa
Harär
Dädär
Gəräwa
Wäbärra
Zurya
Funan Bira
Ğiğiga
Gälämso
Habro
Gara Mullätä
Gursum
Gambella
Mättu
Sor & Bädälle
Gäba
Buno Bädälle
Limmu
Gore
Agaro
Illubabor
Maša
Mäčča
Ğimma
Hossaʾəna
Kambaata
Hadiyya
Butağira
Haykoča
Asälla
Arsi
Təna'e Bərhan
Arba Gugu
Roobe
Təčo
Čəlalo
Awasa
Mizān
Bonga
Waka
Käfa
Kullo Konta
Wälaytta
Soddo
Gimira
Yərga Aläm
Sidama
Dodola
Robee
Gobba
Ginnir
Wäbe
Gänale
Hare
Gamo
Čenča
Arba
Dilla
Männa
Mändäyo
Gode
Fäläga Nəway
Gofa
Mənč
Gide'o
Kəbrä Məngist
Dällo
El Käre
Bale
Mağı
Mağı & Goldiya
Ğinka
Gidole
Gardula
Ğəmğəm
Gamo Gofa
Gäläb-Hamär
Bakko
Nagallee
Boräna
Yabello
Sidamo
Arero
ʿEl Käre
1
2
3
4
5

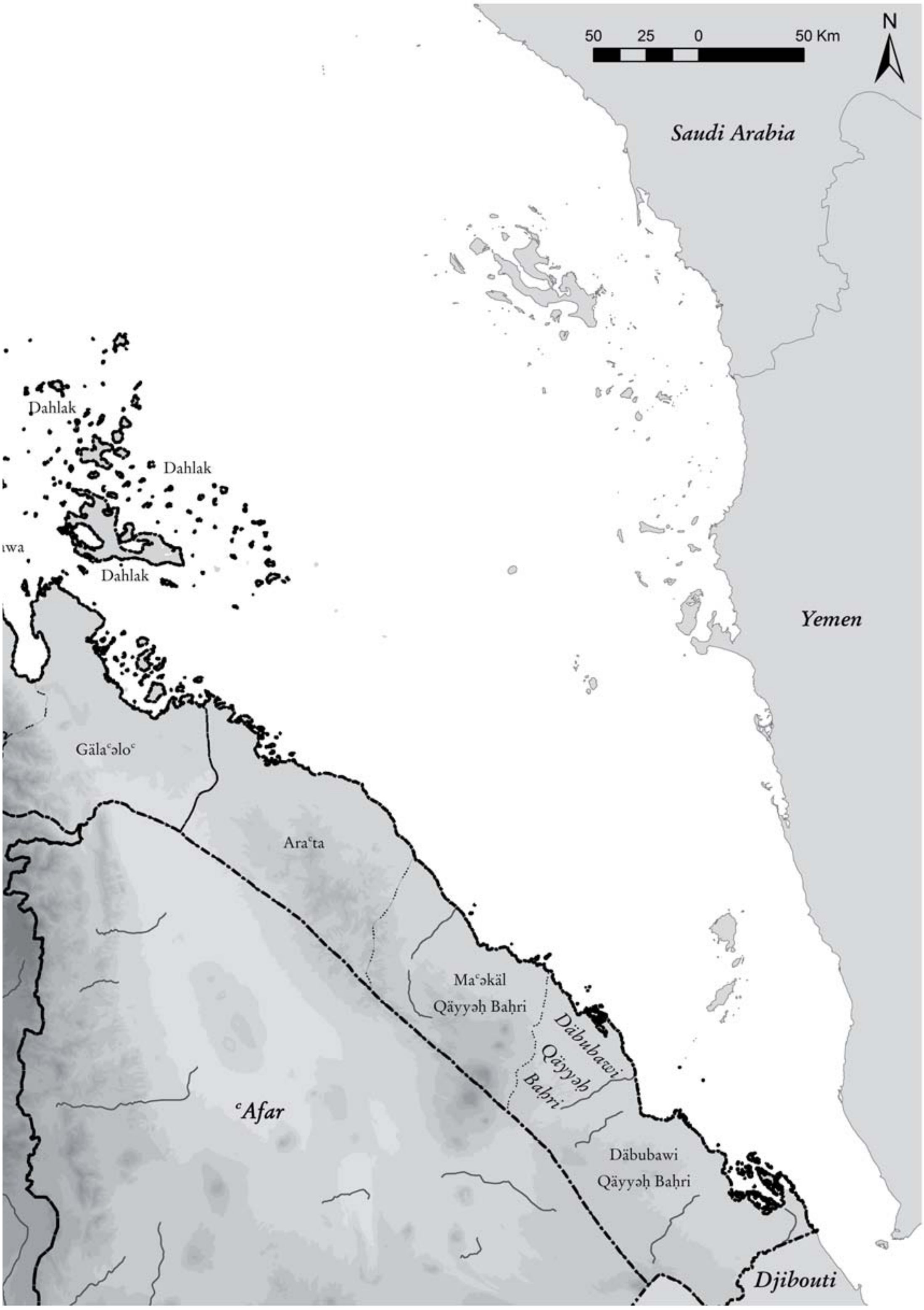
Map 21: Administrative division of Ethiopia: *awrağğas* (1984)


Saudi Arabia
Oman
Yemen
Somalia
Däghabur
rge
Wälwäl & Warder
Qäbri Dähar
Warder
Qäbri Dähar
Gode
Kəlafo
Qällafo
Legend
Provinces
Awrağğas
Provincial Capitals
Awrağğa Centres
Awrağğas:
1: Däse Zurya
2: Mänz–Gəšše
3: Wadla-Dälanta
4: Wärrä Himäno
5:Wärrä Ilu
N
100 50 0 100 Km

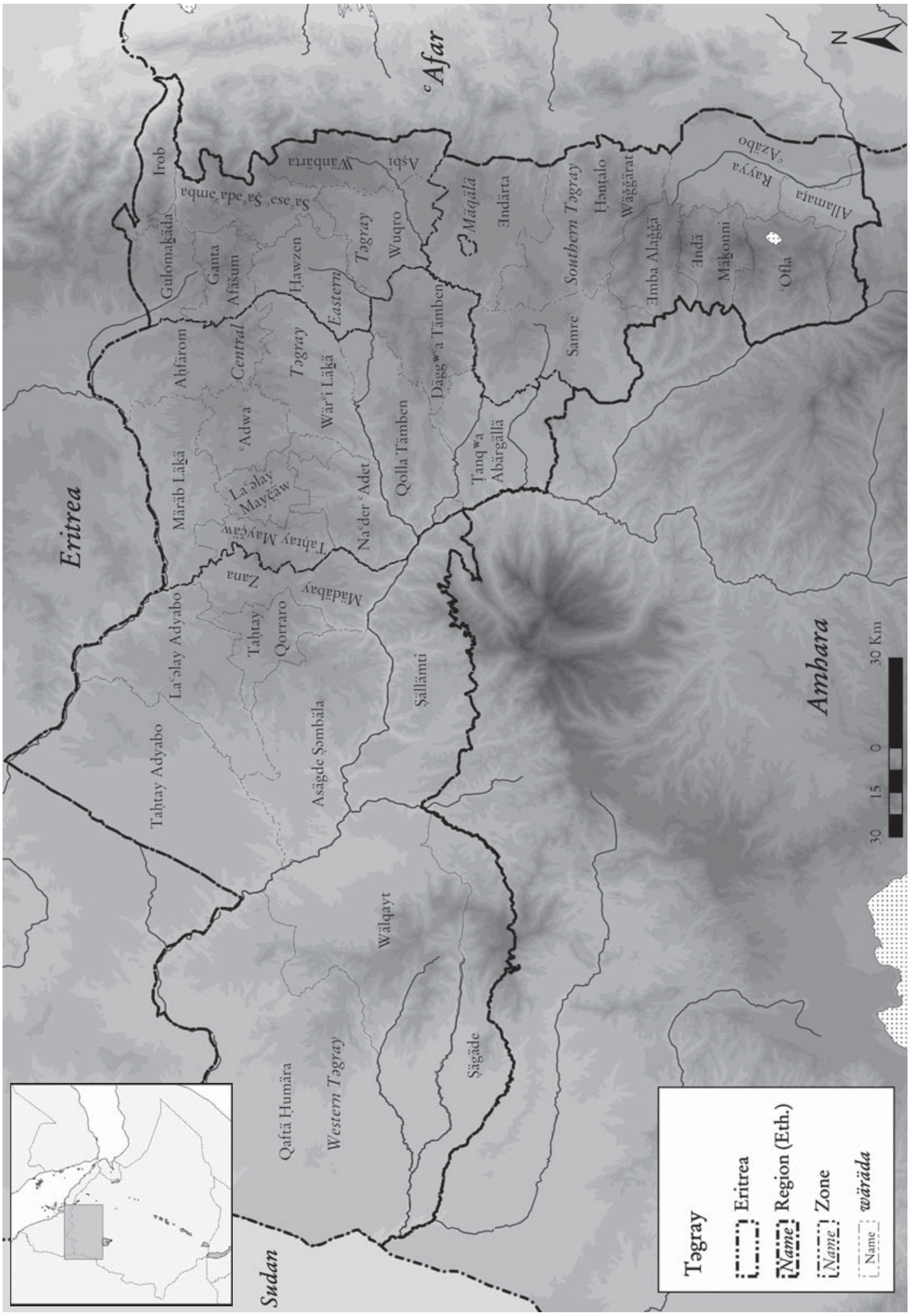
Map 22: Administrative division of Eritrea (after 1995)


Name Region (Eth.)
Eritrea
Name Zoba
Name Sub-province
Sub-provinces:
1: Kärän
2: ᶜAd Täkäläzan
3: Säräǧqa
4: Bärik̠
5: Asmära
6: Kʷəddo Bəᶜur
Sudan
Qarora
Naqfa
Säl³a
Asmat
Ḥabäro
Afᶜabät
Bärik̠
Sämenawi Qäyyəḥ Baḥri
Ansäba
Kärkäbät
Ḥalḥal
Ḥagaz
1
Gäläb
Ǝla Bärᶜəd
2
3
4
5
Šəᶜəb
Massa
Bet Mak̠ᶜa
Dägiᶜä
Gaš Barka
Aqordät
Mänsura
Loggo Ansäba
Maᶜəkäl
Gala Näfḥi
Gindaᶜ
Foro
Täsänäy
Haykota
Mogolo
Goññä
Barentu
Dəbarwa
Däqqämḥare
Säganäyti
Šambuko
Arräza
Mändäfära
ᶜAddi Qäyyəḥ
Däbub
6
Ṣoräna
Sänᶜafe
May Mənä
Addi Kʷala
ᶜOm Ḥaǧär
Laᶜlay Gaš
Sudan
Təgray
Amhara

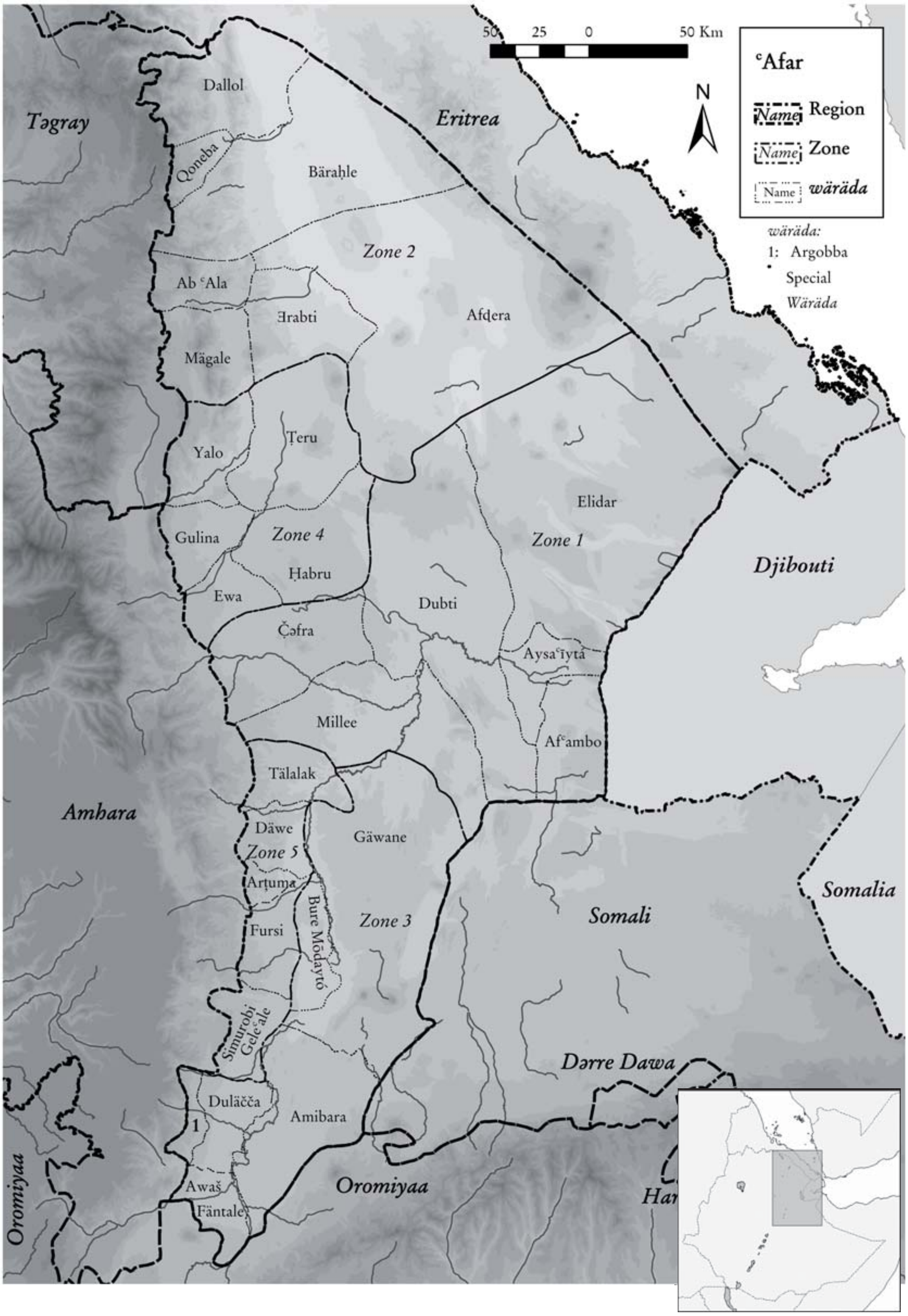
Map 22: Administrative division of Eritrea (after 1995)


50 25 0 50 Km
N
Saudi Arabia
Yemen
Dahlak
Dahlak
ıwa
Dahlak
Gäläᶜəloᶜ
Araᶜta
Maᶜəkäl
Qäyyəḥ Baḥri
Däbubawi
Qäyyəḥ
Baḥri
ᶜAfar
Däbubawi
Qäyyəḥ Baḥri
Djibouti

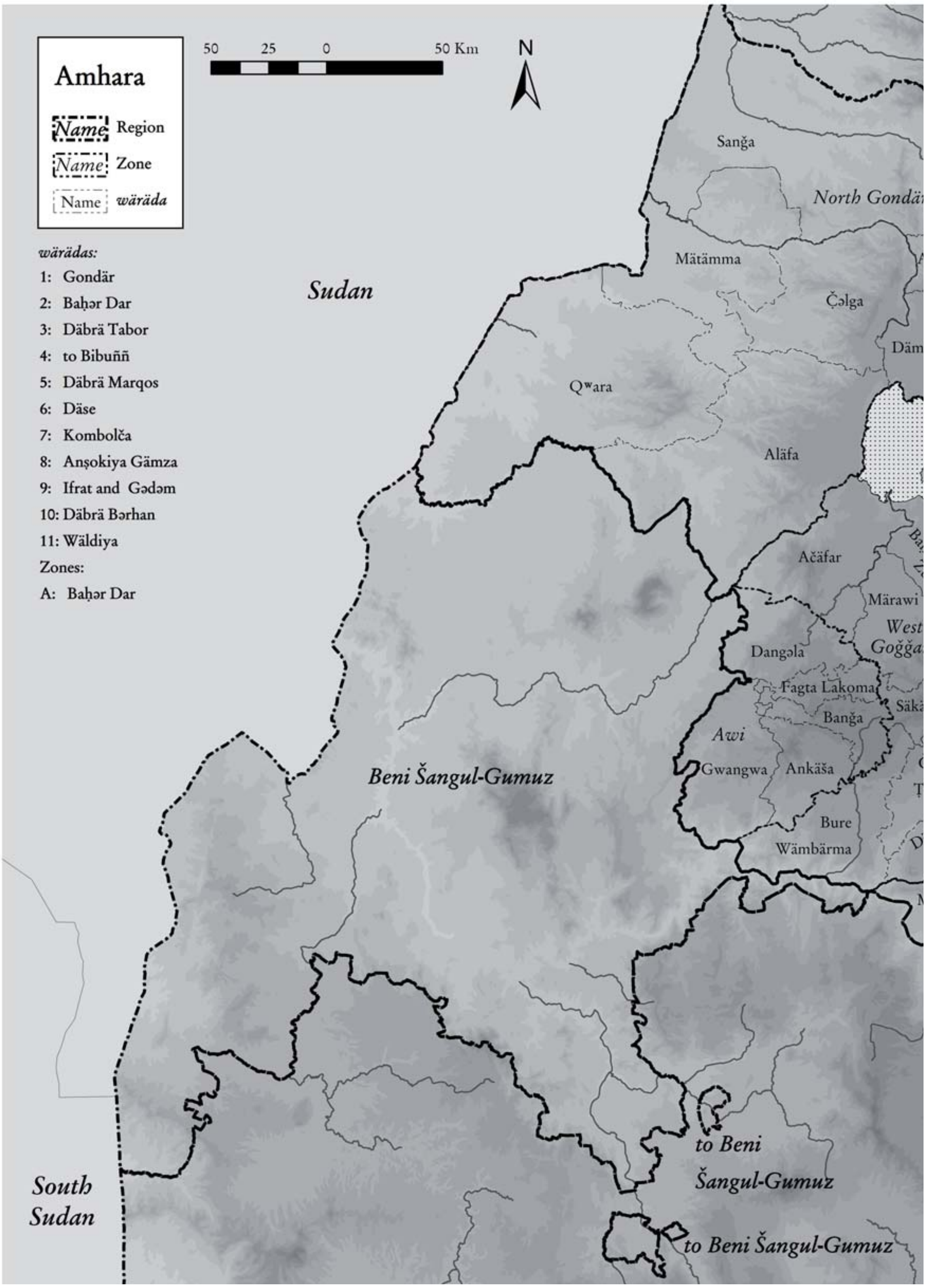
Map 23: Administrative division of Ethiopia: Təgray (after 1991)


N
Eritrea
ʿAfar
Ambara
Sudan
Irob
Gulomakäda
Ganta Afäšum
Saʿesa Ṣaʿda ʿamba
Wänbärta
Aṣbi
Ḥawzen
Eastern Təgray
Wuqro
Aḥfärom
Central Təgray
ʿAdwa
Wärʿi Läkä
Mäqälä
Əndärta
Southern Təgray
Ḥəntalo Wäǧǧärat
Samre
Əmba Alaǧǧä
Əndä Mäkonni
ʿOfla
Rayya ʿAzäbo
Allamata
Däggʷa Tämben
Qolla Tämben
Ṭanqʷa Abärgällä
Märäb Läkä
Laʿəlay Mayčäw
Taḥtay Mayčäw
Naʿder ʿAdet
Zana
Mädäbay
Taḥtay Qorraro
Laʿəlay Adyabo
Taḥtay Adyabo
Asägde Ṣəmbäla
Ṣällämti
Wälqayt
Ṣägäde
Qafṭä Ḥumära
Western Təgray
30 15 0 30 Km
Təgray
Eritrea
Name Region (Eth.)
Name Zone
Name wäräda

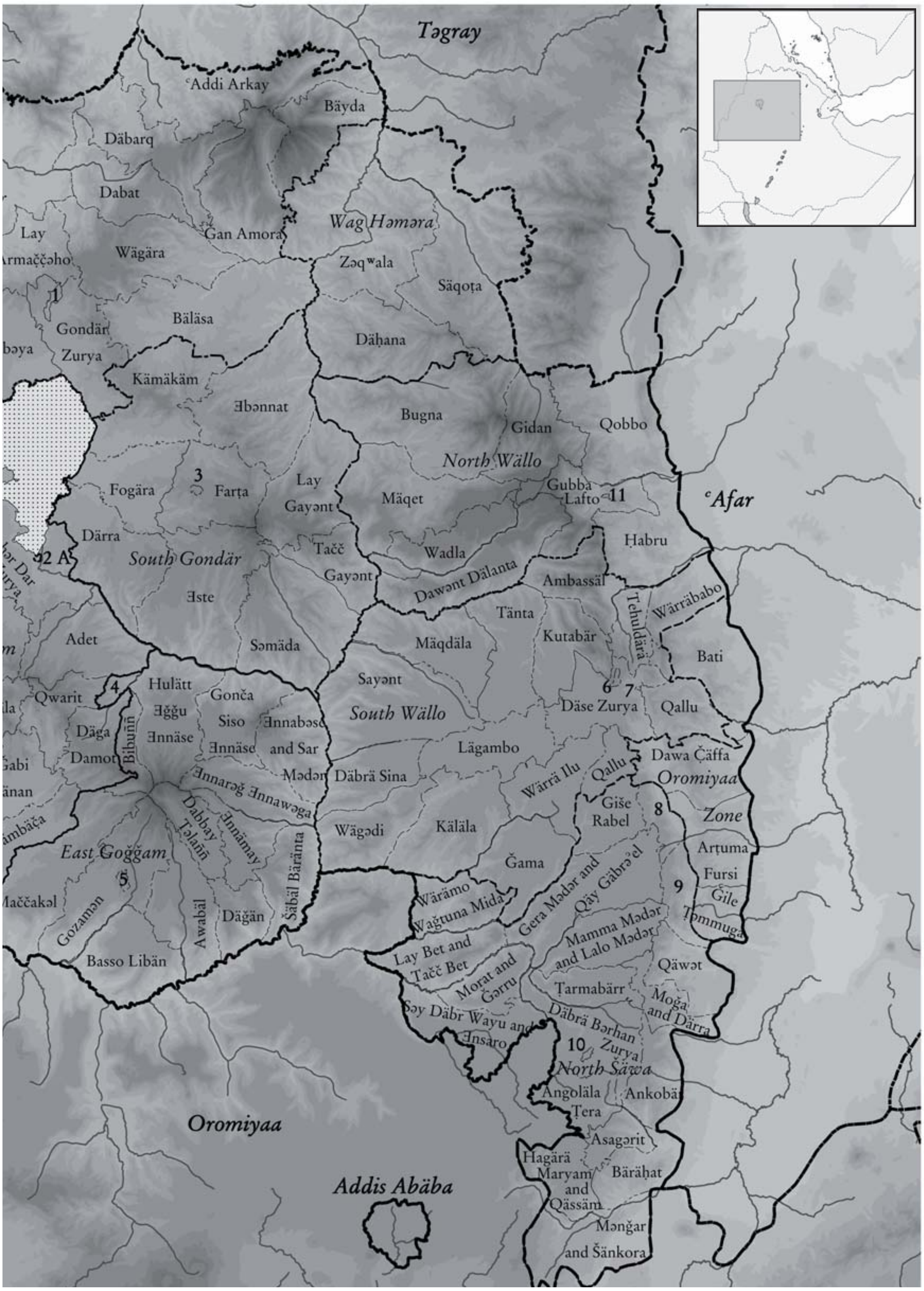
Map 24: Administrative division of Ethiopia: ᶜAfar (after 1991)


50
25
0
50 Km
ᶜAfar
N
Name Region
Name Zone
Name wäräda
wäräda:
1: Argobba Special Wäräda
Təgray
Eritrea
Dallol
Qoneba
Bärahle
Zone 2
Ab ᶜAla
Ǝrabti
Afdera
Mägale
Ṭeru
Yalo
Elidar
Gulina
Zone 4
Zone 1
Djibouti
Ḥabru
Ewa
Dubti
Č̣əfra
Aysaᶜiyta
Millee
Afᶜambo
Tälalak
Amhara
Däwe
Gäwane
Zone 5
Arṭuma
Bure Mōdaytō
Zone 3
Somali
Somalia
Fursi
Simurobi Geleᶜale
Dərre Dawa
Duläčča
1
Amibara
Oromiyaa
Awaš
Fäntale
Oromiyaa
Har

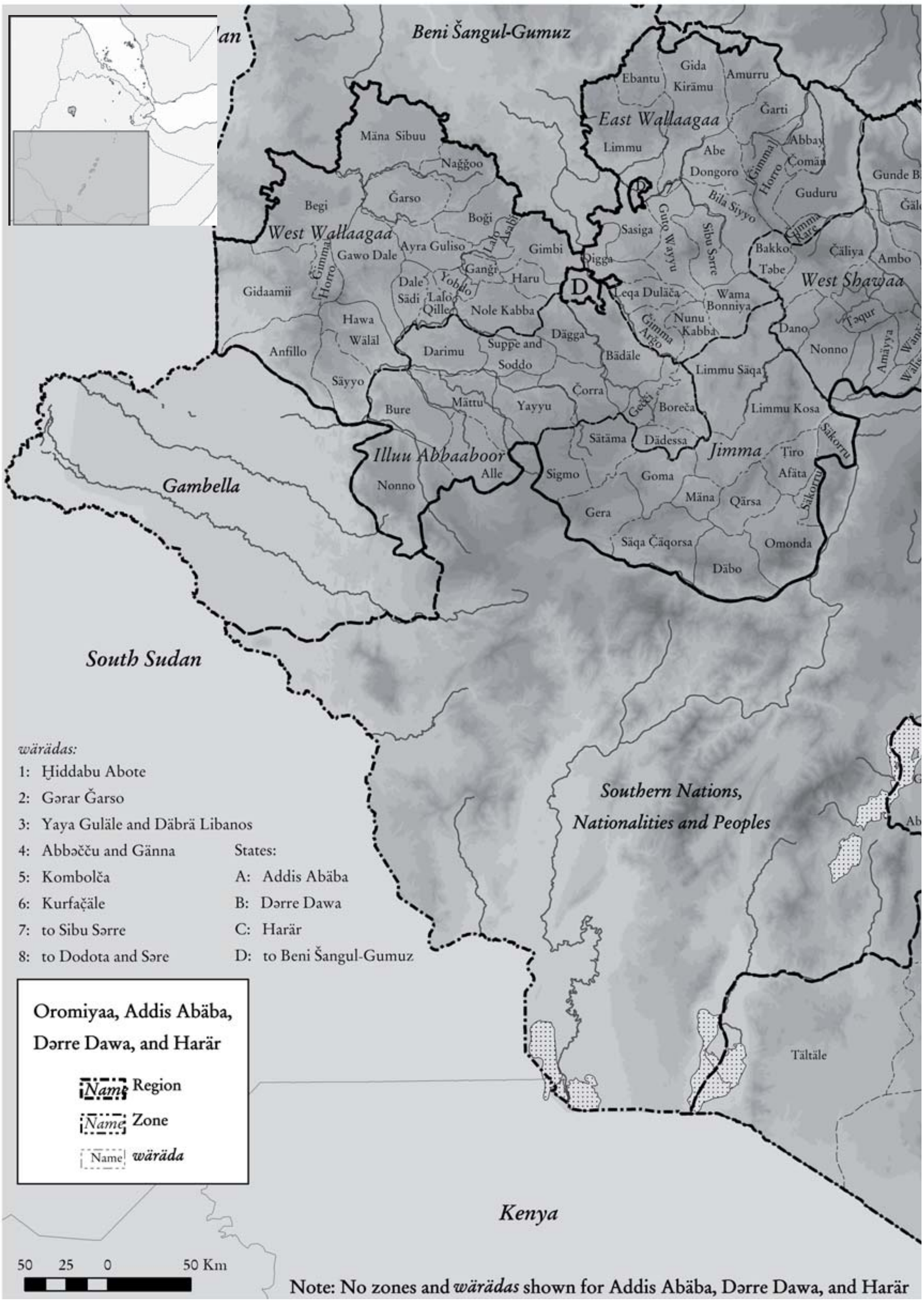
Map 25: Administrative division of Ethiopia: Amhara (after 1991)


Amhara
Name Region
Name Zone
Name wäräda
50 25 0 50 Km
N
wärädas:
1: Gondär
2: Baḥər Dar
3: Däbrä Tabor
4: to Bibuññ
5: Däbrä Marqos
6: Däse
7: Kombolča
8: Anṣokiya Gämza
9: Ifrat and Gədəm
10: Däbrä Bərhan
11: Wäldiya
Zones:
A: Baḥər Dar
Sudan
Sanǧa
North Gondä
Mätämma
Čəlga
Däm
Qʷara
Alāfa
Ačäfar
Märawi
West
Goǧǧa
Dangəla
Fagta Lakoma
Säk
Banǧa
Awi
Gwangwa
Ankäša
Bure
Wämbärma
Beni Šangul-Gumuz
to Beni Šangul-Gumuz
to Beni Šangul-Gumuz
South Sudan

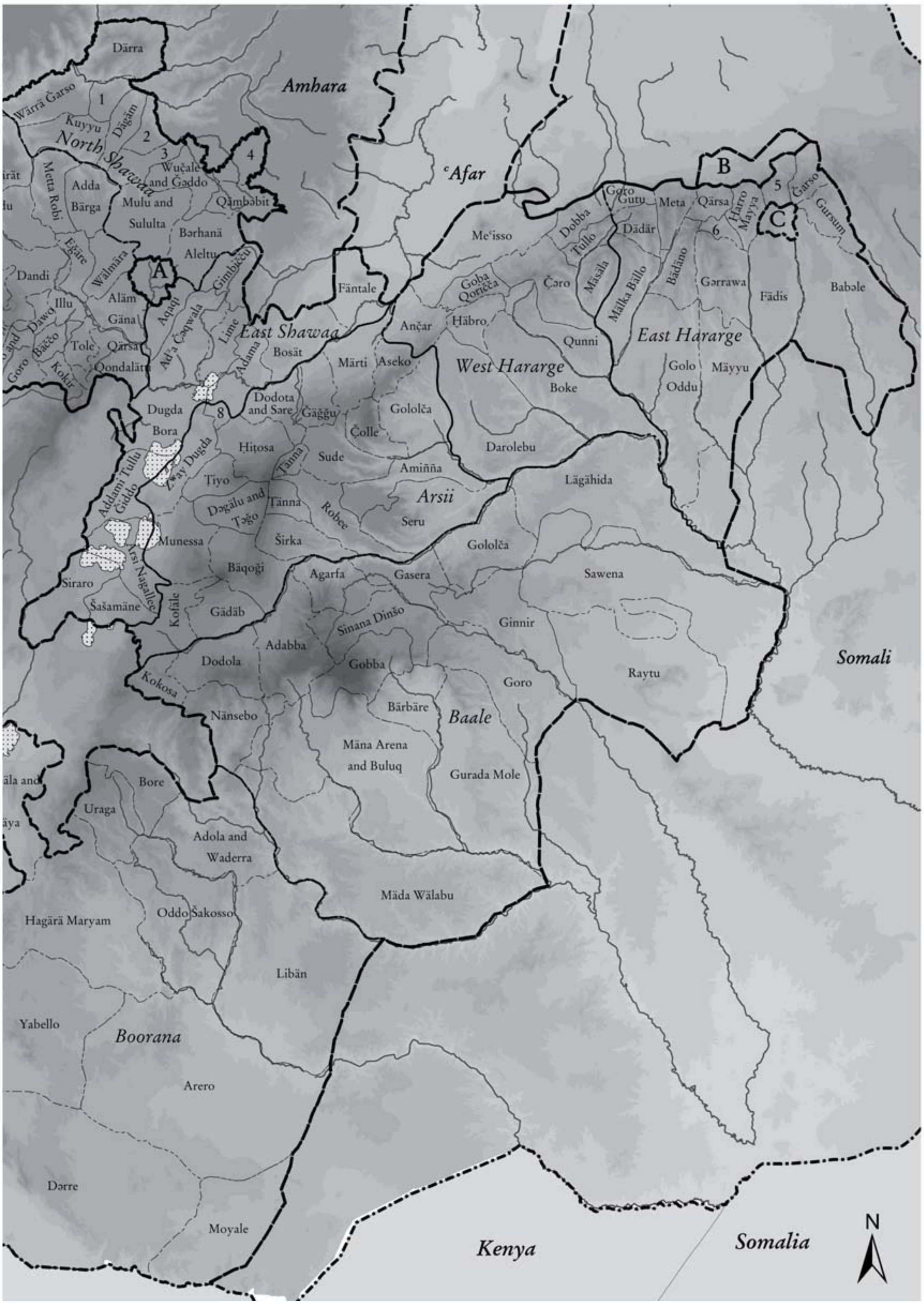
Map 25: Administrative division of Ethiopia : Amhara (after 1991)


Təgray
ʿAddi Arkay
Bäyda
Däbarq
Dabat
Wag Həmǝra
Gan Amora
Lay
Armaččəho
Wägära
Zəqʷala
Säqoṭa
1
Bäläsa
Gondär
Zurya
Däḥana
Kämäkäm
Ǝbənnat
Bugna
Gidan
Qobbo
North Wällo
3
Fogära
Farṭa
Lay
Gayənt
Mäqet
Gubba
Lafto
11
ʿAfar
Därra
Tačč
Gayənt
Wadla
Ḥabru
2 A
South Gondär
Dawənt Dälanta
Ambassäl
Ǝste
Tänta
Tehuldära
Wärräbabo
Adet
Səmäda
Mäqdäla
Kutabär
Bati
4
Hulätt
Ǝǧǧu
Ǝnnäse
Gonča
Siso
Ǝnnäse
Ǝnnabəsä
and Sar
Mədər
Sayənt
6
7
Däse Zurya
Qallu
Qwarit
Däga
Damot
Bibuñ
South Wällo
Lägambo
Dawa Čäffa
Oromiyaa
Zone
Däbrä Sina
Wärrä Ilu
Qallu
Ǝnnarəǧ Ǝnnawəga
Gişe
Rabel
8
Dabbay
Ṭəlatt
Ǝnnämay
Wägədi
Käläla
Arṭuma
Fursi
East Goǧǧam
Šäbäl Bäränta
Čama
Gera Mədər and Qäy Gäbrə'el
9
Gile
5
Wärämo
Wäǧtuna Mida
Ṭəmmuga
Maččakəl
Gozamən
Awabäl
Dägän
Mamma Mədər and Lalo Mədər
Lay Bet and Taččč Bet
Morat and Gərru
Basso Libän
Qäwət
Ṭarmabärr
Moǧa and Därra
Səy Däbr Wayu and Ǝnsaro
Däbrä Bərhan Zurya
10
North Šäwa
Angoläla
Ṭera
Ankobär
Oromiyaa
Asagərit
Hagärä Maryam and Qässäm
Bärähat
Addis Abäba
Mənǧar and Šänkora

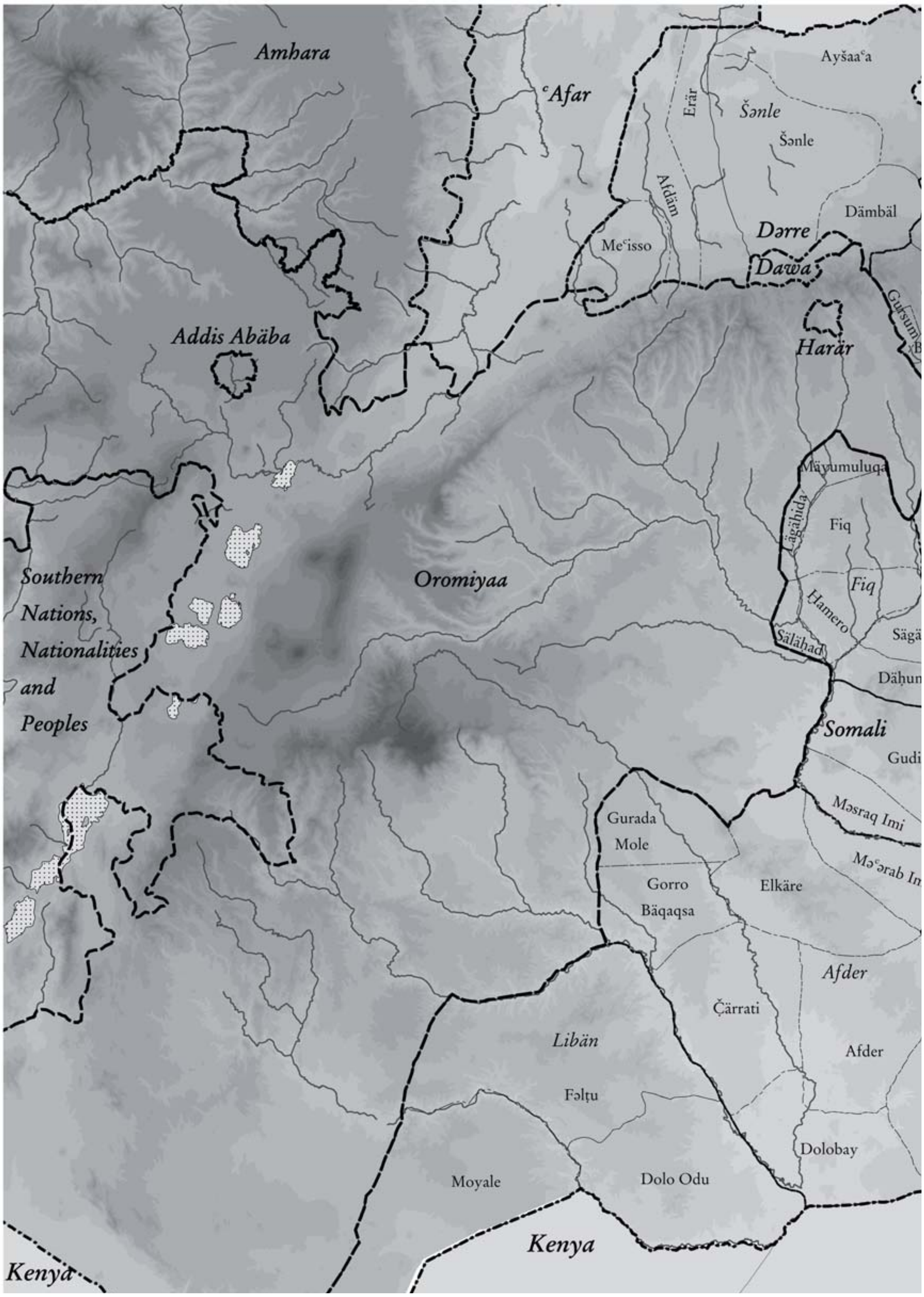
Map 26: Administrative division of Ethiopia: Oromiyaa, Addis Abäba, Dərre Dawa, Harär (after 1991)


Beni Šangul-Gumuz
East Wallaagaa
Ebantu
Gida Kirämu
Amurru
Čarti
Limmu
Abe
Dongoro
Abbay Čomän
Guduru
Gunde B
Mäna Sibuu
Naǧǧoo
Begi
Ğarso
Boği
West Wallaagaa
Gimbi
Sasiga
Guto Wayyu
Sibu Sərre
Bila Siyyo
Horro
Gimma Rare
Gawo Dale
Ayra Guliso
Gimma Horro
Gidaamii
Dale Sädi
Lalo Qille
Yobbo
Gangi
Haru
Diggа
D
Leqa Dulača
Wama Bonniya
Bakko Təbe
Čäliya
Ambo
West Šawaa
Nole Kabba
Nunu Kabba
Gimma Argo
Dano
Təqur
Nonno
Amäyya
Hawa
Wälal
Anfillo
Darimu
Suppe and Soddo
Dägga
Bädäle
Limmu Säqa
Säyyo
Bure
Mättu
Yayyu
Čorra
Gečči
Boreča
Limmu Kosa
Säkorru
Sätäma
Dädessa
Illuu Abbaaboor
Nonno
Alle
Jimma
Tiro
Afäta
Sigmo
Goma
Mäna
Qärsa
Gera
Säqa Čäqorsa
Omonda
Däbo
Gambella
South Sudan
Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples
Tältäle
Kenya
wärädas:
1: Ḫiddabu Abote
2: Gərar Ğarso
3: Yaya Guläle and Däbrä Libanos
4: Abbəčču and Gänna
5: Kombolča
6: Kurfačäle
7: to Sibu Sərre
8: to Dodota and Səre
States:
A: Addis Abäba
B: Dərre Dawa
C: Harär
D: to Beni Šangul-Gumuz
Oromiyaa, Addis Abäba, Dərre Dawa, and Harär
Name Region
Name Zone
Name wäräda
50 25 0 50 Km
Note: No zones and wärädas shown for Addis Abäba, Dərre Dawa, and Harär

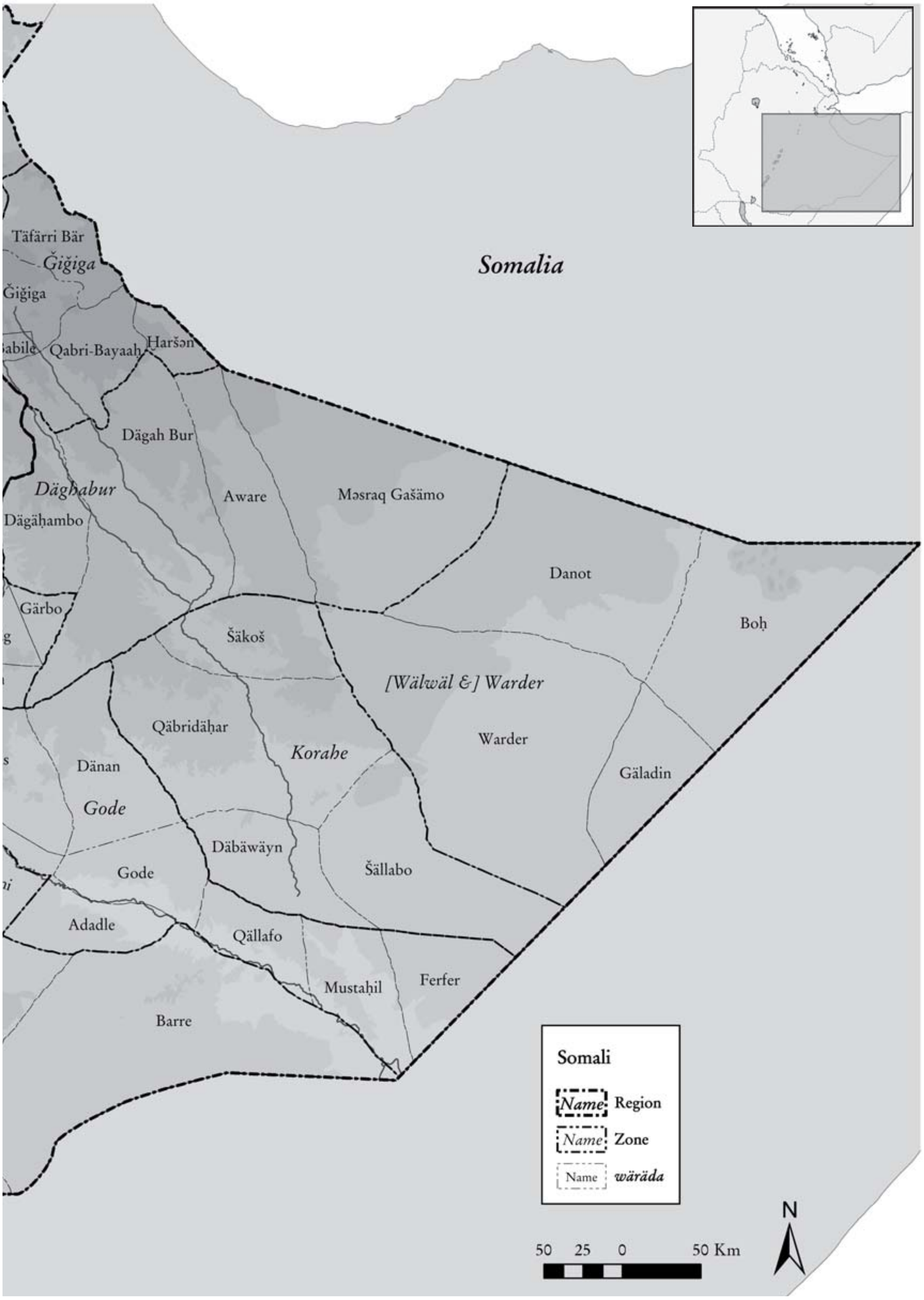
Map 26: Administrative division of Ethiopia: Oromiyaa, Addis Abäba, Dərre Dawa, Harär (after 1991)


Därra
Amhara
Wärrä Ǧarso
1
Kuyyu
Dägäm
2
North Shawaa
3
Wuçale and Ǧəddo
4
irät
Metta Robi
Adda Bärga
Mulu and Sululta
Qämbəbit
lu
Bərhanä
Aleltu
Egäre
Wälmära
A
Dandi
Illu
Aläm
Gäna
Gimbičču
Aqaqi
Ad'a Čaqwala
Lime
East Shawaa
o and
Dawo
Bäččo
Tole
Qärsa
Goro
Kokir
Qondalätti
Adama
Bosät
ʿAfar
Fäntale
Me'isso
Dobba
Tullo
Goro Gutu
Meta
Qärsa
Harro Mayya
5
Ǧarso
Gursum
B
C
Dädär
6
Bädäno
Mäsäla
Mälka Bällo
Gərrawa
Fädis
Babəle
Çəro
Goba Qorəča
Ančar
Häbro
Qunni
East Hararge
West Hararge
Märti
Aseko
Golo Oddu
Mäyyu
Boke
Dugda Bora
8
Dodota and Sere
Ǧäǧǧu
Gololča
Çolle
Ḥiṭosa
Tänna
Sude
Darolebu
Amiñña
Addami Tullu Ǧiddo
Zway Dugda
Ṭiyo
Dəgälu and Ṭəgo
Tänna
Robee
Arsii
Seru
Lägähida
Munessa
Arsi Nagallee
Širka
Gololča
Sawena
Siraro
Bäqoǧi
Agarfa
Gasera
Šašamäne
Kofäle
Gädäb
Sinana Dinšo
Ginnir
Adabba
Dodola
Gobba
Somali
Raytu
Kokosa
Goro
Nänsebo
Bärbäre
Baale
Mäna Arena and Buluq
Gurada Mole
äla and
Bore
Uraga
äya
Adola and Waderra
Mäda Wälabu
Hagärä Maryam
Oddo Šakosso
Libän
Yabello
Boorana
Arero
Dərre
Moyale
Kenya
Somalia
N

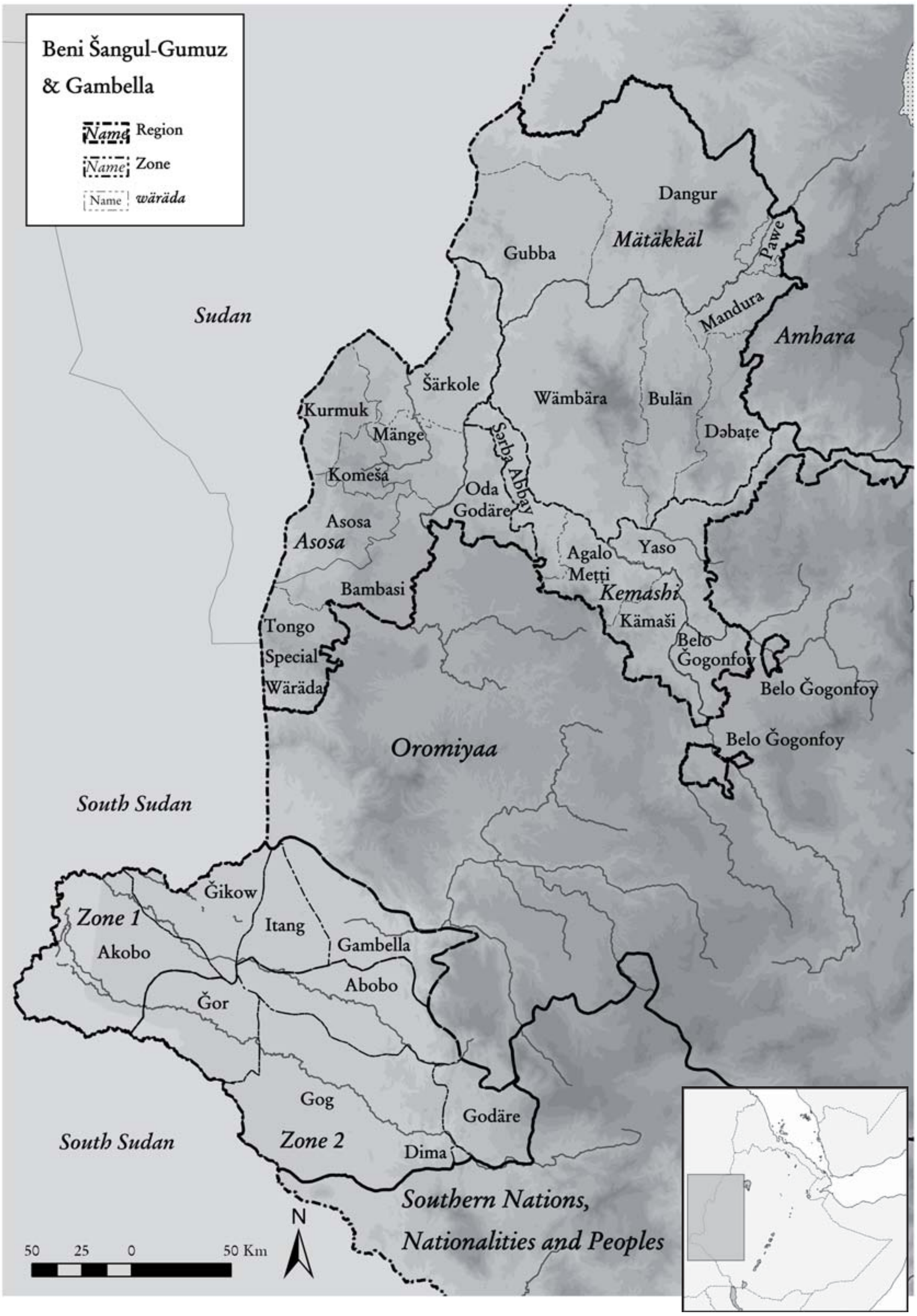
Map 27: Administrative division of Ethiopia: Somali (after 1991)


Amhara
ʿAfar
Ayšaaʿa
Erär
Šənle
Šənle
Afdäm
Dämbäl
Meʿisso
Dərre
Dawa
Gursum
Harär
Addis Abäba
Mäyumuluqa
Lägähida
Fiq
Fiq
Ḥamero
Sälähad
Sägä
Dähun
Somali
Gudi
Oromiyaa
Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples
Məsraq Imi
Məʿərab Im
Gurada Mole
Gorro Bäqaqsa
Elkäre
Afder
Çärrati
Afder
Libän
Fəlṭu
Dolobay
Moyale
Dolo Odu
Kenya
Kenya

Map 27: Administrative division of Ethiopia: Somali (after 1991)

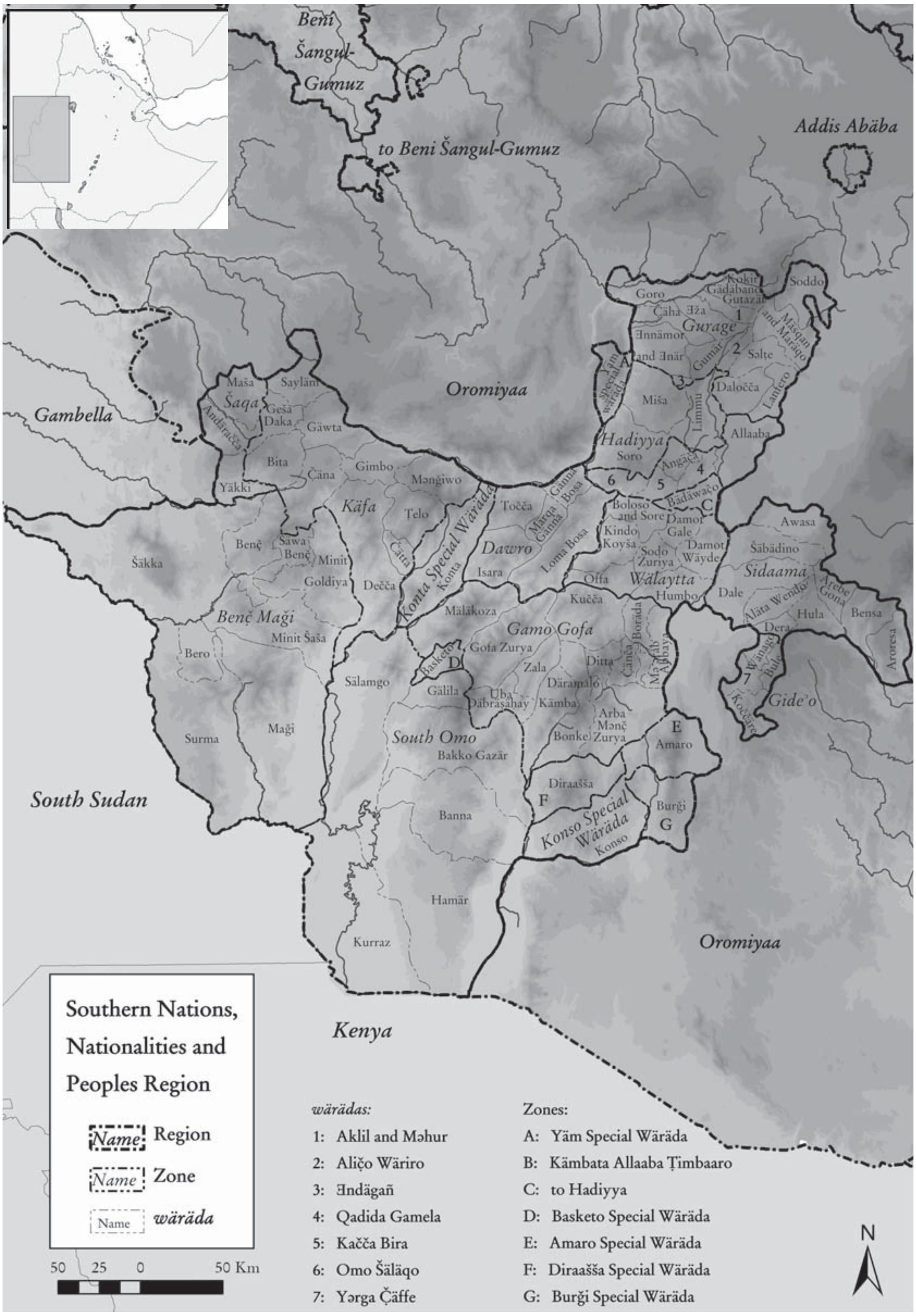

Somalia
Täfärri Bär
Ǧiǧiga
Ǧiǧiga
abile
Qabri-Bayaah
Haršən
Dägah Bur
Däghabur
Dägäḥambo
Aware
Məsraq Gašämo
Danot
Boḥ
Gärbo
Šäkoš
[Wälwäl &] Warder
Warder
Gäladin
Qäbridäḥar
Korahe
Dänan
Gode
Däbäwäyn
Šällabo
Gode
Adadle
Qällafo
Mustaḥil
Ferfer
Barre
Somali
Name Region
Name Zone
Name wäräda
N
50 25 0 50 Km

Map 28: Administrative division of Ethiopia: Beni Šangul–Gumuz & Gambella (after 1991)

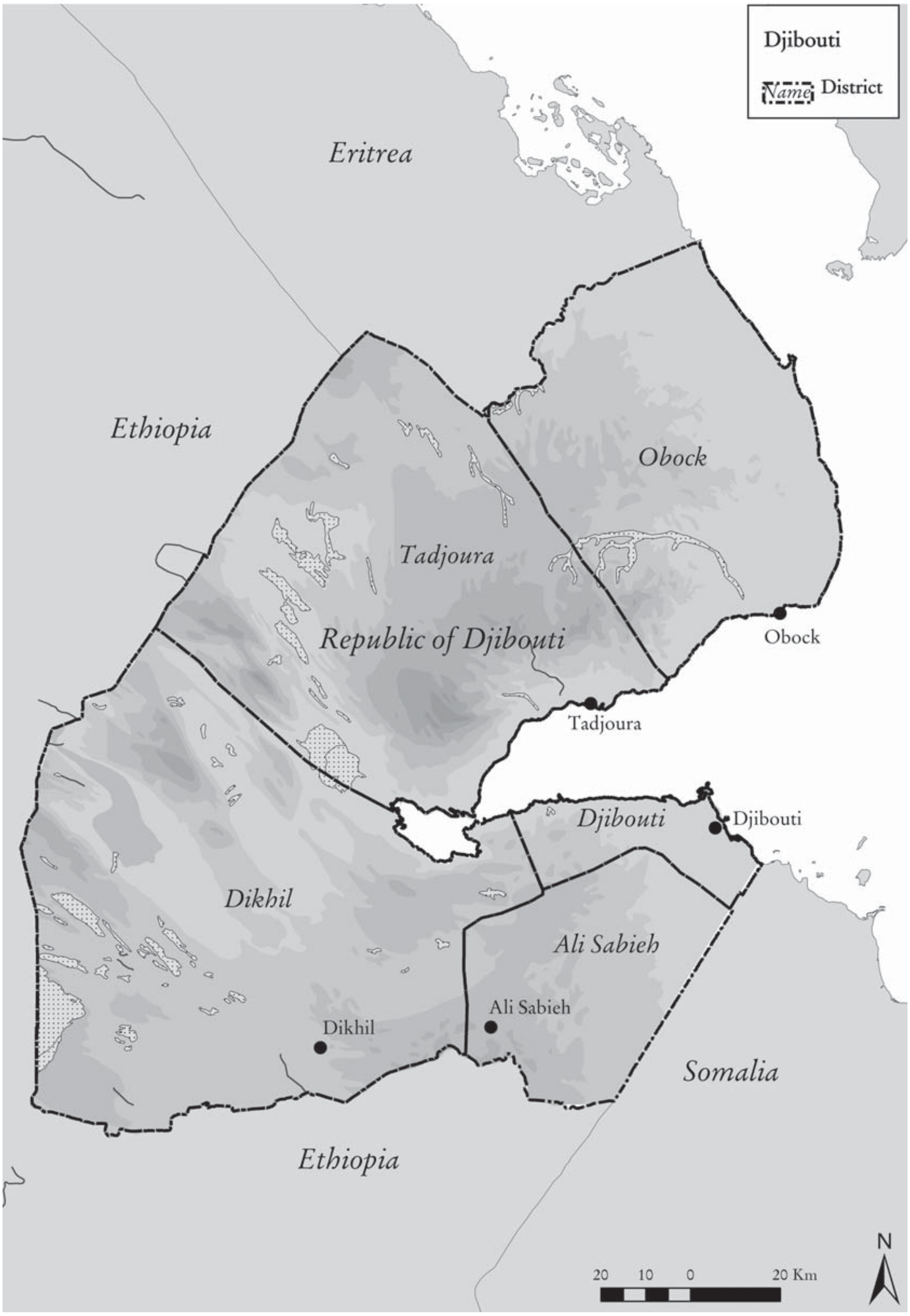


Beni Šangul-Gumuz
& Gambella
Name Region
Name Zone
Name wäräda
Sudan
Gubba
Dangur
Mätäkkäl
Pawe
Mandura
Amhara
Šärkole
Kurmuk
Mänge
Komeša
Asosa
Asosa
Bambasi
Wämbära
Bulän
Dəbaṭe
Šərba Abbay
Oda
Godäre
Agalo
Meṭṭi
Yaso
Kemashi
Kämaši
Belo
Ǧogonfoy
Belo Ǧogonfoy
Belo Ǧogonfoy
Tongo
Special
Wäräda
Oromiyaa
South Sudan
Ǧikow
Zone 1
Akobo
Itang
Gambella
Abobo
Ǧor
Gog
Zone 2
Godäre
Dima
South Sudan
Southern Nations,
Nationalities and Peoples
N
50 25 0 50 Km

Map 29: Administrative division of Ethiopia: Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region (after 1991)

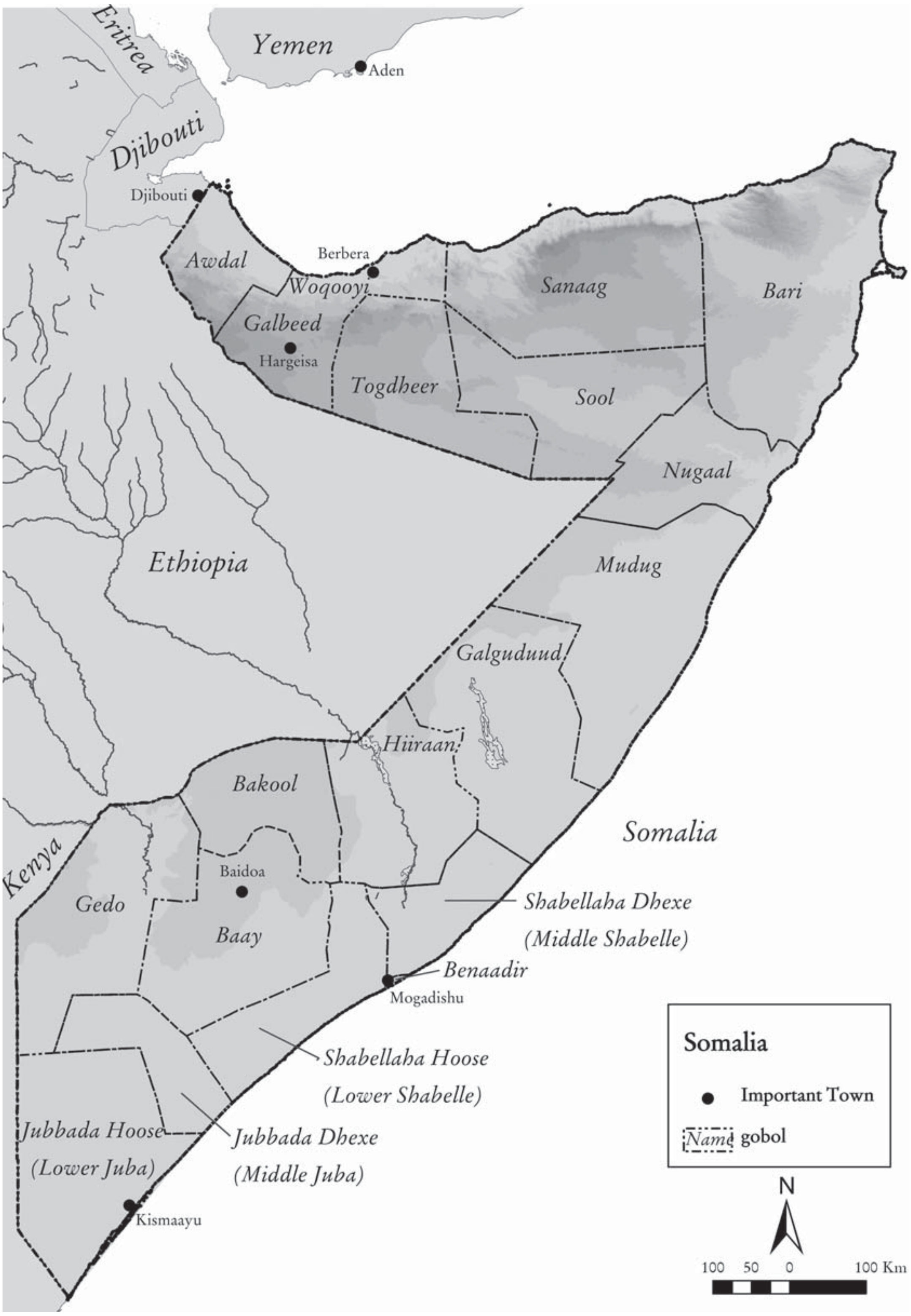

Beni Šangul-Gumuz
to Beni Šangul-Gumuz
Addis Abäba
Oromiyaa
Gambella
South Sudan
Kenya
Gurage
Goro
Kokir Gädäbano Gutazär
Soddo
Čaha
Ǝža
Ǝnnämor
and Ǝnär
Gumär
Mäsqan and Marəqo
Səlṭe
Yäm Special Wäräda
Miša
Limmu
Daločča
Lanfero
Hadiyya
Allaaba
Soro
Angača
Maša
Saylam
Šaqa
Gešä
Daka
Andäračča
Gäwta
Bita
Čäna
Gimbo
Yäkki
Mənğiwo
Käfa
Telo
Čätta
Toččä
Gänna Bosa
Marqa Gänna
Boloso and Sore
Bädäwačo
Damot Gale
Damot Wäyde
Kindo Koyša
Sodo Zuriya
Konta Special Wäräda
Koma
Dawro
Isara
Loma Bosa
Offa
Wälaytta
Humbo
Kučča
Awasa
Šäbädino
Sidaama
Dale
Aläta Wändo
Arebe Gona
Hula
Bensa
Aroresa
Dera
Wänago
Bule
Kočäre
Gide'o
Šäkka
Benč
Šäwa Benč
Minit
Goldiya
Deččä
Benč Mağı
Minit Šaša
Bero
Surma
Mağı
Mäläkoza
Gamo Gofa
Basketo
Gofa Zurya
Zala
Ditta
Boräda
Čänča
Mirab Abbaya
Däramalo
Kämba
Uba Däbrasahay
Gälila
Sälamgo
Arba Mənč Zurya
Bonke
Amaro
South Omo
Bakko Gazär
Diraašša
Konso Special Wäräda
Konso
Burği
Banna
Hamär
Kurraz
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region
Name Region
Name Zone
Name wäräda
50 25 0 50 Km
wärädas:
1: Aklil and Məhur
2: Aliĉo Wäriro
3: Ǝndägañ
4: Qadida Gamela
5: Kačča Bira
6: Omo Šäläqo
7: Yərga Čäffe
Zones:
A: Yäm Special Wäräda
B: Kämbata Allaaba Ṭimbaaro
C: to Hadiyya
D: Basketo Special Wäräda
E: Amaro Special Wäräda
F: Diraašša Special Wäräda
G: Burği Special Wäräda
N

Map 30: Administrative division of Djibouti



Djibouti
Name District
Eritrea
Ethiopia
Obock
Tadjoura
Republic of Djibouti
Obock
Tadjoura
Djibouti
Djibouti
Dikhil
Ali Sabieh
Ali Sabieh
Dikhil
Somalia
Ethiopia
N
20 10 0 20 Km

Map 31: Administrative division of Somalia (after 1984)


Eritrea
Yemen
Aden
Djibouti
Djibouti
Berbera
Awdal
Woqooyi
Galbeed
Hargeisa
Togdheer
Sanaag
Sool
Bari
Nugaal
Mudug
Ethiopia
Galguduud
Hiiraan
Bakool
Kenya
Baidoa
Gedo
Baay
Somalia
Shabellaha Dhexe
(Middle Shabelle)
Benaadir
Mogadishu
Shabellaha Hoose
(Lower Shabelle)
Jubbada Hoose
(Lower Juba)
Jubbada Dhexe
(Middle Juba)
Kismaayu
Somalia
Important Town
Name gobol
N
100 50 0 100 Km

Credits and bibliographical sources

Map 1: Physical map of the Horn of Africa

Concept and cartography by Matthias Schulz

Src. [Cartography]: CENTRAL STATISTICAL AGENCY – ETHIOPIAN DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH INSTITUTE – INTERNATIONAL FOOD POLICY INSTITUTE, *Atlas of the Ethiopian Rural Economy*, Addis Ababa 2006.

Map 2a: Climate and agriculture

Concept by Dirk Bustorf, cartography by Matthias Schulz

Src. [Cartography]: CENTRAL STATISTICAL AGENCY – ETHIOPIAN DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH INSTITUTE – INTERNATIONAL FOOD POLICY INSTITUTE, *Atlas of the Ethiopian Rural Economy*, Addis Ababa 2006, 15f., 59, 63; EMAtlas 16, 48; ALAIN GASCON, *Sur les hautes terres comme au ciel*: *identités et territoires en Éthiopie*, Paris 2006, 65; GEOFFREY CHARLES LAST, *A Geography of Ethiopia for Senior Secondary Schools*, Beograd 1965, 50, 142; GEORGE LIPSKY, *Ethiopia*: *its People, its Society, its Culture*, New Haven, CT 1962, 242; SerHist 3.

Map 2b: Ecology and agro-ecological zones

Concept by Dirk Bustorf, cartography by Matthias Schulz

Src. [Cartography]: CENTRAL STATISTICAL AGENCY – ETHIOPIAN DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH INSTITUTE – INTERNATIONAL FOOD POLICY INSTITUTE, *Atlas of the Ethiopian Rural Economy*, Addis Ababa 2006, 15f., 59, 63; EMAtlas 16, 48; ALAIN GASCON, *Sur les hautes terres comme au ciel*: *identités et territoires en Éthiopie*, Paris 2006, 65; GEOFFREY CHARLES LAST, *A Geography of Ethiopia for Senior Secondary Schools*, Beograd 1965, 50, 142; GEORGE LIPSKY, *Ethiopia*: *its People, its Society, its Culture*, New Haven, CT 1962, 242; SerHist 3.

Map 3a/b: Languages of Ethiopia and Eritrea

Concept by Maria Bulakh, cartography by Luisa Sernicola

Src. [Cartography]: *EAE* vols. 1–5 [linguistic articles and maps]; EMAtlas 27; RAYMOND G. GORDON JR.– BARBARA F. GRIMES (eds.), *Ethnologue*: *Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX ^{15}2005, 698f. (maps).

Map 4a: European travellers until the 18th century

Concept by Andreu Martínez d'Alòs Moner, cartography by Luisa Sernicola

Src. [Cartography]: BeckHuntAlvar 26; OBSERT GUY STANHOPE CRAWFORD, *The Fung Kingdom of Sennar*, Gloucester 1951, 290; KURT KRAUSE, *Abessinien zur Zeit der Portugiesen im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. Die Portugiesen in Abessinien*: *ein Beitrag zur Entdeckungsgeschichte von Afrika*, Dresden 1912, 118.
Lit.: FRANCISCO ALVAREZ, *Verdadeira informaçam das terras do Preste Joam*, Lisboa 1540; BecRASO IV; JOÃO BERMUDEZ, *Breve relação da embaixada que o Patriarcha D. João Bermudez trouxe do Imperador da Ethiopia vulgarmente chamado Preste João dirigida a el-Rei D. Sebastião. Col. de Opusc. Reimpresos*, Lisboa 1875; MIGUEL DE CASTANHOSO, *Historia das cousas que o muy esforçado capitão Dom Cristovão da Gama fez nos Reynos do Preste João, com quatrocentos Portugeses que consigo leuou*, Lisboa 1855; ID., *The Portuguese Expedition to Abyssinia in 1541–1543 as Narrated by Castanhoso,with Some Contemporary Letters, the Short Account of Bermudez, and Certain Extracts from Corrêa* [With the assistance of RICHARD S. WHITEW], London 1902 (repr. 1967); DonMurad; CHARLES JACQUES PONCET, *A Voyage to Ethiopia*: *Made in the Years 1698, 1699, and 1700*, London 1709.

Map 4b: European travellers in the 19th century (selection of travel routes in the southern region)

Concept by Alexander Meckelburg, cartography by Luisa Sernicola

Src. [Cartography]: AbbGeogr map; JULES BORELLI, *Éthiopie méridionale*; *journal de mon voyage aux pays Amhara, Oromo et Sidama septembre 1885 à novembre 1888*, Paris 1890; CecZeila map, s. index; LUDWIG VON HÖHNEL, "The Lake Rudolf Region: Its Discovery and Subsequent Exploration, 1888–1909", Part II, *Journal of the Royal African Society* 37, 1938, 147, 193, map; PASCAL JAMES IMPERATO, *Arthur Donaldson Smith and the Exploration of Lake Rudolf*, New York 1987, 156ff.; ID., *Quest for the Jade Sea, Colonial Competition around an East African Lake*, Boulder, CO 1998, maps; WENDY JAMES – GERD BAUMANN – DOUGLAS JOHNSON, *Juan Maria Schuver's Travels in North-East Africa 1880–1883*, London 1996, xi; ROBERT HENRI LE ROUX, "Voyage au Ouallaga. Itinéraire d'Addis-Ababâ au Nil Bleu (avec une carte hors texte)", *La Géographie*, 1900, 217–34; GEORGE MONTADON, "Au Pays Ghimirra: Récit de mon voyage à travers le Massif éthiopien (1909–1911)", *Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie* 22, 1913, 1–424, map; ARTHUR DONALDSON SMITH, *Through Unknown African Countries: the First Expedition from Somaliland to Lake Lamu*, London — New York 1897, map.

Lit.: ALEXANDER BULATOVICH, *Ethiopia Through Russian Eyes: Country in Transition, 1896–1898*, tr. by RICHARD SELTZER, Lawrenceville, NJ 2000, part I, passim.

Map 5a: Colonialism in the Horn of Africa (Treaties and boundaries): northern Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Sudan, Somalia

Concept by Alexander Meckelburg, cartography by Luisa Sernicola

Src. [Cartography]: EDWARD HERTSLETT, *The Map of Africa by Treaty*, Revised and Completed to the End of 1908 by R.W. BRYANT and H.L. SHERWOOD, vols. 1–3; vol. 4 Atlas, passim; ROBERT PATMAN, *The Soviet Union in the Horn of Africa*, Cambridge 1990, map;
Lit.: IAN BROWNLIE, *African Boundaries: a Legal and Diplomatic Encyclopaedia*, London 1979, 775–825; CHARLES WILLIAM GWYNN, "The Frontiers of Abyssinia: a Retrospect", *Journal of the Royal African Society* 36, 1937, 150–61; TEKESTE NEGASH, *Italian Colonialism in Eritrea, 1882–1941: Policies, Praxis and Impact*, Uppsala 1987, 3; YEMANA MESGHENNA, *Italian colonialism: a Case Study of Eritrea – 1869–1934,* Lund 1988, 125ff.

Map 5b: Colonialism in the Horn of Africa (Treaties and boundaries): southern Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan

Concept by Alexander Meckelburg, cartography by Luisa Sernicola

Src. [Cartography]: EDWARD HERTSLETT, *The Map of Africa by Treaty*, Revised and Completed to the End of 1908 by R.W. BRYANT and H.L. SHERWOOD, vol. 1–3; vol. 4 Atlas, passim; ALEC MCEWAN, *International Boundaries of East Africa*, Oxford 1971, 104, 130; ROBERT G. PATMAN, *The Soviet Union in the Horn of Africa*, Cambridge 1990, map.

Map 6: Ethiopia in the 16th century (Ottoman War; Great population movements)

Concept by Andreu Martínez d'Alòs Moner, cartography by Luisa Sernicola

Src. [Cartography]: EMAtlas 70, 72; MHasOr 26, 28.
Lit.: BrHad.

Map 7: Main prehistoric and rock-art sites; Megalithic cultures

Concept and cartography by Luisa Sernicola

Src. [Cartography]: GIULIO CALEGARI, *L'arte rupestre dell'Eritrea. Repertorio ragionato ed esegesi iconografica*, Milano 1999 (Memorie della Società italiana di scienze naturali e del Museo civico di storia naturale di Milano 29, 1); *EAE* vols. 3–4, maps; ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AGENCY, *Ethiopia* (Scale 1:2.000.000), repr. 2004; Google Maps and author's field notes [for coordinates]; ROGER JOUSSAUME, *Tiya – L'Ethiopie des megalithes: du biface à l'art rupestre dans la Corne de l'Afrique*, Chauvigny 1995.
Lit.: AMANUEL BEYIN, "Early to Middle Holocene human adaptations on the Buri Peninsula and the Gulf of Zula, coastal lowlands of Eritrea", *Azania* 46/2, 123–40; JEAN-RENAUD BOISSERIE, "Palaeontology", in: *EAE* vol. 4, 104–07; GIULIO CALEGARI, *L'arte rupestre dell'Eritrea. Repertorio ragionato ed esegesi iconografica*, Milano 1999 (Memorie della Società italiana di scienze naturali e del Museo civico di storia naturale di Milano 29, 1); ID., "Rock art", *EAE* 4, 398–400; ANÄIS WION – BERTAND POISSONIER, "Šumgädäl: peintures rupestres et histoires de vaches dans le Sud-Gondär", *AE* 25, 2010, 249–60; ROGER JOUSSAUME, "Megalithic Cultures", *EAE* vol. 3, 911–12.

Map 8: Main archaeological sites (1st millennium B.C.–1st millennium A.D.)

Concept and cartography by Luisa Sernicola

Src. [Cartography]: *EAE* vols. 1–4, maps; Ethiopian Mapping Agency, Ethiopia (Scale 1:2.000.000), repr. 2004; Google Maps and author's field notes [for coordinates]; Guida.
Lit.: FRANÇIS ANFRAY, "Mäṭära", in: *EAE* vol. 4, 864–65; MATTHEW C. CURTIS, "^{c}Addi Q̠äyyəḥ", *ibid.* vol. 1, 77–78; ID., "Aksumite culture", *ibid.* vol. 1, 186–88; ID., "^{c}Ədäga Ḥamus", *ibid.* vol. 2, 223–24; ID., "Fəqya", *ibid.* vol. 2, 524–25; ID., "Ḥawəlti", *ibid.* vol. 2, 1051–52; ID., "Mälazo", *ibid.* vol. 3, 694–95; ID., "May Ḥuṣa", *ibid.* vol. 3, 885–86; ID., "^{c}Ona Gudo", *ibid.* vol. 4, 27; ID., "^{c}Ona Hašel", *ibid.* vol. 4, 27–28; ID., "Sämbäl", *ibid.* vol. 4, 506; ID. – ALESSANDRO BAUSI, "Ham", *ibid.* vol. 2, 980–81; ID. – DENIS NOSNITSIN, "Gulo Mäḵäda", *ibid.* vol. 2, 910–12; ID. – KEVIN O'MAHONEY, "Agula", *ibid.* vol. 1, 153; RODOLFO FATTOVICH, "^{c}Addi Kramatən", *ibid.* vol. 1, 76–77; ID., "Aksum – Archaeology of Aksum", *ibid.* vol. 1, 179–83; ID., "Aratu", *ibid.* vol. 1, 312–13; ID., "Käskäse", *ibid.* vol. 3, 352–53; ID., "^{c}Ona culture", *ibid.* vol. 4, 26–27; ID., "Pre-Aksumite culture", *ibid.* vol. 4, 201–05; ID., "Proto-Aksumite culture", *ibid.* vol. 4, 227–28; ID. – HILUF BERHE – LAUREL PHILLIPSON – LUISA SERNICOLA, *Archaeological Expedition at Aksum* (*Ethiopia*) *of the University of Naples "L'Orientale", 2010 Field Season*: *Seglamen*, Napoli 2011; ID. – STUART MUNRO-HAY, "Adulis", in: *EAE* vol. 1, 104–105; NIALL FINNERAN, "Ənda Śəllase", *ibid.* vol. 2, 291–92; ID., "May Tämänay", *ibid.* vol. 3, 887; ANDREA MANZO, "Rora", *ibid.* vol. 4, 410–11; STUART MUNRO-HAY, "Aksum: History of the town and Empire", *ibid.* vol. 1, 173–79; DAVID W. PHILLIPSON, *Foundations of an African Civilisation: Aksum & the Northern Horn, 1000 BC–AD 1300*, Oxford 2012 (Eastern African Studies); KRISHNA RAO, "Ḥəmbərti", in: *EAE* vol. 3, 12–13; ID., "May Näfḥi", *ibid.* vol. 3, 886–87; ID. – MATTHEW C. CURTIS, "Ḥəšmele", *ibid.* vol. 3, 21–23; LUISA SERNICOLA – HABTAMU MAKONNEN – LAUREL PHILLIPSON, "Archaeological Expedition at Aksum (Ethiopia) of the Università degli

Studi di Napoli 'L'Orientale', 2011 Field Season: Seglamen", *Newsletter di Archeologia CISA* 4, 343–439; Wolbert Smidt, "Mändäfära", in: *EAE* vol. 3, 725; Steffen Wenig, "Qoḥayto", *ibid*. vol. 4, 294–96; Id., "Toḵonda^{c}", *ibid*. vol. 4, 969–70; Pavel Wolf – Ulrike Nowotnik, "The Almaqah temple of Meqaber Ga^{c}ewa near Wuqro (Tigray, Ethiopia)", *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 40, 367–80.

Map 9: Zagʷe period

Concept by Andreu Martínez d'Alòs Moner, cartography by Luisa Sernicola

Src. [Cartography]: Andrzej Bartnicki – Joanna Mantel-Niećko, *Historia Etiopii*, Wrocław 1971 (^{2}1987, Russian tr. Moskva 1976, German tr. Berlin 1978), 37; TadTChurch 65, 204.
Lit.: Alessandro Bausi, "Un indice dell'Evangelo d'oro di Dabra Libānos (Šemazānā, Akkala Guzāy, Eritrea)", *Aethiopica* 10, 2007, 81–91; Carlo Conti Rossini, *Principi di diritto consuetudinario dell'Eritrea*, Roma 1916 (Manuali coloniali pubbl. a cura del Ministero delle colonie); CRDLib 177–219; Marie-Laure Derat, "Les donations du roi Lālibalā: Eléments pour una géographie du royaume chrétien d'Ethiopie au tournant du XII^{e} et du XIII^{e} siècle", *AE* 25, 2010, 19–53; Id., "The Zāgwē dynasty (10th–13th centuries) and King Yemrehanna Krestos", *ibid.* 157–96; Claude Lepage – Jacques Mercier, "Une église lalibelienne: Zoz Amba", *ibid.* 18, 2002, 149–54.

Map 10: Early Solomonic Christianity

Concept by Andreu Martínez d'Alòs Moner, cartography by Luisa Sernicola

Src. [Cartography]: EMAtlas 67; TadTChurch 81, 133, 204; TrIslam 64.
Lit.: MarAmdS.

Map 11: Christian-Muslim conflicts in the 16th century

Concept by Andreu Martínez d'Alòs Moner, cartography by Luisa Sernicola

Src. [Cartography]: BeckHuntAlvar xvii; EMAtlas 69.
Lit.: BassHist I; II.

Map 12: Christian Ethiopia and Sinnār in the early 17th century

Concept by Andreu Martínez d'Alòs Moner, cartography by Luisa Sernicola

Src. [Cartography]: Osbert Guy Stanhope Crawford, *The Fung Kingdom of Sennar*, Gloucester 1951, 54, 148; Hervé Pennec, *Des Jésuites au royaume du prêtre Jean* (*Éthiopie*) *stratégies, rencontres et tentatives dimplantation 1495–1633*, Paris 2003, 205; Rex Sean O'Fahey – Jay Lloyd Spaulding, *Kingdoms of the Sudan*, London 1974 (Study in African History), 27.
Lit.: BecRASO; BTafA; HuntGeogr; PerChron.

Map 13a: Architectural heritage of the Gondärine period

Concept by Andreu Martínez d'Alòs Moner, cartography by Eduardo Martín Agúndez and Luisa Sernicola

Src. [Cartography]: Tourist Map Lake Tana and its Environs, n.p. ca. 2005; Flemming Aalund, *Ethiopia, Operational Action for the Safeguarding of the Immovable Cultural Heritage and Its Reintegration into Modern Life*: *Master Plan for the Preservation and Presentation of the Cultural Heritage of Ethiopia*, Paris 1985, 162; BecRASO I, 302–03; Francis Anfray, "Les monuments gondariens des XVII^{e} et XVIII^{e} siècles", in: *PICES* 8, 1, 9–44, here 26; Sandro Angelini, *The Historic Route*: *a Work-Plan for the Development of the Sites and Monuments*, n.p. 1971 [Report of a UNESCO mission to Ethiopia], 47; Id., *Monumenti del Lago Tana*, Bergamo 2006, 22f.; ChTana; Osbert Guy Stanhope Crawford, *The Fung Kingdom of Sennar*, Gloucester 1951, 290; Charles Dupuis, *A Report upon Lake Tsana and the Rivers of the Eastern Soudan*, Cairo 1904, plan X; Vinigi Luigi Grottanelli, *Missione di studio al Lago Tana*, vol. 2: *Ricerche geografiche ed economiche sulle popolazioni*, Roma 1939; Guillaume Lejean, *Voyage en Abyssinie exécuté de 1862 à 1864*, Paris 1870, fol. VII; Otto A. Jäger – Ivy Pearce, *Antiquities of North Ethiopia*: *a Guide*, Stuttgart et al. ^{2}1974, 67.
Lit.: BecRASO; HuntGeogr; Hervé Pennec, *Des Jésuites au royaume du prêtre Jean* (*Éthiopie*) *stratégies, rencontres et tentatives dimplantation 1495–1633*, Paris 2003, 205; PerChron.

Map 13b: Architectural heritage of Gondär town

Concept by Andreu Martínez d'Alòs Moner, cartography by Eduardo Martín Agúndez and Luisa Sernicola

Src. [Cartography]: Jean Doresse, *L'Éthiopie antique et moderne*: *au pays de la Reine de Saba*, Paris 1956, 37; Guida 354, 356; Alessandro Augusto Monti Della Corte, *I castelli di Gondar*, Roma1938, between 12 and 13; Otto A. Jäger – Ivy Pearce, *Antiquities of North Ethiopia*: *a Guide*, Stuttgart et al. ^{2}1974, 39; S. Pierre Pétridès, *Le livre d'or de la dynastie Salomonienne d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1964, 129; Joel Rasmusson, *Welcome to Ethiopia*: *a Tourist Guide*, Addis Ababa 1967, 176.
Lit.: BecRASO.

Map 14: *Zämänä mäsafənt*

Concept by Dirk Bustorf, cartography by Luisa Sernicola

Src. [Cartography]: EMAtlas 73; Ethiopian Mapping Authority, *Ethiopia* (Scale 1:2.000.000), Addis Abeba 1985 [repr. 2004].

Lit.: AbPrince; ANDRZEJ BARTNICKI – JOANNA MANTEL-NIEĆKO, *Geschichte Äthiopiens*: *Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, Berlin 1978, 177, CrumLand passim; JEAN DORESSE, *L'Éthiopie antique et moderne*: *au pays de la Reine de Saba*, Paris 1956, 92f.; S. PIERRE PÉTRIDÈS, *Le Héros d'Adoua*: *Ras Makonnen, Prince d'Éthiopie*, Paris 1964, 24f., StStud.

Map 15: Ethnic and political units in southern Ethiopia before Mənilək II's conquest (ca. 1890–95)

Concept by Dirk Bustorf and Alexander Meckelburg, cartography by Luisa Sernicola

Src. [Cartography]: ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AUTHORITY, *Ethiopia* (*Scale 1:2.000.000*), Addis Abeba 1982 [repr. 1997].
Lit.: DONALD DONHAM – WENDY JAMES, *Remapping Ethiopia*: *Socialism and After*, Oxford 2002, 36, 86; *EAE* vols. 1–5; DENA FREEMAN, *Peripheral People*: *the Excluded Minorities of Ethiopia*, London 2003, xix; RAYMOND G. GORDON JR. – BARBARA F. GRIMES (eds.), *Ethnologue*: *Languages of the World*, Dallas, TX ^{15}2005, 698f. (maps); HuntGal 14; JOHANNES LUKAS, *Neue afrikanistische Studien*: *August Klingenheben zum 80. Geburtstag*, Hamburg 1966, 88; MHasOr 87; ALESSANDRO TRIULZI, *Salt, Gold and Legitimacy*, Napoli 1981, 56; VSAe I, maps 2, 3a–3d (appendix); II, maps 1–8 (appendix); III, maps A–E (appendix).

Map 16: Main Christian sites

Concept by Dirk Bustorf, cartography by Luisa Sernicola

Src. [Cartography]: *EAE* vols. 1–5, maps; ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AUTHORITY, *Ethiopia* (Scale 1:2.000.000), Addis Abeba 1982 [repr. 1997]; DEFENSE MAPPING AGENCY [USA], *Gazetteer of Ethiopia*, Washington, DC 1982; Google Maps [for coordinates]; Guida.

Map 17: Main Islamic sites

Concept by Dirk Bustorf, cartography by Luisa Sernicola

Src. [Cartography]: author's own data; *EAE* vols. 1–5, maps; ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AUTHORITY, *Ethiopia* (Scale 1:2.000.000), Addis Abeba 1982 [repr. 1997]; DEFENSE MAPPING AGENCY [USA], *Gazetteer of Ethiopia*, Washington, DC 1982; Google Maps [for coordinates]; Guida; FRANÇOIS-XAVIER FAUVELLE AYMAR – BERTRAND HIRSCH (eds.), *Espaces musulmans de la Corne de l'Afrique au Moyen Âge*, Paris 2011 (*AE* Hors-Série 1).
Lit.: CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, "Documenti per l'archeologia Eritrea nella bassa valle del Barca", *RRALm* ser 5^{a}, 12, 139–50; ID. "Antiche rovine sulle rore eritree", *ibid.* 31, 1922, 241–78; FRANÇOIS-XAVIER FAUVELLE AYMAR – BERTRAND HIRSCH, "Muslim Historical Spaces in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa: A Reassessment", *NEASt* 11, 1, 2004–2010, 25–54; FRANÇOIS-XAVIER FAUVELLE AYMAR et al., "Reconnaissance de trois villes musulmanes de l'époque médiévale dans l'Ifat", *AE* 22, 2006 [2008], 133–75.

Map 18: Africa Orientale Italiana

Concept by Alexander Meckelburg, cartography by Luisa Sernicola

Src. [Cartography]: ANTONIO MARRA, *Africa Orientale Italiana*, Roma 1937, maps; Guida.

Map 19: Infrastructure during the Italian occupation

Concept by Andreu Martínez d'Alòs Moner, cartography by Luisa Sernicola

Src. [Cartography]: MARCO ANTONSICH, "Addis Abeba 'caput viarum': Le strade del duce in Abissinia", *Limes* 3, 2006, 133–44, here 135; Guida 356.
Lit.: MARCO ANTONSICH, "Addis Abeba 'caput viarum': Le strade del duce in Abissinia", *Limes* 3, 2006, 133–44, here 135; RICHARD PANKHURST, "Road-building during the Italian Fascist Occupation of Ethiopia (1936–1941)", *Africa Quarterly* 15, 3, 1976, 21–63.

Map 20: Italian War (1935–36) and War of Liberation (1941)

Concept by Alexander Meckelburg, cartography by Luisa Sernicola

Src. [Cartography]: ANGELO DEL BOCA, *The Ethiopian War, 1935–41*, Chicago, IL 1969, maps; ANDRÉ DAVY, *Ethiopie*: *d'hier et aujourd'hui*, Paris 1970, 126, 144; ANTONIO MARRA, *Africa Orientale Italiana*, Roma 1937, maps.
Lit.: MockWar, passim; DAVID SHIRREFF, *Bare Feet and Bandoliers*: *Wingate, Sandford, the Patriots and the Part They Played in the Liberation of Ethiopia*, London – New York 1995.

Maps 21–31: Administrative division of Ethiopia; Eritrea, Djibouti and Somalia (20th century – 21st century)

Reproduced with data from: CENTRAL STATISTICAL AGENCY – ETHIOPIAN DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH INSTITUTE – INTERNATIONAL FOOD POLICY INSTITUTE, *Atlas of the Ethiopian Rural Economy*, Addis Ababa 2006; ETHIOPIAN MAPPING AUTHORITY, *Ethiopia* (Scale 1:2.000.000), Addis Abeba 1985 [repr. 2004].

Index

Introduction

On the following pages you will find the general Index to the complete *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*. With its 4,872 entries, it is the most useful key to the information provided in all the five volumes published.

With this powerful tool, a reader interested to learn more about a particular person, place, ethnic group, cultural object, literary work, theological concept or other abstract notion, shall find all relevant mentions of the subject, whether there exists a specific article dedicated to it or not. For example, while there is a comprehensive article about Ḫaylä Śəllase I in volume 2, it by no means covers all the information the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* has on Ḫaylä Śəllase I. The Index provides references to the main article but also to well over 400 further relevant pages in the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* as well as a series of cross-references to other Index entries directly related to this historical figure. As another example, while there are no independent articles dedicated to the figure of Adam, or to the port of Aden, or to the concept of patrilineality, the relevant Index entries list dozens of page references where the interested reader shall be able to find the necessary information.

All references indicate the relevant volume in bold-faced Roman numerals (I to V) followed by reference pages after a colon, with columns indicated by letters "a" (left column) and "b" (right column). Bold type is used to highlight references to the actual article on the subject if present in the *Encyclopaedia*. Most of the headings are identified by a descriptive word ("qualifier", see also the list of abbreviations below). The most important variants of a name are placed in brackets. Illustrations and maps are indexed and appear as subheadings immediately below the heading under the terms "ill." and "map". Additional references below the heading refer to other articles containing information on the subject and appear as subheadings indented to indicate different levels of subordination. Cross-references to other relevant Index entries, marked as "s. also", are placed at the bottom of the headings.

The general Index of the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* considers proper names, orientalia, geographical names, titles and subjects. The reader will be able to easily identify these different categories by looking at the qualifier and at the type used: orientalia and titles are always italicized.

Headings are listed in alphabetical order following a word by word system, thus: "Naṣr b. Bali", "Naṣraddīn", "Naṣraddīn b. Aḥmad", "Naṣraddīn b. Dalḥūy b. Manṣūr", "Naṣrallāh". All numerals that might be expected to occur at the beginning of entries are spelled out. In the case of homonyms that cannot be distinguished by qualifiers, further information, such as the date or place, is provided in brackets. Diacritical marks or hyphens do not affect alphabetization. Names of classical oriental works beginning with such general germs as *Gädl*, *Kitab* or *Mäṣḥaf* are indexed according to the second term of the title. Definite and indefinite articles are not considered in filing. When book or film titles start with an article, it appears at the end of the heading. Arabic names with an initial article have been left unchanged but the entry is alphabetically ordered according to the first meaningful word.

The standardization of orientalia carried out in the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* articles has been further accomplished in the general Index. All variants are registered, and cross-references guide the reader to the main spelling. The reader may eventually notice some slight discrepancies between the text and the Index headings. Whenever this occurs, bear in mind that the ultimate reference for transcription is the one given by the Index.

Abbreviations used in the Index

abet.	*abetohun*
acad.	academic
act.	actor, actress
adm.	administrative, administration
agr.	agriculture, agricultural
Aks.	Aksum, Aksumite
anc.	ancestor (of)
arch.	archaeology, archaeological
archt.	architect, architecture
art.	artist, artistic
assoc.	association
awr.	*awraǧǧa*
baḥ.n.	*baḥər nägaš*
bal.	*balambaras*
beg.	beginning (of)
bibl.	Bible, biblical
bitw.	*bitwäddäd*
blatt.	*blatta, blattengeta*
bot.	botanic, botanist
br.	brother (of)
cal.	calendar, calendric
cart.	cartographer, cartographic
Cath.	Catholic
chron.	chronology, chronography
cloth.	clothes, clothing
comp.	company
cra.	craft., craftsmen
curr.	currency
däǧǧ.	*däǧǧač, däǧǧazmač, däggiyat*
daugh.	daughter (of)
desc.	descendant (of), descent
dial.	dialect (of)
dipl.	diplomacy, diplomat(ic)
dis.	disease
disc.	disciple (of)
əč̣č̣.	*əč̣č̣äge*
eccl.	ecclesiastic(al)
ecol.	ecology, ecological
econ.	economy, economical
Eg.	Egypt(ian)
emp.	emperor, empress
eng.	engineer
entr.	entrepreneur
env.	envoy
ethn.	ethnic (unit), ethnonym
expl.	explorer
fath.	father (of)
fit.	*fitawrari*
Fr.	friar
geog.	geographer, geographical
geol.	geologist, geological
gov.	governor (of)
gover.	government(al)
graz.	*grazmač*
hist.	historian, historic(al)
husb.	husband (of)
inf.	informant (of)
inscr.	inscription
is.	island
jour.	journalist
jur.	juridical, jurist
lang.	language
law.	lawyer
ling.	linguist, linguistic(s)
liq.k.	*liqä kahənat*
liq.l.	*liqä liqawənt*
liq.m.	*liqä mäkwas*
liq.p.	*liqä papasat*
lit.	literary, literature
mäm.	*mämhər*
mär.az.	*märəd azmač*
mat.cult.	material culture
meas.	measurement (unit)
med.	medical, medicine
metr.	metropolitan
mil.	military
min.	mineral
miss.	mission(ary)
mon.	monastery, monastic
moth.	mother (of)
mt.	mountain
mus.	music, musical, musician
off.	official
org.	organization
pal.	palaeontology, palaentological
per.	periodical
philos.	philosopher
pl.n.	place name
pol.	political, politician
prov.	province
publ.	publisher
qäññ.	*qäññazmač*
reg.	region
relat.	relative (of)
rel.	religion, religious
rit.	ritual
riv.	river
ṣäḥ.t.	*ṣäḥafe təʾəzaz*
St.	saint
sch.	scholar
settl.	settlement
sis.	sister (of)
soc.	social (institution, organization)
soc.gr.	social group
soc.pol.	socio-political
son	son of
sulṭ.	*sulṭān*
theol.	theology, theologian, theological
trav.	traveller
wär.	*wäräda*
wäyz.	*wäyzäro*
wife	wife of
wr.	writer
zool.	zoology, zoological

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  - relations to Ṭalḥa b. ᶜAbbās b. Aboñ **IV**:846b
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- Abbašawil s. Abba Šawl
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- ᶜAbbāsīds (Abbaside caliphate), dynasty **I**:246b, 715a; **II**:18b, 508a, 794b, 813a, 978a; **III**:112a, 132a, 273b, 714b, 1101b; **IV**:238a, 554a, 799b, 975ab, 1136b; **V**:437b
  - s. also Baghdad; Fāṭimids; Iraq; Umayyads
- *abbat*, idiom **II:689b**
- Abbatä Mäkʷərya, director **I**:746a
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- *Abbay*, per. **I:28b**; **IV**:372a
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- Abbe, anc. **I**:30a
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- Abbe Bet, reg. **I:30a**; **IV**:1148b
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^{c}Abd al-Masīḥ s. ^{c}Abdalmasīḥ al-Ḥabašī; Alexis; Gäbrä Krəstos
^{c}Abd al-Qādir s. ^{c}Abdälqadər; ^{c}Abdalqādir
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^{c}Abdal Masīḥ s. Gäbrä Krəstos
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^{c}Abdal^{c}azīz, mosque **V**:438b
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^{c}Abdalḥayy, *šayḫ* **II**:674b
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^{c}Abdalkarīm Ḥāğğī Ibrāhīm (Ǧarra Abbaa Gadaa), mil. **II**:252b
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^{c}Abdallāh al-Aḥwaṣ al-Anṣārī, poet **II**:65a
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^{c}Abdallāh al-Aṣġar, son Ǧa^{c}far b. Abī Ṭālib **II**:648b
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^{c}Abdallāh b. ^{c}Abdarraḥmān Bā Faḍl al-Ḥaḍramī, sch. **IV**:450a
^{c}Abdallāh b. Abī Rabī^{c}a, dipl. **II**:648a
^{c}Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Sulaym al-Aswānī s. Ibn Sulaym al-Aswānī
^{c}Abdallāh b. ^{c}Alī b. Dāᵓūd, *amīr* **I**:200a; **II**:1017a, 1018b, 1044b
^{c}Abdallāh b. ^{c}Aqīl b. ^{c}Abdallāh, *sayyid* **III**:747b
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^{c}Abdallāh b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ḥimyarī al-Yamanī, *nazīl Makka* **III**:901b
^{c}Abdallāh b. Muḥammad at-Ta^{c}āᵓišī (Abdullahi; d. 1899), *ḫalīfa* **I**:51a; **II**:795a, 978b; **III**:446a, 657b–58a; **IV**:757a, 998b
^{c}Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Hararī, *šayḫ* **V**:**210b–11a**
^{c}Abdallāh b. al-Muqaffa^{c}, wr. **I**:472b
^{c}Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa, mil. **II**:648b
^{c}Abdallāh b. Šeḥem, leader **I**:773a; **II**:1040a
^{c}Abdallāh Bāmušmuš, merchant **II**:675a
^{c}Abdallāh *bey* al-Ġūl **I**:**34b**; **III**:857a
^{c}Abdallāh “Đasamóyta” b. ^{c}Alī, inf. **III**:974b; **IV**:474b
^{c}Abdallāh Fawzī, mil. **III**:1054a
^{c}Abdallāh Ḫalīl *efendi* **III**:857a
^{c}Abdallāh Ḥarag, ethn. **III**:974b
^{c}Abdallāh ^{c}Inān, sch. **IV**:373a
^{c}Abdallāh al-Mahdī, *ḫalīfa* (d. 934) **II**:508a
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^{c}Abdallāh ^{c}Umar b. Ǧibrīl al-Aswām as-Sāḫitī, wr. **II**:492a, 1029b
^{c}Abdallāh az-Zayla^{c}ī (Ǧamāladdīn Abū Muḥammad ^{c}Abdallāh b. Yūsuf az-Zayla^{c}ī), *faqīh* (14th cent.) **I**:**34ab**; **II**:998a; **IV**:258b, 1017b
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^{c}Abdalle, *reer* **IV**:1015ab
^{c}Abdalmalik, *šayḫ* **II**:1029ab
^{c}Abdalmalik b. Marwān, *ḫalīfa* **II**:65a; **III**:31a, 411a, 935b; **V**:15a, 437a
^{c}Abdalmannān b. Muḥammad, *aftal-garād* **I**:51b
^{c}Abdalmasīḥ al-Ḥabašī, monk **II**:244b; **III**:18b
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^{c}Abdalmuṭṭalib (Šaᵓiba b. Hašim), grandfather Muḥammad **III**:31a, 900b, 1042a
^{c}Abdalqader, dipl. (18th cent.) **II**:810b–11a
^{c}Abdälqadər (^{c}Abdalqādir), peninsula **I**:599b; **II**:640b; **III**:849b, 852a; **V**:166b
^{c}Abdälqadər Käbirä, *graz.* **I**:**35a**; **III**:650b, 1087a; **V**:362a
^{c}Abdalqādir, gov. Massawa **III**:857a
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^{c}Abdalqādir al-Ǧīlānī, mosque, Bale **I**:36b; **II**:1017b; **III**:1031a; **IV**:571ab
^{c}Abdalqādir al-Ǧīlānī, mosque, Massawa **III**:1029b; **IV**:155b
^{c}Abdalqādir b. Arbāhintá, pol. **III**:647b
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ᶜAbdarraḥīm Aḥmad, *nāᵓib* **III**:1046b
ᶜAbdarraḥmān, *qāḍī* **I**:33a
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ᶜAbdarraḥmān al-ᶜArāšī, *āw* **II**:492a, 1029b
ᶜAbdarraḥmān al-Ǧabartī, hist. **III**:47b
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ᶜAbdarraḥmān al-Huṣṣ, sch. **IV**:373b
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ᶜAbdarraḥmān b. Muḥammad, *amīr* **I**:33ab, **35b–36a**, 200a; **II**:1017b, 1018b
ᶜAbdarraḥmān [b. *šayḫ* Isḥāq b. Aḥmad] "Hawal", anc. **II**:948a
ᶜAbdarraḥmān Muḥammad Qorrām, sch. **II**:1029a, 1030a
ᶜAbdarraḥmān of Qebeš, *šayḫ* **III**:94a
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ᶜAbdarrašīd ᶜAlī Šermarke, pol. **III**:632b
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ᶜAbdullahi Yusuf, pol. **III**:668a
ᶜAbdullāhi Yūsuf Aḥmad (Cabdullahi Yuusuf Axmad), mil. **III**:633a
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ᶜAdwa (Gərmaččäw Täklä Ḥawaryat), lit. **II**:767b
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ᶜAdwa, reg., *awr*. **I**:75a, 221a; **II**:106b, 238b, 762a, 1054b; **III**:772a, 899b; **IV**:854ab, 888b, 889b, 891a, 908b
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Aethiopica – Revue philologique, per. **I:112ab**, 113b; **II**:437a, 576b, 879a; **III**:95b, 544b
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ᶜAfar, *kəlləl* s. ᶜAfar, reg.

ᶜAfar, lang. **I:118ab**; **V**:166b, 382a, 534b, 540a
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- s. also ᶜAfar, lang.

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- s. also ᶜAfar Alps; ᶜAfar Depression; ᶜAfar Rift; ᶜAfar Triangle

ᶜAfar Alps, geol. s. Danakil Alps

ᶜAfar Ankāla, ethn. **IV**:472b

ᶜafár dār, rel. **I**:119a

Afar Democratic Union, pol. **IV**:952b

ᶜAfar (Danakil) Depression, reg. **I:119b–22a**; **V**:223a, 352a
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- s. also ᶜAfar, reg.; ᶜAfar Rift; ᶜAfar Triangle; Azälo; Dänkäl; Ṭəlṭal

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ᶜAfar Liberation Front, pol. **III**:562a; **V**:230b

ᶜAfar Radio Programmes **V**:230b

ᶜAfar Regional State s. ᶜAfar, reg.

ᶜAfar Rift, geol. **IV**:388b–89b

ᶜAfar Triangle, reg. **I**:56b, 400b, 754b; **II**:750a, 1022b; **III**:68b, 79b
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Afärbayne Täklä Haymanot, church **I:122a**, 273b; **IV**:556a

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ᶜAfar-Sāho s. Lowland East Cushitic

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Afäwärq Gäbrä Iyäsus, *näggadras* **I:122b–24a**; **III**:1112b; **V**:331b, 482a
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- s. also *Dagmawi Mənilək*; *Ləbb wälläd tarik*

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- Aksumite style architecture **I**:324b–25b, 379a; **II**:37b–38a, 289a–90a; **IV**:629a; **V**:17a, 55a, 152a, 529a
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  - Däbrä Dammo **II**:18a
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  - Gännätä Maryam **II**:692a
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  - Lalibäla **III**:486b, 488b
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- *Akúğ*, rel. **IV**:1005a
- Akula, settl. **IV**:34b
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- Akway, noble **I**:285a
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- Āl Bū Saᶜīd, dynasty **I**:622a
- *Al Ràgali* (Conti Rossini), lit. **I**:792a
- ᶜAla (Ala Wəha, Aloha), riv. **IV**:863a; **V**:12b
- Alaa (Ala), ethn. **I**:51b; **II**:506a; **III**:1050a; **IV**:301b
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  s. also ᶜAdwa, battle of; Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm; Air Force; *askari*; cavalry; *çäwa*; Egyptian–Ethiopian war; *fanno*; fire-arms; Imperial Bodyguard; Italian war 1895; Italian war 1935–36; Harär Military Academy; Holota Military Academy; infantry; military units; *näfṭäñña*; spears; warfare
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Arnoux, Pierre, trader **I**:463b, 545b, 712b; **II**:181a, 310b, 575a; **III**:955b; **IV**:1111b
Aroge, pl.n. **II**:484a, 612b; **IV**:216b, 932b
  s. also Fala
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- Aroid, ling. **I**:**350ab**; **IV**:18a, 21b–23b, 25ab
  - classification **I**:490b; **II**:162b, 175a, 178ab
  - s. also Aari; Dime; Hamär cluster; Omotic
- aromatics **I**:294b; **IV**:158b
  - s. also incense
- Aron, bibl. s. Aaron
- *Aron*: *Gädlä Aron* (Aaron) s. *Motä Aron*
- *Aron*: *Gädlä Aron* (Aron of Däbrä Daret), lit. **II**:25a, 626b; **III**:237b; **V**:5b–6a, 209a
  - edition **IV**:1002b
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- Aron of Däbrä Daret (Aron Mänkərawi, Ǝç̣e Aron), St. **I**:**350b–51**; **IV**:477b; **V**:192b
  - ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I **I**:229a
  - Bäṣälotä Mikaᵓel **I**:494b
  - Gäbrä Nazrawi **II**:626b
  - *Gädlä sämaᶜətat* **II**:645a
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  - Mäqet **III**:767b
  - Säyfä Arᶜad **IV**:568a
  - s. also *Aron*: *Gädlä Aron*; Däbrä Abunä Aron
- Aron of Gälila, St. **I**:**351ab**
  - Däbrä Maryam **I**:50b
  - Ewosṭatewos **II**:465a
- Aron of Kətur, St. **III**:625a
- Aron of Qʷärräro, St. **I**:351b
  - s. also Ǝnda Abba Aron
- Aron Täklä Täsfaṣəyon, mus. **II**:358a
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- Arqadewos, *abet.* **II**:129b
- Arqiqo s. Ḥərgigo
- Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra **V**:251b
- Arquivo Municipal de Braga **III**:49b
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- ᶜArraddó, pl.n. **I**:117b, 407a; **III**:647b, 969a
- Arräf Lebbe, pl.n. **IV**:847a
- ᶜArrāk b. Malik, *faqīh* **II**:65b
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- Arras, Victor, sch. **IV**:87b; **V**:**256ab**
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- Arraweelo, queen **IV**:700a
- ᶜArräza, reg. **IV**:537b
- Arreločč, ethn. **III**:646b; **IV**:845b
- *Arrəmuññ* (Mäkʷännən Ǝndalkaččäw), lit. **I**:244b; **III**:684a
- Arrian of Nicomedia, geog. **III**:145b
- ᶜArro, moth. Muḥammad ᶜAbdallāh **III**:1045a
- Arroogii, ethn. **III**:245a
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- Arsandaux, Henri, sch. **II**:202b
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- Arsanyos, martyr **II**:645b; **IV**:488b
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  - ill. **IV**:1095ab
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- Arsima, moth. Gäbrä Ǝndrəyas **II**:609a
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- Arsima Maryam, church **III**:823b; **IV**:856b
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- Arsonwa, moth. Samuᵓel of Däbrä Wägäg **IV**:514a
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- Artistic Printing Press (*Artistik mattämiyya bet*), org. **I**:347a, **355b–56a**; **II**:107a, 401a; **III**:140a; **IV**:218b, 309a
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- *Artistik mattämiyya bet* s. Artistic Printing Press
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- Arṭumma (Harṭumma), reg. **I**:332a, 543b; **III**:1057a; **IV**:257b; **V**:40a
- Aruğe, ethn. **IV**:1094a
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- *Arwe*, king **I**:264a, **356a–57a**, 734ab; **II**:705a; **III**:246a, 366b, 676a, 679b, 1189b; **IV**:361b, 636b; **V**:377a, 547a
  - s. also *arwe ᶜabiy*
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- *aryam*, rel. **I:357ab**; **II**:123b, 976a; **III**:918a; **IV**:306b; **V**:163b, 174b
  - s. also *Kəśtatä aryam*; *Səbḥatä nägh*
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- Aryāṭ, pol. **I**:347b, **357b**
- Aryos s. Arius
- ᶜAs ğoog, ethn. **III**:218b
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- ᶜAsa Aydāḥis, *amóyta* **III**:647b; **IV**:761b
- ᶜAsa Bōraytó, anc. **III**:975a
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- ᶜAsá Ḥíggi, ethn. **II**:959a
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- ᶜAsa Lēsan, ethn. **IV**:473a, 474ab
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- ᶜAsäb, adm. **I**:102ab, 357b; **II**:89a, 363ab, 368ab; **IV**:1018a; **V**:223b
  - s. also ᶜAsäb, town; Colonia di Assab; Dänkäl
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  - s. also ᶜAfar; Awsa; Colonia di Assab; Massawa; Rubattino
- ᶜAsäb Air Command, mil. **III**:228b
- ᶜAsäb Bay, reg. **I**:773a; **III**:1167b
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- Aṣädä Habtä Maryam (Asadaa Habta Maraam), pol. **III**:620ab
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Asceticon (*Zena zäʾəmʾabäwinä qəddusan*), lit. **III**:995a; **IV**:87a; **V**:256b
  s. also Apophthégmata; monastic literature
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  s. also *ḥaśani*; *ḥaṭī*; *nəguś*
ᶜAṣe Kaleb (Käbbädä Mikaʾel) s. *Kaleb*
ᶜaṣe śərᶜat, jur. **I**:813b, 839b
ᶜAsəba, reg. **III**:676a
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ᶜAsəm, mon. **II**:319b
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Asfa Maryam, monk **IV**:531a; **V**:479b, 553a
Asfa Sahəl, king **I**:45b
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Asfa Wäsän (Amməḫa Iyäsus), *mär.az.* **I**:247b, **366a**; **II**:1064a; **IV**:331a; **V**:238b
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    Däbrä Bərhan **II**:12a
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Asfa Wäsän Ḫaylä Śəllase, *alga wäraš* **I**:**366a–67a**, 789b; **IV**:949ab, 1152a; **V**:142a, 156a, 230b
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    Botor **I**:610b
    Däbrä Zäyt **II**:53a
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Asfa Wäsän Kaśa Ḫaylu, *däǧǧ.* **I**:**367ab**; **III**:1131a; **V**:208ab, 239b, 405b
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Asfa Wäsän School, Addis Abäba **V**:411a, 508a
Asfa Yəlma, *wäyz.* **I**:**367b–68a**; **IV**:1025a, 1114b
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  s. also ᶜAddi Asfäda
Asfaḥ, king s. Asfəḥ
Aṣfaḥ b. ᶜAlī, *molla* **I**:200b; **II**:1008ab
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Aṣfäḥa Ḥadgämbäsa, pol. **II**:960b
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    ᶜAli Mähammäd **I**:202b
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    Eritrean Assembly **II**:369b–70a
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Asgäde (Asgädä, Asgəde), anc. **I**:69b, 70a, 167a, 550ab; **II**:946a
  s. also Bet Asgäde
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ᶜAsgwaᶜ, *qäñ geta* **V**:341b
ᶜAṣḥafi, area **I**:179a, 180b
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Aṣḥam b. Abǧar, *naǧāšī* **I**:298ab, **369a–70a**; **II**:263a, 298a, 794b; **III**:31a, 202a, 1108ab, 1043a, 1109b; **IV**:155b, 799b
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Aṣḥamat an-naǧāšī s. Aṣḥam b. Abǧar
Ashenafi Kebede s. Aššännafi Käbbädä
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  ill. **III**:991b, 1207b
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ᶜĀsiyaytu s. Maḥámmad "ᶜĀsiyaytu" Gemmessis
Askadər s. Ǝskəndər
Askadom, rel. leader **III**:279a
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Askalä Gobäna, moth. Abbäbä Arägay **I**:22a
Askalä Ǧootee, wife *ləǧ* Iyasu **II**:851a; **V**:33a
Askalä Maryam s. Momina
Askalä Maryam, *abba* **III**:900a
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Askalä Wäldä Amanuʾel, wife Täkkälä Wäldä Ḥawaryat **IV**:822b
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ᶜaskär s. *aškär*
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Askät (Scetis), mon. **II**:811a
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  s. also *qob*
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Asmāddīn Bari (Šäwa Bärr; Bāb at-Turk; Bāb an-Naṣr), gate Har. **II**:1013a, 1017a; **IV**:1019b
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  s. also magic; magic literature; magic scrolls
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ᶜAṣ́me, *baldäras* **I**:457b
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ᶜAṣqa (Aṣqu), theol. **I**:486a, 729b; **II**:416b–17a; **IV**:992a; **V**:132a
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  s. also *gäbbar*
ᶜAśrat, *ras*, *bal.* **I**:204a, **383b–84a**; **II**:684a, 827b, 906b; **IV**:499a, 1097b–98a, 1129b; **V**:124b
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ᶜAśrat Wäldäyäs, pol. **I:384ab**; **III**:720a; **IV**:1027a
ᶜAśratä Kaśa Ḫaylu, *ləᶜul ras* **I:384b–85b**; **III**:556b, 732a; **IV**:1071b; **V**:212a, 410a
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ᶜAśratä Maryam, son ᶜAmdä Mikaᵓel **V**:235a
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Awaš (Wēᶜáytu), riv. **I**:70ab, 103b, 115b, **400b–01b**; **II**:393a, 750b; **V**:120b, 302b
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ᶜAwdä Məḥrät s. Gäza Fälästi
ᶜAwdä nägäśt, lit. **I:402b**; **III**:3b; **IV**:36b
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ᶜawdä qämär, chron. **I**:402b–03a, 445b–46a, 733a
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ᶜAyba, settl. Təgray **I**:**408ab**
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ᶜAyn Amba, settl. **I**:543a; **IV**:257b
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  - ethnic groups **I**:283b, 285a; **III**:983b, 1199a; **IV**:22a, 35a, 572b
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- Baro Salient, geog. **I**:614a; **II**:668b, 798b; **V**:348b
- Baro Tumsa, pol. **I**:**483a**; **II**:654a; **V**:472b
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- Baroni, Raffaele, merchant **I**:**483ab**
- Baroque, art. **II**:520a; **III**:74b, 144a, 724b; **IV**:282b; **V**:449a
- Barqūq, *sulṭ.* **II**:113a; **III**:715a
- Barr Sa^{c}daddīn, reg. **I**:71b, 155b, 210b; **III**:1209b; **IV**:444b, 1016b, 1083b
  - s. also Harär; Ifat, ^{c}Adal
- Barra s. ^{c}Addi Baro
- Barradas, Manoel, miss. **I**:**483b–84a**; **III**:49a, 279a; **V**:89a
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- Bärrah, pl.n. **I**:75b
- Barral, Léon, entr. **V**:505a
- Barre, *āw* **II**:506a
- Barre, Siad s. Muḥammad Ziyād Barrī
- Barreto, João Nunes, miss. **I**:**484ab**, 700a; **III**:277b
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  - as patriarch **III**:120a, 288b; **IV**:530a
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    - Bermudez **I**:540b
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- Barreto, Tomás, miss. **I**:184b; **III**:48b
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- Barro s. Baro
- Barros, João de, hist. **I**:340b, **484b–85a**; **III**:734a; **V**:8a
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- Bärsabbəh s. Wəbit
- Bärsäna, riv. **II**:315b; **III**:1016b
- *barsännät* s. *adäs*
- Barsauma, monk **II**:330b
- Barsbāy, *sulṭ.* **I**:**485ab**, 517b; **II**:68b; **III**:715a; **IV**:290a; **V**:149a
- Bärsom Wäldä Abu Əlfäräǧ, trans. **I**:472b
- Bärsoma, *abba* **IV**:829a
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- Barta, pl.n. **III**:706b
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- Bartels, Lambert, miss., sch. **I:486ab**; **III**:301b; **V**:460b
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- Baryam, anc. **II**:272a
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- *Bərr ambar säbbärälwo* (Bərhanu Zäryəhun), lit. **I**:539a
- Bərratu Wälde, mil. **IV**:1111b
- Bərre, *wäyz.* **III**:606b
- Bərrənäw, wife Afäwärq Gäbrä Iyäsus **I**:123a
- *Berri*, rel. **II**:658b
- berries, bot. **II**:560b, 561b, 581b, 582b, 773a; **IV**:523b
  - s. also *adäs*; coffee; *əndod*; fruit
- Bərritu Libän, wife Bərru Lubo **I**:543a
- Bərru, *bitw*. **II**:303a
- Bərru, *däğğ.* of Damot **IV**:814b
- *Berru*, mat.cult.**I**:541a
- Bərru, merchant **V**:136b
- Bərru Aligaz, *däğğ.* **I**:410b; **II**:939a; **IV**:862b
- Bərru Dubbale, miss. **IV**:225a
- Bərru Gäbrä Mädḫən, *wag šum* **I**:**541b–42b**; **II**:939a; **IV**:1067a, 1071b
  - ill. **III**:317a; **IV**:828ab
  - in art **IV**:1184a
- Bərru Goššu, *däğğ.* **I**:410b, **542b**; **III**:386b, 763b; **IV**:930b–931a; **V**:338a
  - relation to
    - Blondeel van Cuelebrouck **I**:596b
    - Goššu Zäwde **II**:861a–62a
    - Ḫaylu **II**:1068a
    - Ḫirut Wäldä Maryam **III**:655b
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- Bərru Ḫaylä Maryam, *däğğ.* **IV**:1112a
- Bərru Lubo (Birroo; Tallaq Bərru), ruler **I**:73a, **542b–44a**; **II**:776a; **IV**:257b
- Bərru Mənilək s. Bərru Wäldä Gäbrəᵓel
- Bərru Nägawo, *däğğ.* **I**:660b
- Bərru Peṭros (Bərru Wälqayte), dipl. **I**:**544ab**; **III**:657a; **IV**:876b; **V**:361b, 367b
- Bərru Wäldä Gäbrəᵓel (Bərru Mənilək), *däğğ.*, *fit.*, *ras* **I**:18a, **544b–45a**; **III**:1068b; **IV**:573a, 1040b; **V**:1a, 452b
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    - Käfa **III**:449b
    - Qälləm **II**:780a, 851a; **IV**:256b
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    - Bruke Dämisse **II**:776b
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- Bərru Wäldä Giyorgis, *aläqa* **I**:**545ab**; **II**:279b; **IV**:573b, 1040b
  - relation to
    - Mərc̣a Wärqe **III**:934a
    - Munzinger **III**:1072a
- Bərru Wälqayte s. Bərru Peṭros
- Bərru Wəbe, miss. **I**:**545b–46a**; **III**:596a, 961b–62a; **IV**:224a
- Berry, Jean du, Duke **III**:237a
- Bersäbeḥ s. Wəbit
- Bersaglieri, mil. **II**:265b; **III**:345a; **IV**:49b, 156a
- Bersub, ethn. **I**:35b; **II**:1017b
- Berta (Bärta, Bertha, Beni Šangul, Bela Šangul), ethn. **I**:**546a–48b**; **III**:93b; **V**:1b, 309a–10b, 311b, 339b, 382b
  - ill. **I**:548a; **II**:833ab; **III**:1083ab
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  - areas and distribution **I**:382a; **IV**:172b, 256b, 759a
  - customs
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    - musical instruments **II**:273b; **III**:170b, 171b
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    - Ethiopian Language Area **II**:411b, 412b
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  - s. also Nilo-Saharan
- Berteri (Bertiri), ethn. **I**:72b, 154b
- Bertha s. Berta
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- Bertolani, Secondo, art. **IV**:146b–47a
- Bertolè-Viale, Ettore, pol. **IV**:519a
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- Bərtukan, reg. **IV**:1122a
- Bəruh, anc. **II**:96b
- Bərur Maryam, mon. **IV**:307a
- Bərute, *əmmabet* **IV**:1099a
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- Besa, disc. Shenute of Atripe **IV**:648b–49a
- Besa college, Rome **III**:868a
- Besant, Walter, wr. **V**:402b
- Bešaṭmir, tribe **V**:62b
- Beschey, Balthasar, art. **III**:677b
- *Bəṣ́əᶜət anti*, hymn **I**:**548b**; **III**:829a; **IV**:589b
- Beseka, lake **III**:859b–60a; **IV**:1155b
- Beshada s. Bäšada
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- Bessarion, Basil, eccl. **II**:554b
- Besse, Antonin **II**:576b
- Besse Company, org. **I**:83b
- Bəsṭawros, *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* **I**:**549a**
- *Bəṣ́uᶜ zäyaläbbu*, rel. **II**:123b
- Bəṣ́uᶜa (Bəṣ́uᶜə) Amlak, St. **I**:**549a–50a**; **III**:414b–15a; **IV**:796a
- *Bəṣ́uᶜa Amlak*: *Gädlä Bəṣ́uᶜa Amlak*, lit. **I**:549a; **III**:414b
- Bəṣ́uᶜa Amlak, mon. s. Kodadu
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- *bet*, archt. s. houses
- *bet* (pl. *abyat*), verse **II**:778b–79a, 899ab; **III**:99b, 101a, 363a, 876b, 949b; **IV**:468a, 603a, 1166b; **V**:101a, 163b
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Bet Askär, ethn. **III**:1117a
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Bet Ǝšḥaqan (Bet Išḥaqan; Bet Šäḥaqan), ethn. **I**:136b; **III**:339a, 735b–36a; **IV**:472a
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Bet Gärgəš (Bet Giyorgis), *wa^{c}əla* **I**:43b, 378ab; **II**:625a; **IV**:813a, 1096a; **V**:65a
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Bet Ḥasan (Bayt Ḥasan), ethn. **I**:154b, 160b; **III**:110b, 1046b, 1116a, 1118a
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Betä Abba Libanos, church, Lalibäla **III**:482b, 484a, 486a, 488a, 558b; **IV**:404a, 1071a, 1182b; **V**:199b
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Betä Ǝsra^{ɔ}el (Fälaša), ethn. **I**:139a, 142b–43a, **552a–59a**; **III**:307b; **V**:191a, 381a, 384b, 386a, 398a, 404b, 407b, 429a, 431a
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- Betä Märqorewos, church, Lalibäla **I**:738b; **III**:482b, 488a
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- Däbrä Bərhan Wool Factory, org. **IV**:1193b–94a
- Däbrä Bəśrat (Däbrä Zena Marqos, Nazret), mon. **II:15ab**, 617a; **III**:914a, 1016b; **IV**:307a; **V**:178b
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- Däbrä Betel Śəllase, church **III**:896a
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  - administration **II**:90b; **III**:634a, 1207a
  - architecture **III**:992a
  - donations **I**:110a; **II**:238b, 467b, 540a; **III**:347a
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    - Abranyos **I**:45a
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- Däbrä Daga Ǝsṭifanos s. Daga Ǝsṭifanos
- Däbrä Daḥməmo s. Däbrä Dammo
- Däbrä Dämmo Gälila, mon. **I**:351b
- Däbrä Dammo (Däbrä Dammo, Däbrä Halleluya, Ǝnda [Abunä] Arägawi), mon. **II**:6b, 7b, **17b–20b**, 22b, 143b, 747a; **III**:988a, 989b; **IV**:188a, 851b, 1157a; **V**:7b, 60a, 87a–88b, 130ab, 131b, 201b–02a, 219a, 252b, 297a, 377b, 378b, 444a
  - ill. **II**:19b; **III**:1018ab; **IV**:637b; **V**:130ab
  - map **II**:18a
  - administration **III**:1161a
  - architecture **I**:325a; **II**:146a, 269b, 397b; **III**:484b; **IV**:188a; **V**:55a, 152ab
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- Däbrä Daret (Däbrä Faran), mon. **I**:351a; **V**:5b, 192b
- Däbrä Dəhuḥan s. Däbrä Dəḫuḫan
- Däbrä Dəḫuḫan (Ǝnda Abunä Yonas Taḥtay), mon. **I**:524a; **II:20b**, 539b; **III**:538a; **IV**:538a; **V**:92b–93b
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- Däbrä Dəlšəha s. Dəlšəha
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- Däbrä Dəmaḥ, mon. **I**:169b; **II:21a**; **III**:1144b; **IV**:538a, 1131b
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  - personalities
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- Däbrä Dima s. Dima Giyorgis
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- Däbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer, church, Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos **II**:24a, 129a
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- Däbrä Ǝsṭifanos s. Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos
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- Däbrä Faran s. Däbrä Daret
- Däbrä Fərem, mon. **II**:6b, 84b, 527a, 528b; **IV**:487a
- Däbrä Gäbärma s. Däbrä Ṣəmmuna
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- Däbrä Gännät Elyas, church **II:21b–22a**, 473b
  - map **II**:21b
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    - Ḥaddis ᶜAlämayyähu **II**:959a
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- Däbrä Gännät Kidanä Məḥrät, church **II**:856b; **III**:276b
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- Däbrä Gännät Mikaʾel s. Baḥrəy Gəmb Däbrä Gännät Mikaʾel
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    Däbrä Ǝgziᵓabəḥer **II**:129a
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    ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I **I**:228b
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Däbrä Ḫərmo, mon. **IV**:670a
Däbrä Iyäsus, church **II**:1072a; **V**:502b
Däbrä Kärbe s. Amba Gəšän
Däbrä Kaswa s. Gunda Gunde
Däbrä Kaswa, pl.n. **II**:917b
Däbrä Kol (Ǝnda Abba Buruk; Ǝnda Buruk Amlak), mon. **I**:650b; **II**:**25b**, 465a; **III**:792a; **IV**:538a
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  donations **II**:343a, 942a; **IV**:113b; **V**:112a
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    Bäṣälotä Mikaᵓel **I**:494a; **II**:911b
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  ill. **II**:26ab; **III**:989b; **IV**:152ab
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    Anorewos “the Elder” **I**:277b; **III**:520b, 633b, 1207a
    Bäᵓədä Maryam I **I**:432a
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    - Naᶜod **III**:1134b
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    - Sälik **II**:1052b; **IV**:493b–94a
    - Samuᵓel of Däbrä Wägäg **IV**:514ab
    - Šäwarägäd Gädle **IV**:561b–62a
    - Tadewos **IV**:811a
    - Tadewos of Däbrä Maryam **IV**:812ab
    - Täklä Haymanot **V**:87b–88a, 112a
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    - Atronsä Maryam **I**:394b
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    - Tädbabä Maryam **III**:579a; **IV**:807a, 808a
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    - *səwwuran* **IV**:641b
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      - Bible exegesis **II**:473b
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      - *Ṣägga* **I**:609a; **III**:86b–87b, 1103b; **IV**:454a, 556b
      - *Täwaḥədo* **I**:722b; **III**:250a; **IV**:268a, 835a, 874b, 937a; **V**:115b
  - s. also Azäzo Täklä Haymanot; *əč̣č̣äge*; *Zena Däbrä Libanos*
- Däbrä Libanos, Golden Gospel of, ms. **I**:185b; **II**:28b, 84b, 624b, 942ab, 943b, 981a, 988b; **III**:70a, 478b, 559b, 576b, 625a, 743a, 844a, 1122a; **IV**:290a, 537b, 1131ab; **V**:5a, 11b, 44b, 236b, 246a, 296a, 297b, 341a, 525a, 532a
  - ill. **II**:28b; **IV**:1131b
  - s. also *Wängelä wärq*
- Däbrä Libanos, Šəmäzana s. Däbrä Libanos, Ham
- Däbrä Mäᶜar, Gospel of, ms. **II**:30a, 461b, 859b; **IV**:95a
  - ill. **II**:30a, 460b
- Däbrä Mäᶜar (Däbrä Mäᶜara, Däbrä Maᶜəräya, Ǝnda Giyorgis), mon. **II:29b–31a**, 41b; **V**:5a
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    - Däbrä Ṣəyon **II**:42b
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  - s. also Däbrä Mäᶜar, Gospel of; Ǝnda Maryam Ayräfäda
- Däbrä Mäᶜar Giyorgis (Ǝnda Giyorgis), church **II**:30a
- Däbrä Mäᶜarä s. Däbrä Mäᶜar
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- Däbrä Mädḫanit, mon., Təgray **I**:42a
  - ill. **III**:666ab, 740ab
- Däbrä Mädḫanit, Tämben s. Ǝnda Abba Sälama
- Däbrä Mädḫanit Mädḫane ᶜAläm, church **II**:856a
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- Däbrä Maᶜəṣo s. Däbrä Maᶜṣo
- Däbrä Makədda, pl.n. **I**:177b; **III**:675b–76a, 921b; **V**:190a
- Däbrä Mammas, mon. **V**:178b
- Däbrä Mänkərat Kidanä Məḥrät, chapel **II**:607b; **III**:722b; **IV**:141a
- Däbrä Mankərat Täklä Haymanot, mon. **IV**:140a, 839b–40a
- Däbrä Manzo, mon. **V**:514a
- Däbrä Märqorewos s. Däbrä Dəmaḥ
- Däbrä (Ǝnda) Marqos s. ᶜAddi Abun
- Däbrä Marqos, *awr.* **II**:784a, 828a; **III**:615b
- Däbrä [Ṣ́äḥay Qəddus] Marqos, church **II**:303b, 779b, 873b; **IV**:98b, 838a, 840b
  - ill. **IV**:766ab
- Däbrä Marqos, mon. **III**:1033b; **V**:456ab
- Däbrä Marqos, town **I**:101b; **II:31b–32a**; **IV**:1038b; **V**:36b, 338b, 350a
  - ill. **II**:31b
  - map **II**:32a
  - architecture **II**:722b
  - economy **I**:823b; **IV**:1193b
  - education **II**:304b, 473b
  - flora **II**:448a
  - history **II**:827b; **III**:71b; **IV**: 166a, 1144b
  - personalities
    - Bäzzabbəh Täklä Haymanot **I**:511b
    - Ǝmməru Ḫaylä Śəllase **I**:277a
    - Falconi **I**:487b
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    - Gäbrä Ǝgziᵓabəḥer Elyas **II**:607b
    - Gäbrä Śəllase Anno **II**:628a
    - Ḥaddis ᶜAlämayyähu **II**:959b
    - Ḫaylä Śəllase I **II**:423b, 585b, 777b, 828a
    - Ḫaylu Täklä Haymanot **II**:1069b
    - Lämläm **III**:492b
    - Luqas **III**:606a
    - Matteucci **III**:874a
    - Tädla Gʷalu **IV**:814b
    - Täklä Haymanot **IV**:838b
  - relation to
    - Baḥər Dar **I**:443a
    - Bəčänä **I**:512b
    - Moṭa **I**:802a; **III**:1032b
- Däbrä Marqos, *wär*. **II**:784a
- Däbrä Maryam, church, Amba Gəšän **IV**:887b
- Däbrä Maryam, mon., Akkälä Guzay **V**:299a
- Däbrä Maryam, mon., Därra s. Däbrä Ṣäqʷän
- Däbrä Maryam, mon., Guna **I**:351a
- Däbrä Maryam, mon., Lake Zʷay **IV**:140a
- Däbrä Maryam, mon. Qorqor, Gärᶜalta s. Qorqor Maryam
- Däbrä Maryam (Ǝnda Abunä Absadi), mon., Qʷäḥayn **I**:77b; **II:33ab**; **V**:93a
  - ill. **II**:33b
  - map **II**:17a
  - administration **III**:1207ab
  - donations **III**:1145a
  - history **II**:466ab; **IV**:538a
  - manuscripts and literature **I**:524a; **II**:465a, 470b; **IV**:7a, 96a
  - personalities
    - Absadi of Däbrä Maryam **I**:50a; **II**:25b
    - Aron of Gälila **I**:351b
    - Buruk Amlak **I**:650a; **II**:25b
    - Fəśśəḥa Giyorgis ᶜAbiyä Ǝgziᵓ **II**:532b
    - Filmona **II**:542b
    - Matyas **III**:875a
    - Tadewos of Däbrä Bartarwa **IV**:811ab
    - Täwäldä Mädḫən **IV**:875b
    - Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob **II**:467b; **IV**:887b
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    - Gospels **II**:462a; **III**:626b, 633b
    - hagiography **I**:823a; **II**:192b, 349a, 615b, 970b; **III**:291b, 875b, 948a; **V**:96b–97a
- Däbrä Maryam, mon., Šäwa **III**:614a
- Däbrä Maryam, mon., Ṭana **II:32a–33a**; **IV**:856b
  - map **II**:32b
  - history **III**:992a; **IV**:668a
  - manuscripts **III**:782a; **V**:545b
  - personalities
    - Aśärä Krəstos **I**:363a
- Däbrä Maryam P̣ap̣pasäyt(i), church **II**:698a
- Däbrä Maryam Ṣawne, church s. Ṣawne Maryam
- Däbrä Maᶜṣo (Yoḥannəs), pl.n., *amba*, church **III**:625b; **IV**:762a; **V**:5a, 246b, **296ab**
  - ill. **V**:296ab
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- Däbrä Matayä, church **I**:351a
- Däbrä Matyas, church **III**:875a
- Däbrä Mäwiᵓ (Maryam), mon. **I**:561b; **II:33b–34b**, 423a, 826a; **III**:990b, 992a; **IV**:878a; **V**:38a–39a, 415b
  - map **II**:34a
- Däbrä Mäwiᵓ Maryam s. Däbrä Mäwiᵓ
- Däbrä Maya Aᶜəraf, mon. **II**:465a
- Däbrä Məᶜəwan s. Ǝnda Śəllase
- Däbrä Məśṭir, church, Šäwa **II**:383b
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- Däbrä Məśwaᶜ, church **I**:742b; **II:34b**, 383b
- Däbrä Məṭmaq, church, Eg. s. Məṭmaq
- Däbrä Məṭmaq (Däbrä Məṭmaq Maryam), church, Gondär **II:35ab**, 847a; **IV**:827ab
- Däbrä Məṭmaq, council of **II**:16a, 33b, 142b, 416a, 467b, 632a; **III**:521a, 660b, 1192a; **IV**:433a, 747b; **V**:96b, 147ab, 148b, 444b
- *Däbrä Məṭmaq* (Apparition of Virgin Mary at Məṭmaq), feast **I**:671b; **II**:47a, 512b; **V**:135a
  - in art **I**:266a; **II**:14a, 349a; **IV**:94a, 98a
- Däbrä Məṭmaq (Däbrä Məṭmaq Maryam), mon., Tägulät **I**:485b; **II**:26b, **34b–35a**, 35b; **IV**:554b
  - map **II**:34b
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    - Bäᵓədä Maryam **II**:775a
    - Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob **II**:239a, 300b; **IV**:819a
  - s. also Däbrä Məṭmaq, council of
- Däbrä Mikaᵓel, church, ᶜAbiy ᶜAddi s. ᶜAbiy ᶜAddi Mikaᵓel
- Däbrä Mikaᵓel, church, Moṭa s. Moṭa Däbrä Mikaᵓel
- Däbrä Nägäśt s. Amba Gəšän
- Däbrä Nägʷädgʷad, mon., Dähaya **II:35b–36b**; **III**:473a; **IV**:692a; **V**:68a, 148b, 238a
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  - administration **I**:742b
  - church objects **II**:57b, 59b; **III**:666b
  - history **I**:157b; **III**:672b
  - personalities
    - Bäᵓədä Maryam **II**:873a
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    - Däbrä Libanos **II**:300b; **III**:672a
- Däbrä Nägʷädgʷad, Ḥayq s. Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos
- Däbrä Näzrawi, church **IV**:401b
- Däbrä Qaᶜat, mon. **V**:264b
- Däbrä Qaroda, pl.n. **I**:47b
- Däbrä Qäṭin, mon. **I**:351a; **II**:716b
- Däbrä Qəddus, plateau **IV**:157a
- Däbrä Qop̣ros, pl.n. **II**:143b; **III**:753b
- Däbrä Qozät, mon. **I**:608a; **II:36b–37a**, 609ab; **IV**:1082a
  - map **II**:36a
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- Däbrä Qʷäḥayn, mon. s. Däbrä Maryam, Qʷäḥayn
- Däbrä Qʷänaṣəl, church **III**:581b–82a, 988b, 1190b; **IV**:73a; **V**:444a
- Däbrä Qʷäyäṣa (Samuᵓel Qʷäyäṣa), mon. **III**:1208a; **IV**:669b; **V**:444b
  - ill. **II**:765b; **III**:624b; **IV**:88a, 293b
  - donations **II**:682b; **IV**:670a
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  - personalities
    - Ǝsṭifanos **III**:989a; **IV**:747a
    - Samuᵓel of Däbrä Qʷäyäṣa **IV**:513b–14a
  - s. also Samuᵓel of Däbrä Qʷäyäṣa
- *Däbrä Qʷəsqʷam*, feast **I**:671b–72b; **II**:512b; **III**:808b; **IV**:301a
- Däbrä Qʷəsqʷam, mon., Č̣aqäta **II**:609b
- Däbrä Qʷəsqʷam, mon., Eg. s. Dayr al-Muḥarraq
- Däbrä Qʷəsqʷam, mon., Eritrea **IV**:318a
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- Däbrä Roḥa, town s. Lalibäla
- Däbrä Säbla, mon. **I**:507a
- Däbrä Ṣ́äḥay, church, Säqota **IV**:766b; **V**:55a
- Däbrä Ṣ́äḥay Qəddus Marqos, church **IV**:840b
- Däbrä Ṣ́äḥay Qʷəsqʷam (Qʷäsqʷam), church **I**:55b, 743b; **II**:6b, **37ab**, 76a, 116b; **IV**:318b, 766b; **V**:23a, 72a, 246a, 357b, 457b
  - ill. **II**:37ab
  - administration **I**:742b, 743b
  - architecture **III**:1149a; **IV**:319a, 320ab
  - donations **II**:922a; **III**:164b, 253a, 1033b; **IV**:498b
  - paintings **III**:1034ab
  - personalities
    - Bərhan Mogäsa **I**:534b; **II**:840b, 847a, 873a; **IV**:392a
    - Bəsṭawros **I**:549a
    - Ǝšäte of Qʷara **II**:376a
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- Däbrä Ṣ́äḥay Śəllase, church **I**:55b; **IV**:1055b
- Däbrä Sahl, mon. **V**:93a, 224a
- Däbrä Ṣälalo s. Ṣəlalo
- Däbrä Sälam, mon., Bethlehem **III**:276a
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  - map **II**:38a
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  - church objects **III**:630a, 776b; **IV**:804b
  - paintings **II**:256b, **III**:665b; **IV**:98a
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    - Gäbrä Mäsqäl **II**:624a
- Däbrä Sälam Mikaᵓel, church, Nəḥbi **V**:144b
- Däbrä Sälay s. Tomos of Däbrä Ṣälay
- Däbrä Säloda, mon. **II**:301a
- Däbrä Samuᵓel, Adil Badil, church **II**:331b
  - ill. **II**:331b; **III**:317a; **IV**:828ab
- Däbrä San (Däbsan), mon. **II:39b–40a**; **V**:515b
  - map **II**:40a
  - history **II**:302a, 467a; **III**:278b, 920a; **IV**:1161b
  - personalities
    - Abranyos **I**:45a
    - Fernandes **II**:530b
    - Gäbrä Iyäsus **II**:614b; **IV**:1186a
- Däbrä Ṣ́ana, mon. **V**:340b
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- Däbrä Ṣäqʷän (Däbrä Maryam), mon. **II**:32b; **IV**:812ab
- Däbrä Säqʷar, mon. **IV**:1113a
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  - administration **II**:90b
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- Däbrä Ṣəgağğa, mon. **I**:277a; **II**:293b; **V**:5b, 144ab
- Däbrä Səgale, pl.n. **IV**:266b–67a
- Däbrä Ṣəge, church, Gärᶜalta **V**:285b
- Däbrä Ṣəge, church, Səmen s. Däräsge Maryam
- Däbrä Ṣəge, mon., Ḥamasen s. Ṣäᶜada Ǝmba Śəllase
- Däbrä Ṣəge (Däbrä Erar, Ǝnda Abunä Yonas Laᶜəlay, Ǝnda Śəllase), mon., Säraye **I**:524a; **II**:20b, **40b**, 292b; **IV**:538a; **V**:92b, 93b
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- Däbrä Ṣəge Maryam, mon., Šäwa **II**:473b, 856a
- Däbrä Ṣəge Qəddus Uraᵓel, church **II**:6b, 23a, **40b–41b**, 391b
- Däbrä Ṣəḫin s. Wägrä Səḫin
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- Däbrä Šəmana, mon., Anṭalo **II**:466a, 469b; **III**:788b
- Däbrä Ṣəmmona s. Däbrä Ṣəmmuna
- Däbrä Ṣəmmuna (Däbrä Ṣəmmona), mon. **II**:826a; **III**:790b–91a; **IV**:125a, 297b, 829a, 840b; **V**:515ab
- Däbrä Sərem, mon. **IV**:1184a
- Däbrä Ṣəyon, church, Addis ᶜAläm s. Addis ᶜAläm Maryam
- Däbrä Ṣəyon, church, Ǝšätän **II**:375b; **III**:1092a
- Däbrä Ṣəyon, church, Naqamtee **II**:811b
- *Däbrä Ṣəyon*, feast **I**:671b; **II**:512b
- Däbrä Ṣəyon, is. s. Tulluu Guddoo
- Däbrä Ṣəyon (Abunä Abrəham), mon., Gärᶜalta **II**:6a, **41b–43a**, 699a; **V**:10a, 64a
  - ill. **II**:42ab; **III**:765b, 776a
  - map **II**:699b
  - architecture **III**:630b; **IV**:404a
  - church objects **III**:776a; **IV**:806a
  - churches **I**:738b; **II:42a–43a**, 698a, 699b–700b
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    - Abrəham **I**:48ab
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- Däbrä Sina, mon., Gorgora **II:46a–47b**, 76b, 143b, 250a, 853b; **V**:514a
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  - paintings **I**:826a; **II**:766a; **III**:398b, 539b, 665b, 690b–91a; **IV**:93a, 98b–99a, 293a, 995a
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- Däbrä Sina Rama Kidanä Məḥrät s. Rama Kidanä Məḥrät
- Däbrä Täᵓamina (Däbrä Təguhan), mon. **II:48a–49a**; **IV**:853a
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    - Täklä Giyorgis **II**:106b
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    - Wärräsek (Yäğğu) **II**:194b; **IV**:466a, 1170a
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  - s. also homilies
- *Dərsan bäᵓəntä ᶜəbäyä kəbra läᵓəgzəᵓətənä Maryam* **s.** *Mary*, *Apocalypse of*
- *Dərsan bäᵓəntä əgzəᵓətənä Maryam wäbäᵓəntä bet zäḫadärät məslä fəqur wäldä bädäbrä Qusqam* **s.** *Dərsanä Maryam*
- *Dərsan … bäᵓəntä haymanot* (Epiphanios of Salamis), lit. **II**:337a
- *Dərsan ... bäᵓəntä qəddəst fasika* (Gregory of Nazianzos), lit. **II**:892a
- *Dərsan bäᵓəntä ṣ́äᵓatä näfs* (Theophilos), lit. **IV**:948a
- *Dərsan bäᵓəntä sänbätat* (Rətuᶜa Haymanot), lit. **II**:141b; **III**:163b, 520a
  - s. also *Dərsanä sänbät*
- *Dərsan … bäᵓəntä śəllase fəkre* (Epiphanios of Salamis), lit. **II**:337a
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  - s. also *Dərsanä sänbät*
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- *Dərsan wätəmhərt zäᵓabäwinä ḥawaryat qəddusan*, lit. **II**:193b–94a
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- *Dərsanä Gäbrəᵓel*, lit. **II**:137a, **137b**, 337a, 457b; **III**:289b, 293b; **IV**:112a
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- *Dərsanä Gärima*, lit. **II**:284b–85a, 704b–06a
- *Dərsanä Giyorgis*, lit. **II**:764a, 765a; **IV**:945a
- *Dərsanä ḥəmamatihu wämotu* **II**:138a
- *Dərsanä Iyäsus Moᵓa*, lit. **III**:257b; **IV**:383b
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Ǝnda Abba P̣änṭälewon, arch. site, church **I**:178a, 180b–81a; **III**:988b; **IV**:1131b
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Faɖakoobe (Fālakōbé; Faɖé-k Ôbe; Farhakoobe), poet **I**:119b; **II**:**483ab**; **III**:181b, 974b; **IV**:474b
  s. also ᶜAfar literature
Fädärašən nay Iityop̣yan Ertəran s. Ethiopian-Eritrean Federation
Fädaši, ethn., lang. **IV**:256b; **V**:1b, 382a, 384a
  s. also Berta; Fadasi
Fadasi, reg., town **I**:547b; **III**:541b, 873b; **IV**: 666b; **V**:**309a–10b**
  ill. **V**:310ab

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Faḏé-k Ôbe s. Faḏakoobe
Fāḍil b. Sulaymān, *sulṭ.* **II**:68a
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Fadis, settl. **I**:33a, 35b, 478b; **II**:785b, 787a
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Fädse, settl. **II**:787a; **III**:465a
  s. also Fadis
Fafän (Tuug Faafan), riv. **I**:200a; **II**:750b, 935b, 1064b, 1155b; **III**:230b, 232b
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Faffahto, mt. **III**:1080b
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Fageta, battle of **III**:833a; **IV**:835b
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Faḫr as-sūdān ᶜalā l-bīḍān (al-Ǧāḥiẓ), lit. **I**:583b; **III**:739b
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Faith of the Unctionists, *The*, lit. **I**:730b
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    Täᵓammərat Amanuᵓel **IV**:796b–97a
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    Betä Ǝsraᵓel **I**:555ab, 558b, 673b; **II**:688b; **IV**:442b
    Kayləñña **I**:139b
    literature **II**:559a; **IV**:905a
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Fala, mt. **II**:484a; **III**:763b, 1138b
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Fälägä Sälam, *wär*. **III**:322a
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Fälaś mura s. Betä Ǝsraᵓel
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Fälaša Bet, reg. **II:484b–85a**; **V**:69b
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Fälašan, dial. s. Qʷarəñña
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Gäbrä Kidan, *mäm.* (Mikaʾel, *abunä*) **III**:687b
Gäbrä Kidan Dästa, sch. **II**:558b
Gäbrä Kidan Wäldä Ḥawaryat, arch. **II**:291b
Gäbrä Kidan Zemo, *ras bitw.* **II**:133a; **III**:933a; **V**:73b
Gäbrä Krəstos s. Alexis, St.
Gäbrä Krəstos, abbot, Däbrä Maryam **V**:93a
Gäbrä Ḵrəstos (Gäbru), anc. **II**:95ab, 96b
Gäbrä Krəstos, *ᶜaqaṣən* **IV**:538a
Gäbrä Krəstos, *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* (15th cent.) **I**:247b; **II**:24b
Gäbrä Krəstos, *aṣe* **II:617ab**; **III**:253b; **IV**:464b; **V**:126a
Gäbrä Krəstos, *bäᶜalä naᶜle* (15th cent.) **III**:560a
Gäbrä Krəstos, broth. Samuʾel of Waldəbba **IV**:516a
Gäbrä Krəstos, *däǧǧ.* s. Gäbrä Krəstos Habśəllus
Gäbrä Krəstos, disc. Ǝsṭifanos (15th cent.) **II**:390b
Gäbrä Krəstos, fath. Yoḥannəs of Däbrä Bizän **V**:83b
Gäbrä Krəstos, fath. Zena Maryam **V**:179a
Gäbrä Krəstos, gov. Bägemdər (17th cent.) **I**:583a; **IV**:592a
Gäbrä Krəstos, gov. Säraye (15th cent.) **IV**:538a
Gäbrä Krəstos, *käntiba* s. Gärä Ḵəstos
Gäbrä Krəstos, mil. (18th cent.) **IV**:539b
Gäbrä Krəstos, monk (18th cent.) **IV**:968a
Gäbrä Krəstos, scribe **II**:944a
Gäbrä Krəstos, son Boḵru Sälomon **I**:603a
Gäbrä Krəstos, teacher Arkälädəs (14th cent.) **I**:341b
Gäbrä Krəstos, *wag šum* s. Gäbru
Gäbrä Krəstos Dästa, art. **II**:384a, 402a, 543b, **617b–18a**; **III**:720a; **V**:257ab, 293b, 483b
  ill. **II**:617b; **III**:553ab; **V**:259ab
  writings **II**:410b; **III**:576a
  s. also Gebre Kristos Desta Centre
Gäbrä Krəstos: *Gädlä Gäbrä Krəstos* (Vita of St. Alexis), lit. **I**:345a, 483b, 635b; **II**:615b–16a, 971a; **III**:410a, 559a, 1190a

  s. also Alexis, St.
Gäbrä Krəstos Habśəllus, *baḥ.n.* **I**:256a, 461b; **II**:96b–97a, **618a–19a**; **IV**:892b; **V**:150b
  customary law **III**:10b, 516b; **IV**:426b
  family/lineage **II**:945a; **IV**:499a
  s. also *Ḥəggi Hab Śəllus Gärä K̲əstos*
Gäbrä Krəstos of Däbrä Bəśrat, *abba* (14th cent., also Dəmbi, Däbrä Qozät) **II**:609b, **616b–17a**; **III**:49a, 704b
Gäbrä Krəstos of Däbrä Libanos, *abba* (14th cent.) **II**:29a
Gäbrä Krəstos of Däbrä Maryam, *abba* (15th cent.) **II**:467b
Gäbrä Krəstos of Däbrä Säloda, *abba* (15th cent.) **II**:301a
Gäbrä Krəstos of Daga Ǝsṭifanos, *mäm.* (16th cent.) **II**:58a
Gäbrä Krəstos of Damot, *abba* (15th cent.) **III**:614a
  cp. also Gäbrä Krəstos of Däbrä Bəśrat
Gäbrä Krəstos of Gundä Gunde, *abba* (16th cent.) **II:617a**; **III**:197a
Gäbrä Krəstos Täklä Haymanot, publ., sch. **I**:537a; **IV**:218b, 906a; **V:331b–33a**
  ill. **V**:332a
Gäbrä Ləʾul, *blatten geta* **I**:408b
Gäbrä Ləʾul, *liq.m.* **III**:580a
Gäbrä Ləʾul, patron **III**:724b
Gäbrä Mädḫ̮ən s. Gulli; Sälomon II
Gäbrä Mädḫ̮ən, abbot of Asir Mätira **V**:264a
Gäbrä Mädḫ̮ən, *bal.* **III**:682a
Gäbrä Mädḫ̮ən, *baša* **III**:28b
Gäbrä Mädḫ̮ən, gov., Akkälä Guzay **I**:167b
Gäbrä Mädḫ̮ən, *grageta* **III**:494b
Gäbrä Mädḫ̮ən, *qäšši* **V**:8b
Gäbrä Mädḫ̮ən, son Alṭaš Tewodros **I**:211b
Gäbrä Mädḫ̮ən, *wag šum* **I**:541b; **II:619ab**; **III**:385a; **IV**:816a, 827b, 932a
  ill. **II**:619b
  opposition from Täfäri Wäsän **IV**:816a
Gäbrä Mädhən Dəgnäy, wr. **II**:558b; **IV**:905a
Gäbrä Mädḫ̮ən Gäbrä Muse s. Jérôme, *abba*
Gäbrä Mädḫ̮ən Habtäzgi, fath. Bäräkät Gäbrä Mädḫ̮ən **I**:471b
Gäbrä Mädḫ̮ən Ḥagos, pol. **II**:361a
Gäbrä Mädḫ̮ən Ḫ̮aylä Maryam, pol. **IV**:561b
Gäbrä Mädḫ̮ən Qawesa, fath. Ṣäggaye Gäbrä Mädḫ̮ən **IV**:457a
Gäbrä Mädḫ̮ən Täsfay, fath. Täwäldä Mädḫ̮ən **IV**:877a
Gäbrä Mädḫ̮ən Yared, *mäm.*
  ill. **III**:1018ab
Gabra Malbe, ethn. **IV**:61a
Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus, church, Mänya **II**:387b
Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus, *əč̣č̣.* s. Sawiros, *pap̣p̣as*
Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus (Abbo), St. **II:619b–22a**, 747b, 934a, 971a; **III**:18a, 1103a, 1128b; **V**:87a, 178b–79a, 182a–84b, 425a
  ill. **II**:620a; **III**:724ab; **V**:297ab
  art **II**:47a, 268b, **III**:613a, 826b; **IV**:94a, 98b, 317a, 625b; **V**:4a, 153a, 209b
  association with
    leopards **III**:549b
    səwwuran **IV**:642a
    Zəqʷala **III**:888a; **IV**:554a, 1157b
  hymns **III**:704b; **IV**:589b; **V**:86a
  relation to
    Anbäs **I**:254a
    Gäbrä Ǝndrəyas **II**:609b
    Kiros **III**:410a
  research **I**:112b, 562a
  veneration **I**:672a; **II**:513b; **III**:1065b; **IV**:151b–52a, 477b–78a, 479a
  s. also *Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus*: *Gädlä Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus*
Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus: *Gädlä Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus*, lit. **II**:619b–20a, 970a; **III**:993b
  manuscripts **I**:627a; **III**:410a
  motifs **II**:621b; **IV**:597a, 642a
  study and translation **I**:483b, 562a
Gäbrä Märᶜawi, disc. Zena Marqos **V**:179a
Gäbrä Maryam, *abba* s. P̣eṭros
Gäbrä Maryam, anc. Ḥəmberti **III**:12b
Gäbrä Maryam, art. **II**:659b
Gäbrä Maryam, *aṣe* s. Ḥarbay
Gäbrä Maryam, *baḥ.n.* **II:622ab**; **IV**:670b, 826a; **V**:497a
Gäbrä Maryam, cra. **IV**:660b
Gäbrä Maryam, *əč̣č̣.* **II:622b**; **III**:634a
Gäbrä Maryam, fath. Gäbrä Ḥanna **II**:610a
Gäbrä Maryam, gov. Šire **IV**:670b
Gäbrä Maryam, lit. **I**:403a
Gäbrä Maryam, *mäggabi* s. Gäbrä Maryam, *əč̣č̣.*
Gäbrä Maryam, *mäm.* **V**:478a
Gäbrä Maryam Amänte, *abba* **II**:523a
Gäbrä Maryam, *abba* **I**:279b; **III**:1211b
Gäbrä Maryam Gari, patriot **II**:577a, **622b–23a**; **V**:98b
  s. also Lycée Franco-Éthiopien Guebre-Mariam
Gäbrä Maryam of Däbrä Bizän, *abba* **II**:811a
Gäbrä Maryam of Däbrä Ḥanta, *abba* **III**:660b
Gäbrä Mäśiḥ, of Gundä Gunde, St. (16th cent.) **I**:553a; **II**:391a, 481a, 482a, **623b**, 918b, 956a; **III**:196b; **IV**:356a, 747b–48a; **V**:63a, 264b
  ill. **II**:481ab
Gäbrä Mäśiḥ, of Gundä Gunde, St. (17th cent.) **II:623b**
Gäbrä Mäsiḥ, of Mäzba, abbot **V**:264b
Gäbrä Mäśiḥ: *Gädlä Gäbrä Mäśiḥ*, lit. **II**:623b, 956a
  ill. **II**:481ab
Gäbrä Mäsqäl s. ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I; Ḥarbay; Ḫ̮əruy Wäldä Śəllase; Lalibäla; Yəsḥaq
Gäbrä Mäsqäl, *abet.*, fath. Säblä Wängel **III**:623a; **IV**:436a
Gäbrä Mäsqäl, *baḥtawi* **V**:493b
Gäbrä Mäsqäl, king **I**:734b; **II**:264a, **623b–24b**, 890a; **V**:26b–27b, 87a, 89a, 130b, 131b, 201b–02a, 264a, 378a, 514a
  ill. **II**:624a; **V**:27ab
  feudal acts (ascribed) **I**:105b; **II**:28b; **IV**:461b, 538a, 669b
  association with
    Amba Foqäda **I**:219b
    Bugna **I**:636a
    Däbrä Sälam Mikaʾel **II**:38b
    Däbrä Sina **II**:45b
    Gʷənagʷəna **II**:943b–44a
    Gulo Mäkäda **II**:911b
    WᶜZB **IV**:1197b
  in art **IV**:94a
  relation to
    ᶜAddi Säraye **IV**:538a
    Ǝllä Gäbäz **II**:262a
    Ǝsraʾel **II**:386b
    Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus **II**:622a
    Gärima **II**:705a
    Gedewon **II**:730a
    Kaleb **II**:287a, 387a; **III**:330a, 1115b
    Libanos/Mäṭaᶜ **II**:28b, 911a; **III**:558b, 559b
    Muse **III**:1081b
    Näʾakkʷəto Läʾab **III**:1091a
    Nine Saints **I**:718b; **III**:1189b; **IV**:87b, 1131a
    Ṣäḥart **IV**:461b
    Šire **IV**:669b
    Yared **II**:737a
    Zämikaʾel Arägawi **IV**:1131a
  church foundations (ascribed)
    Agula **I**:153a
    Däbrä Dammo **II**:17b, 238b
    Ǝmäkina **II**:269a; **III**:506a
    Ǝnda Abba Gärima **II**:284b–85a, 705a; **IV**:1180b
    Ǝnda Maryam **II**:289a
    Ṣərḥa Maryam **II**:717a
  s. also Gäbrä Mäsqäl, tomb of; WᶜZB
Gäbrä Mäsqäl, mil. **IV**:539b
Gäbrä Mäsqäl, nephew Mikaʾel Səḥul **IV**:539b
Gäbrä Mäsqäl, tomb of, arch. site **I**:177b–78a, 179a, 180b, 181b;

II:145b, 287b, 872b; **III**:330a, 886a
  ill. **II**:287b
Gäbrä Mäsqäl: *Gadlä Gäbrä Mäsqäl*, lit. **II**:625a
Gäbrä Mäsqäl Kəflä'əgziᵓ, pol. **IV**:127b
Gäbrä Mäsqäl of Däbrä Dammo, monk **II**:19b
Gäbra Mäsqäl of Gärᶜalta (Däbrä Mäᶜar), *abba* **II**:29b–30b, 698a, 699a; **III**:163b, 612a, 613a; **IV**:461b
  ill. **V**:50a
Gäbrä Mäsqäl of Gutämala (Lägaso), *abba* **II**:**625a**, 613a; **IV**:512b, 516b
  ill. **III**:613ab
  s. also Ǝnda Abunä Gäbrä Mäsqäl
Gäbrä Mäsqäl of May Qorqor (May Qʷərqʷər), *abba* **II**:464b; **IV**:461b
  s. also Gäbra Mäsqäl of Gärᶜalta
Gäbrä Mäsqäl of Waldəbba (Däbrä Dalšəh), *abba* **IV**:518a
Gäbrä Mäsqäl Wäldu, *fit*. **II**:**625ab**; **III**:650b; **IV**:208b
Gabra Miigo, ethn. **IV**:61a
Gäbrä Mikaᵓel, *abba* **V**:179b
Gäbrä Mikaᵓel, *baša* **II**:303a
Gäbrä Mikaᵓel, Cath. martyr **I**:809b; **II**:**625b–26a**, 631a; **III**:138b, 264ab, 370b, 526b; **IV**:1054b
  ill. **II**:625b
Gäbrä Mikaᵓel, inf. Krapf/Mayer **III**:891a; **V**:141a
Gäbrä Mikaᵓel, *käntiba* **II**:58a
Gäbrä Mikaᵓel: *Gädlä Gäbrä Mikaᵓel* (of Qʷəraro), lit. **IV**:317b
Gäbrä Mikaᵓel Gərmu, wr. **I**:241a; **II**:517b
Gäbrä Mikaᵓel of Düra, *däǧǧ*. **III**:885a; **IV**:431a
Gäbrä Mikaᵓel of Qʷəraro, St. **IV**:316b–17a
  s. also *Gäbrä Mikaᵓel*: *Gädlä Gäbrä Mikaᵓel*
Gäbrä Mikaᵓel, *šum Ṣəraᶜ* **V**:74a
Gäbrä Mikaᵓel Räməha, *ato* **V**:376a
Gäbrä Mikaᵓel Yämanu, *däbtära* **V**:28b
Gäbrä Nazrawi, St. **I**:494a; **II**:**626a–27a**; **III**:257b; **IV**:317a, 1122b
Gäbrä Rufaᵓel Gobäna, *ləǧ* **III**:727a
Gäbrä Śəllase, *əč̣č̣*. **II**:27a, 319a, **627ab**; **IV**:937b, 1100a
  ill. **II**:627b
Gäbrä Śəllase, gov. Šire **IV**:670b
Gäbrä Śəllase, *käntiba* s. Gärä Śəllase
Gäbrä Śəllase, *mäm.* (Däbrä Elyas) **III**:141a
Gäbrä Śəllase, poet **V**:78b
Gäbrä Śəllase, Prot. *qes* **I**:217b
Gäbrä Śəllase, *ṣäḥ.t.* s. Gäbrä Śəllase Wäldä Arägay
Gäbrä Śəllase Anno, *qoroo* **II**:**627b–28a**
Gäbrä Śəllase Barya Gabər, *däǧǧ*., *nəburä əd* **II**:319a, **628ab**; **III**:556a; **V**:156a, 454b
  ill. **II**:145b
  active in
    ᶜAgamä **II**:106b
    Aksum **II**:145a, 146a; **III**:922a, 1162a
    Färäs Meda **II**:494ab
    Sägäle **IV**:1099a
    Šire **IV**:671a
    Təgray **IV**:646b, 893a
  family **IV**:647b
  opposition from
    Səbḥat Arägawi **IV**:589a, 893a, 1101b
    Śəyyum Mängäša **IV**:646ab, 671a
  relations to Wälättä Ǝsraᵓel **IV**:647b
Gäbrä Śəllase of Säffəᵓa, *abba* **II**:301a
Gäbrä Śəllase Wäldä Arägay, *ṣäḥ.t.* **II**:**628b–29a**; **IV**:842a; **V**:75a, 95b, 123a, 299a, 346a, 505b
  ill. **II**:61b
  association with
    Addis ᶜAläm **I**:90b
    Ǝnṭoṭṭo Raguᵓel **II**:322a
  land measurements **II**:714a
  relation to
    Afäwärq Wäldä Maryam **I**:124a
    Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase **III**:20b
    Märsəᶜe Ḫazän Wäldä Qirqos **III**:798b
    Täklä Maryam Sämharay Sällim **IV**:842a
  work **II**:306b; **III**:326a; **IV**:461a, 1001a
    chronicle **I**:241a, 537b; **II**:576b; **III**:44a
    historical source **I**:165b, 417b; **II**:41a, 321b, 721b, 907b
    maps **II**:703b
    translation **IV**:871a
    yäṣəḥfet ministär **IV**:461a
Gäbrä Tärqe **I**:587a
Gäbrä Waḥəd, *abba* (14th cent.) **III**:443b
Gabra Wāhed, inf. Littmann **I**:186a
Gäbrä Wäld Ǝngəda Wärq, wr. **I**:241b; **II**:602b, **629ab**; **III**:498b; **IV**:381b, 461a, 511a; **V**:52b
  ill. **II**:629b
Gäbrä Wäldä Maryam, fath. Abbäbä Gäbre **I**:23b
Gäbrä Yäsus Ḫaylämaryam, wr. **II**:927b
Gäbrä Yäsus Ḫaylu, sch., wr. **II**:**630a–31b**; **III**:396a; **IV**:907a
Gäbrä Yoḥannəs Wäldä Śəllase, *afä mämhər* **V**:478a
Gäbrat, *baḥri nägaśi* (18th cent.) **IV**:1105b; **V**:150b
Gäbray Habtä Ṣəyon, *ayte* **II**:264b–65a; **IV**:1106a; **V**:151a
Gäbräyäsus Ḫaylu s. Gäbrä Yäsus Ḫaylu
Gäbre, *ras* s. Gäbre Täsfa
Gabre Darre, pl.n. **III**:230b
Gäbrə Ḫer, rel. **IV**:692a
Gäbre Tärqe, anc. **I**:587a
Gäbre Täsfa, *ras* **II**:282b, **631b–32a**, 1057a; **IV**:467a, 499a, 1108b–09a; **V**:124b
  association with
    Aśrat **I**:384a; **IV**:1098a
    Sälomon II **IV**:499a
Gäbrəᵓel, *abba* (16th cent.) s. Gabriel VII, patriarch
Gäbrəᵓel, *abunä* s. Gäbrəᵓel, eccl.
Gäbrəᵓel, archangel s. Gabriel, archangel
Gäbrəᵓel, bishop (15th cent.) **I**:486a; **II**:343a, 417a, **632ab**; **III**:956a; **IV**:114a; **V**:62b, 147ab, 264b
  position on the Sabbath **II**:35a, 467b; **IV**:947a
  relation to
    Abäkäräzun **I**:6a
    Ǝsṭifanos **II**:390b
    Ḥəṣ́an Moᵓa **III**:21b
    Mäbaᵓa Ṣəyon **III**:614a
    Märḥa Krəstos **III**:782b
  s. also Mikaᵓel
Gäbrəᵓel, bishop (20th cent.) **II**:344a; **IV**:874a
Gäbrəᵓel, church s. Betä Gäbrəᵓel-Rufaᵓel; Gäbrəᵓel Qänäf; Gäbrəᵓel Wäqen; Ḥamärä Bərhan Qəddus Gäbrəᵓel; Kəbran Gäbrəᵓel; Qəddus Gabrəᵓel; Qulləbi Gäbrəᵓel
Gabreᵓēl b. Turayk s. Gabriel II, patriarch
Gäbrəᵓel Qänäf, church, Aks.
  ill. **III**:444a
Gäbrəᵓel the Egyptian, tr. **III**:298b
Gäbrəᵓel *wäldä Bäträk* **II**:1052b
Gäbrəᵓel Wäqen s. Wäqen Gäbrəᵓel
Gäbrəᵓela Baryaᵓəgzi, *wäyz.* **I**:368b
Gabreyesus Hailemariam, sch. **V**:15a
Gäbrəyye s. Gäbrä Ḫəywät Goššu
Gabriel, archangel **II**:137b; **III**:196b, 559a, 634b; **IV**:596a; **V**:86b, 178b, 199b, 407a, 425a
  ill. **IV**:112ab
  churches/*tabotat* **II**:29b, 88a, 128a; **III**:368b, 722b, 959b; **IV**:306ab, 329a; **V**:3b, 25a, 62a, 83b, 96b, 95a, 169b, 173b, 210a, 421a
  feast **I**:265a, 672b; **III**:723a; **IV**:478a, 692b
  in art **I**:154a, 266b–67a; **III**:776b; **IV**:94a, 1183b; **V**:4a
    crosses **I**:818a; **IV**:808a
    miniatures **II**:920b; **III**:642b
    painting on wood **II**:59a, 525b

    wall painting **II**:14a, 47a, 941a; **III**:612b, 819a, 826b
  in literature **III**:289b, 293b, 702b, 704b; **IV**:596a
  in tradition **I**:619b; **II**:296a; **III**:723b
  symbolism **I**:437a; **III**:1202b; **IV**:738b
  s. also angels; annunciation; archangels; *Dərsanä Gäbrəʾel*; *Mälkəʾa Gäbrəʾel*; Mary; Qulləbi Gäbrəʾel; Saint Gabriel, miss.
Gabriel, miss. **I**:682b
Gabriel II (Gabriel ibn Turayk; Ǧibrāʾīl b. Tarīk), patriarch **II**:342b, 1052b; **III**:953a; **IV**:273a, 791a, 875a
Gabriel V, patriarch **III**:870b, 956b; **IV**:272b
Gabriel VII, patriarch **II**:813a; **IV**:138b, 493b
Gabriel VIII, patriarch **I**:800b
Gabriel, A.T., miss. **III**:62a
Gabriel, Basílio, mil. **II**:632b; **IV**:182b
Gabriel, Dionísio, mil. **II**:632b
Gabriel, João, mil. **II:632b–33a**; **III**:49a, 1179b; **IV**:89b, 182b
Gabrieli, Francesco, sch. **IV**:338b
Gabrieli, Giuseppe, sch. **III**:745b
Gabrihet Soernej s. Gäbrä Ḥəywät Baykädañ
Gäbrit, *baḥ.n.* (19th cent.) **II**:238b
Gäbru, *aläqa* **III**:139b
Gäbru, anc. s. Gäbrä Ḵrəstos
Gäbru, *aqqa* **V**:482a
Gäbru, *blatta* **III**:446b
Gäbru (Gäbrä Ḥəywät), *däǧǧ.* **II**:967b; **III**:696b
Gäbru, *maʾəkälä baḥər* (14th cent.) **III**:625a
Gäbru, settl. s. ^{c}Addi Gäbru
Gäbru (Gäbrä Krəstos), *wag šum* **II:633a**; **III**:525b; **IV**:629b, 1106a
Gäbru Dästa s. Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Dästa
Gäbru Ḫaylu, son Ḫaylu (Ḫaylä Maryam) Wäldä Giyorgis **II**:1068a
Gäbru Sankaye, *aläqa* **IV**:166a
Gäbru Wärqe (“Bru”), son Wärqe Karapet **I**:345b; **III**:933b; **V**:362a
Gäbru Wəbät s. Gäbru, *wag šum*
gäbs s. barley
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    Cerulli **I**:708b
    Esteves Pereira **II**:389a
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  research **II**:558b; **IV**:905a
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Gälṭän bənnayäw (Beka Nämo), lit. **I**:522b; **III**:533a
Galvão, Duarte, env. **I**:194a, 214b; **III**:569a, 734b, 866b; **IV**:180ab
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Ğamāladdīn, St. **IV**:155a
Ğamāladdīn [I] b. Bazyū [b. ᶜUmar Walašmaᶜ], *sulṭ.* **II**:110b, **666ab**, 667a; **IV**:1083b
Ğamāladdīn [II] b. Dalḥūy b. Manṣūr, *sulṭ.* **I**:71b, 228a; **II**:110a, **666b–67a**, 1055a; **III**:204a, 1016a; **IV**:438b, 493ab, 1083b–84a
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Ğamāladdīn ᶜAbdalkarīm b. Dirġām aṭ-Ṭaraᵓifī, *al-qāḍī* **III**:746b
Ğamāladdīn Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbdallāh b. Yūsuf az-Zaylaᶜī s. ᶜAbdallāh az-Zaylaᶜī
Ğamāladdīn b. Bazyū **II**:110b
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Gännät Səyyum, wr. **IV**:907b
Gännät Tärra (Təgre Mäç̣ç̣ohya), hill **I**:55b
Gännät Zäwde, pol. **III**:178b
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Gännätä Giyorgis, church, Fəčče **II**:102b, **690ab**, 766a
Gännätä Giyorgis, church, Gəšše **I**:157b; **II**:383b; **III**:237b, 250b; **V**:238a
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Gännäta Maryam, disc. Mälkəᵓa Krəstos **III**:707a
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Ǧantola, pl.n. **III**:1006b
Gänti, settl. **IV**:1075a
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  - in diplomacy **I**:11b, 298b, 752b, 760b, 800a; **II**:109a, 121a, 501a, 508ab, 783ab; **III**:124b, 144a, 182b, 837ab, 855b, 934a, 954a, 1073b; **IV**:78a, 139a, 214b, 337b, 529a, 736b, 1053ab; **V**:29b, 53b, 71b, 119b, 253b, 459a, 530a
    - from foreigners **II**:548a; **III**:734b; **IV**:957a; **V**:285b
    - to foreigners **II**:810b; **III**:236b, 274b, 285b; **IV**:475b, 565b
  - in literature **III**:673a, 1043b
    - Bible **I**:74a; **III**:634b, 673b
  - in religion **I**:68b; **IV**:362b
    - Christianity **I**:383a; **II**:429b; **IV**:271b
      - church and monastery donations **I**:127b, 184a, 416b, 667b, 741b, 779a, 822a, 823b; **II**:7a, 10b, 15a, 34a, 36a, 42a, 59b, 100a, 116b, 244b, 285a, 292b, 300a, 447a, 848a; **III**:42b, 59b, 134a, 164a, 311b, 478b, 526a, 630b, 723b, 991a; **IV**:297a, 1085b; **V**:200a, 444b
      - monasticism **II**:390b
      - pilgrimage **II**:429b; **IV**:152a
    - Islam **I**:370a; **II**:493ab; **III**:319b; **IV**:1116a; **V**:202a, 214a
      - mosques **II**:674ab, 675b; **III**:895a
      - pilgrimage **II**:978b; **IV**:715a
    - traditional religions **I**:11a, 318b, 619b; **II**:701a, 789a; **IV**:362b, 1125b–26a
      - spirits **II**:132a, 489a; **IV**:184b, 185b, 186b
  - objects
    - animals **II**:68b; **III**:1066b, 1074b, 1139a; **IV**:122a, 216b, 666a
    - blankets **II**:173a
    - books **V**:408b
    - butter **III**:967a, 1089b
    - clocks **IV**:957a
    - gold **III**:315a; **IV**:666b
    - honey **III**:341a
    - incense **III**:129b, 583a
    - money **III**:1050b; **IV**:132a
    - pottery and basketry **I**:501b
    - silk **IV**:660a
    - slaves and captives **I**:364a; **II**:385b; **III**:106b; **IV**:674a
    - sorghum **IV**:717a
    - weapons **I**:765b; **II**:1071b; **III**:547b; **IV**:337a, 837b, 1022a
  - s. also alms; bridewealth; donors; dowry; land tenure; sacrifice; tributes
- Gigar, *aṣe* **I**:433a; **II**:617a, **792b**, 906b, 1057a; **III**:260b; **IV**:291a; **V**:49b, 125b
- Gigar, *fit.* **II**:1072a
- Gigar, gov. Syria **V**:456ab
- Gigar, St. **II**:350ab
- Gigar, *wag šum* **II**:**792ab**; **III**:1093b; **IV**:540a, 936b, 1069b
- Ğiğğoo Baččoo (Abbaa Rağğii), rel. **IV**:68a
- Gigi, mus. s. Ǝğğəgayyähu Šəbabaw
- Ğiğiga (Jigjiga), reg., zone **II**:793a, 935b–36a
  - ethnography **II**:640b, 641b, 1017b, 1021a, 1034a
  - rulers and governors **IV**:763a; **V**:52b
    - Afäwärq **I**:122b
    - Gärmame Nəway **II**:707b, 1081b; **IV**:763a
    - Taffäsä Habtä Mikaᵓel **IV**:817a
    - Täklä Ḥawaryat Täklä Maryam **IV**:830a
- Ğiğiga (Jigjiga), town **II**:**793a–94a**, 1023b
  - map **II**:793a
  - administrative status **I**:102b
  - economy and trade **II**:1004a; **III**:986a, 987a
  - education **II**:304b; **III**:798a
  - geography **I**:200a; **II**:639b; **III**:737b; **IV**:8b
  - history **III**:779ab, 914b
    - Ethiopian conquest **II**:798a; **III**:359a
    - Italian war **III**:230b, 232ab, 1031b, 1151a
    - Liberation **IV**:1144b, 1195a
  - infrastructure **I**:379b; **II**:59b, 71a; **III**:71b, 1001a; **IV**:1039b
  - mosque **III**:1031b
  - personalities **I**:172a; **II**:623a, 641a
- Ğiği-gále s. ᶜIssa
- Giglio, Carlo, sch. **II**:**794a**; **III**:235ab; **IV**:393b
- *ğihād* (Muslim wars in Ethiopia), hist. **I**:53ab, 156b; **II**:253b, 795ab
  - 14th cent. **II**:1008b; **III**:119a; **IV**:493a
  - 15th cent. **II**:667b; **IV**:1084a
  - 16th cent. **II**:1016ab; **III**:536a
    - Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī **I**:155b; **III**:204b
    - Maḥfūẓ b. Muḥammad **I**:505b; **III**:659a
    - Muḥammad b. Naṣīr b. ᶜUṯmān **III**:1051b; **IV**:545b
    - Muḥammad Gāsā I b. Ibrāhīm **III**:1053a
    - Nūr b. Muğāhid **I**:206a; **III**:1209b
    - Saᶜdaddīn Abū l-Barakāt **IV**:444a, 1083b
  - 18th cent. **IV**:761a
  - 19th cent. **II**:937ab
    - Abbaa Ğoobir **II**:938a
    - Firiisaa **II**:549a
    - Ğaawee Ončo **II**:596a
    - Ḥasän Ǝnğamo **II**:308b, 309b, 1042ab; **IV**:248b, 608a, 1111b
    - Mahdists **II**:851a; **III**:206a, 446b, 657b–58b; **IV**:757a
    - Maḥfūẓ b. Muḥammad **III**:659ab
    - Muhammad V **II**:978a
    - Muḥammad ᶜAbdallāh Ḥassan **III**:224a, 1045b
    - Muḥammad Šāfī **III**:60b, 1057ab
    - Usuman dan Fodio **IV**:998b
  - 20th cent. **III**:211b, 896a

  s. also Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī; *ǧihād*, rel.; warfare
ǧihād (Holy war), rel. **II:794a–95b**; **III**:106b, 126a; **IV**:1136b
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  status of Ethiopia **I**:269ab, 298b, 300a; **III**:202b; **IV**:757a
  s. also *ǧihād*, hist.; *ǧihād an-nafs*; martyrdom, Islamic
ǧihād an-nafs, rel. **III**:1057b
ǧihādiya, mil. **I**:51a
Giḥo, daugh. Mängäśa **II**:263b; **III**:539a
ǧihon, rel. **II**:583b
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  s. also Abbay; Nile; Paradise
Gihon, town **II**:796b
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Ǧiiddu, dial. Somali **III**:880b
ǧiifto, lit. **III**:611a
Giifu, pl.n. **III**:90a
ǧiila, feast **II**:605a, **797a**; **IV**:363a
ǧiila, rel. title **II**:837a; **III**:1089b; **IV**:571a
Ǧiilčaa, ruler **II**:937ab; **IV**:28a
Ǧiillee, ethn. **I**:413b, 426b; **III**:1052b; **IV**:1009b; **V**:162b, 181b, 424b
Ǧiillee, *wär*. **V**:40a
Ǧiillee Ḍimugaa, reg. **IV**:924b
Ǧiillee Dugugguru, reg. **II**:729a
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ǧiina, rel. **II**:489a
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ǧilaal, season **IV**:705a
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Ǧīlānī, *šayḫ* **III**:321b
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Ǧilogob, pl.n. **I**:770b
ǧim, soc. **I**:318a
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Ǧimma, Apostolic Vicariate s. Vicariate Apostolic of Gimma
Ǧimma, kingdom s. Ǧimma Abbaa Ǧifaar
Ǧimma, prov. **I**:18a; **II**:801a; **III**:38a; **IV**:64a, 171b, 1155b; **V**:299b
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  administrative division **I**:100b; **II**:803a, 874b
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  geography **II**:750b; **IV**:1155b
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Ǧimma, town **II:800b–02a**, 718b, 799b; **III**:322a; **IV**:1080b
  map **II**:801b
  administrative status **I**:101b, 130a; **II**:718b, 804b; **III**:874b, 1019a
  economy **III**:190b, 283b, 287a, 571a, 986a; **IV**:558a, 979a
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    Armenians **I**:347a
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Ǧimma Abbaa Ǧifaar, kingdom **II**:399b, 570a, 784b, 801a, **802a–03a**, 824b; **IV**:60b, 63a; **V**:20b, 214ab, 443a
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  capitals **II**:808b; **III**:37b–38a, 283b; **IV**:1038b
  economy **I**:610b; **IV**:986ab, 1123b
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  history **III**:254b, 256a, 542a, 923b, 927a; **IV**:1100b, 1119a
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    Boša **I**:610a
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- Ǧimma Agricultural School s. Ǧimma College of Agriculture
- Ǧimma Arǧo, *wär.* **I**:330a
- Ǧimma College of Agriculture, acad. **II**:801a; **V**:234b
- Ǧimma Gibe, riv. **II**:784b; **IV**:19a
- Ǧimma Horroo, *wär.* **IV**:255b–56a
- Ǧimma Kakka, reg. **II**:802ab
- Ǧimma Leeqaa, *wär*. **III**:1196b
- Ǧimma Museum **V**:453a, 554b
- Ǧimma Rarre, pl.n. **III**:1021a
- Ǧimma Sänbäte, *fit*. **V**:335a–36a
- Ǧimma Sänbäte School, Sändafa **V**:336a
- Ǧimma University, acad. **V**:235a
- Ǧimma-Bonga, miss. **I**:701a; **III**:527a; **V**:305a, 366a
- Gimmāḍi s. Gammela
- Ǧimma-Gidaamii, *wär.* **II**:786b
- *gimo*, rit. **IV**:1091a
- Gimoǧan (Gimojan), ling. **I**:525b, 684a; **IV**:22b
- Ǧimša, mt. (“Mount Smith”) **II**:163b; **V**:516b
- gin, drink **II**:200a
- Ǧīna, pl.n. **II**:937a
- Gina Sura, pol.
  - ill. **I**:318a
- *ginabo*, rel. **IV**:920b
- Ǧināḥasar **III**:737b
- Ginbi s. Gəmb Tewodros
- Ǧinčo, mt. **II**:807b
- Gindaᶜ, prov. **III**:409a
- Gindaᶜ, town **II**:16a, 88a, **803a–04a**, 946b; **III**:210b, 1134a; **IV**:509b, 1110b; **V**:8b
  - map **II**:803b
  - geography **III**:1096ab
  - infrastructure **IV**:261a
    - mosques **III**:210b, 1031a
    - railway **II**:687b
    - roads **I**:625b
  - personalities **II**:991a; **III**:409a, 645a
  - population **IV**:863b
- Gindaᶜ Barat (Gindäbärät) s. Gəndä Bärät
- ginger (*Zingiber officinale*), bot. **I**:474b; **IV**:725a, 726ab, 920b
- Ǧinka, pl.n. **I**:2b; **II**:162b, 680a, **804a–05a**, 986a; **III**:989b; **IV**:1165b; **V**:453b
  - map **II**:804a
- *ǧinn*, rel. **II**:131a, 489a, **805b–06a**; **III**:199b, 637a; **IV**:184b, 727a
  - in literature and tradition **III**:341b, 674a, 1045b; **IV**:559a
  - relation to *zar* **IV**:186a
- *ginnili*, lit. **I**:119a; **IV**:41a
- Ginnir (Ginir), town **II:806ab**; **III**:359a; **IV**:715b; **V**:336b–37a, 516b
  - map **II**:806a
  - history **I**:667a; **IV**:1098b
- Gino Biri, *däǧǧ.* **I**:161b–62a
  - ill. **III**:271a
- Giocchi, Giovanni Maria s. Julius III
- Giolitti, Giovanni, pol. **IV**:1058b
- Giorgi IV Lashi, king **IV**:210a
- *Giornale*, *Il*, per. **V**:106b
- *Giornale dell’Eritrea*, per. **IV**:209a
- *Giornale di Addis Abeba*, *il* (*Il Corriere dell’Impero*), per. **IV**:206a
- *Giornale Trilingue dell’Africa Orientale*, per. **IV**:208a
- *Giornalino dell’Eritrea*, *Il*, per. **IV**:208a
- Giovan Battista Abissino, eccl. **IV**:530a
- Giovanni da Calabria, Fr. **II**:579a; **III**:237a; **V**:285a–86a
- Giovanni da Carignano (Mauro, Giovanni), cart. **III**:236b; **IV**:213b
- Giovanni di Pian del Carpine, miss. **V**:488a
- Giovanni Grisostomo (Giangrisostomo) da Clusone, fr. **III**:787a
- Giovannoni, Gustavo, archt. **IV**:528b
- Giovio, Paolo, sch. **I**:260a; **II**:**806b–07b**, 832a; **III**:130b, 537a; **IV**:369b; **V**:247a, 393b, 526a
- Ǧira, town **III**:26a, 525b
- giraffes, zool. **I**:272b; **III**:331b, 412a; **IV**:240ab, 400ab, 778b; **V**:289a, 294b
  - gift **I**:715a; **II**:68b
  - hair **I**:501b
- Girāmgazᵓi, *sulṭān* **II**:159b; **III**:664b, 780b
- Ǧirän (Ǧiren), town **I**:15a, 17b, 20a; **II**:801b, 802b, **807b–08a**; **III**:37b–38a; **IV**:1038b; **V**:453a, 554b
  - ill. **II**:802a, 808ab
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  - economy **I**:37b; **IV**:264b, 674a
- *Girgis*, *sulṭān* **V**:298b
- Ǧirǧis al-Makīn b. al-ᶜAmid s. Giyorgis Wäldä Amid
- Ǧirǧis al-Muzāḥim s. George the New
- Girirra, dial. Somali **II**:**808b–09a**; **IV**:693b
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- Girma Makonnen, sch. **I**:579a
- Girma Wolde Giyorgis s. Gərma Wäldä Giyorgis
- Giroco, José, miss. **II**:531a
- Ǧirruu, ethn. **IV**:1009b–10a
- Giš Abbay s. Gəlgäl Abbay
- Gisa, ethn. **IV**:656b
- Gišе, reg. s. Gəšše
- Gisma, settl. **IV**:506a
- *gīsti*, title **II**:507a
- Gita Mani, soc. **III**:712b
- Gitara, pl.n. **III**:437a
- Gitsu (Gito), soc. **V**:415a
- Giuliani, Reginaldo, chaplain **III**:241b
- Giulietti, lake s. Afḍera
- Giulietti, Giuseppe Maria, trav. **I**:563a; **II**:475b, 577b, **809a–10a**
  - expedition **III**:239a, 1168b
- Giuseppe Maria di Gerusalemme (Joseph), miss. **III**:250b; **IV**:440b
- Ġiyāṯaddīn Eretna, *sulṭ.* **II**:471b
- Gíyi s. ᶜIssa
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- Giyorgis, art. **V**:209b
- Giyorgis, *azzaž* **III**:251b, 372b; **IV**:860b, 1097a
  - s. also Giyorgis, *ras bitw.*
- Giyorgis (Georgios Fotis), *bal.* **II**:**811a–12a**, 880b, 883b; **V**:407a
- Giyorgis, beer s. St. George Brewery
- Giyorgis, eccl. (early 12th cent.) **II**:**810a**; **III**:953a; **IV**:565b
- Giyorgis, eccl. (13th cent.) **II**:343a, **810a**; **III**:478b; **IV**:113b, 290a, 805a
- Giyorgis, church, ᶜAddi Məsno
  - ill. **III**:1170ab
- Giyorgis, church, Addis Abäba s. Gännätä Ṣəge Giyorgis
- Giyorgis, church, Fəqre Gəmb s. Fəqre Gəmb Giyorgis
- Giyorgis, church, Qʷəndi s. Qʷəndi Giyorgis
- Giyorgis, church, Ruba Kʷəsa s. Ruba Kʷəsa Giyorgis
- Giyorgis, church, Ṣäᶜazzäga s. Ṣäᶜazzäga Giyorgis
- Giyorgis, church, Sägli d. Sägli Giyorgis
- Giyorgis, church, Soddo s. Soddo Giyorgis
- Giyorgis, church, Wänč̣i s. Wänč̣i Giyorgis
- Giyorgis, church, Zärema s. Zärema Giyorgis
- Giyorgis, church, Zoz Amba s. Zoz Amba Giyorgis
- Giyorgis, *däǧǧ.*, son Anəsṭasyos **I**:261a; **V**:129b
- Giyorgis, Greek artisan **II**:879b
- Giyorgis, *mar* s. George of Lydda, St.
- Giyorgis, *näggadras* **V**:549b
- Giyorgis, *p̣ap̣p̣as* s. Giyorgis, eccl.
- Giyorgis, *ras bitw.* **III**:442a; **V**:155a
  - s. also Giyorgis, *azzaž*
- Giyorgis, St. s. George of Lydda, St.
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- Giyorgis Fotis s. Giyorgis, *bal.*
- *Giyorgis*: *Gädlä Giyorgis* (of Lydda), lit. **II**:763b–64b; **III**:369b, 956ab; **IV**:96b, 515b, 945a
  - ill. **III**:251b, 517ab
- *Giyorgis*: *Gädlä Giyorgis* (of Sägla), lit. **II**:25a, 516a, 643b, 812ab;

    III:897b, 944b; **IV**:87b, 517b, 537a, 1081b; **V**:471b, 502a
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Giyorgis Ḥaddis: *Gädlä Giyorgis Ḥaddis*, lit. **I**:153b
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- Gundä Gunde (Däbrä Garzen/Gärzen, Däbrä Kaswa, Gundagundi, G^{w}əndag^{w}əndi, G^{w}əndag^{w}əndo), mon. **II**:481a–82a, **917b–20b**; **III**:992ab; **IV**:478b; **V**:445a
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    Mäftəḥe śəray **V**:407ab
    Mängädä sämay **III**:726a
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    Sayfä Śəllase **IV**:993a
    Təmhərtä ḫəbuˀat **IV**:915a
  Islamic **III**:640b–42a
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  s. also magic literature; prayers
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  ill. **III**:642ab, 777b; **V**:261b
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Mağīd b. Saᶜīd, ruler **IV**:15b
Mağīdīya, order **III**:599b
Magier Good: *Roman aus Abessinien, Der* (Wolff), lit. **V**:398b
Mäğit, shrine **III**:420a; **IV**:257b
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Magliocco, Vincenzo, mil. **IV**:921a
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al-Mağlis al-islāmī al-ᶜālī (Supreme Council of Islamic Affairs), pol. **II**:514b, 673b; **III**:210a, 1062a
al-Mağmaᶜ al-mubārak (Chronicle; Universal History; Giyorgis Wäldä ᶜAmid), lit. **II**:337b, 508b, 738b, 813a; **III**:1176b; **IV**:238b, 288a
Mağmūᶜ al-awrād al-kabīr (Muḥammad ᶜUṯmān al-Mīrġanī), lit. **III**:1061b; **V**:451a
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al-Mağmūᶜa (Budallāh), lit. **V**:214b
al-Mağmūᶜa al-mubāraka (ᶜAbdallah b. Yūsuf), lit. **IV**:699a
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Mäguᶜ, town **IV**:497b
al-Mağūs waṯ-Ṯanāwīya, rel. **V**:23b
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Mägʷina, mon. **III**:442b, **644a–45a**; **IV**:455b; **V**:115b, 154b–55a
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Mahabalipuram, temple town **IV**:402b
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Maḥad ᶜAse, ethn. **II**:639b–40b
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Mahaffy, Francis Elwood, miss. **III**:**645ab**
Mäḥaggəl, reg. **IV**:266b–67a
Mähal Amba (Gädäbano), town **II**:185b; **IV**:265a, 1080b
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Mahal Telignos, site **II**:712ab
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Mäḥaləyä näbiyat, rel. **III**:99a, **646ab**, 816a; **IV**:231a
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Mahamad Alī Sekh Saraf Alī, *saheb*
  ill. **III**:148ab
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Maḥammad, grandfather Abū Bakr **I**:52a
Maḥámmad, son Aydāḥis "Data Kaddafó" **III**:321b, 648a; **V**:36b
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Mäḥammäd Ali (Mammäd “Abba Ǧəbo”), Wällo ruler **III:646b–47a**, 716ab, 1057b; **IV**:861a, 1148b; **V**:231b
Mähammäd Ali, wr. **II**:402a
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Maḥámmad Darbên, *šayḫ* **III**:111a; **IV**:820b
Maḥámmad Faaraḥ ᶜAydiid, mil. **III**:52b
Maḥammad Ibrāhim Sulaymān, sch. **III**:839a
Maḥámmad “Illálta” Ḥanfaḏé (Muḥammad Ilalta; Mohamed Anfare), *sulṭ.* **I**:407a; **III:647a–48a**; **IV**:761b; **V**:36b, 229b
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    Italy **I**:118a, 283a, 773a
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Maḥámmad Yāyyó (Muḥammad Yāyyó), *sulṭ.* **I**:407a; **II**:817b; **III:648b–49b**, 969a; **V**:37a, 229b
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Maḥammooda Gumḥed (Macammoda Gumced), *fit.* **V**:34a
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Maḥbär fəqri hagär, pol. **I**:35a; **II**:363b–64a, 425b, 571a; **III**:597a, **650a–51b**; **IV**:220a, 1021a; **V**:270b
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Maḫbärä Ḥawaryat Śəllase, church **III**:896a
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- Mahdi Hamid Muudee, wr. **I**:479a; **IV**:71b
- Mahdids, dynasty **III**:1102a
- Mahdists (Dervishes; Mahdīya), pol. **II**:382a; **III**:209a, 457a, 547a, **657b–59a**, 856b, 924a, 925a; **IV**:757ab; **V**:76ab, 201a, 310a, 333a, 520b, 539b
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- Maḥəl Zäge Giyorgis, church **I**:507a; **IV**:856b; **V**:104b–06a
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- Maḥfūẓ b. Muḥammad, *imām* **I**:155b; **III**:126b, **659ab**, 1209b; **IV**:1084a
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- Mahiko (Bimaddo), *gärad* **II**:596a, 696b–97a, 824b, 902a, 964a
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- *maḫlet*, rel. **I**:232a, 395a, 670a; **II**:123b, 714b, 773a; **III**:134b, 539a, **659b–60b**; **IV**:198a, 277b, 278b–79a, 589a, 590a; **V**:191b, 502b
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- *Maḫletä ṣəge*, rel. **II**:895b; **III**:660a, **660b–61b**, 817b–18a, 946b; **IV**:534b, 590a; **V**:191b
- *Maḫletä śəllase*, rel. **III**:660a
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- Maḥmūd Saᶜīd Nawd, pol. **II**:372b
- Maḥmūd Ṣāliḥ, ethn. **III**:632a
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- Mahra, reg. **III**:694a, 806b; **IV**:15a; **V**:517b
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- Maḥram Bilqīs, site **I**:296a, 347b
- Mäḥrəm, rel. **I**:175a, 348a, 717b; **II**:379b; **III**:**661b–62a**, 906b–07a, 1011b; **IV**:360a–61a
- Mahrī, ethn. **III**:632a, 694a, 806b; **IV**:15b
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- Maḥṣ́änt, *maᵓəkälä baḥər* **III**:625a
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- Maḥṣ́äntä Maryam, monk **IV**:531a; **V**:408b
- Maḥṣ́äntä Maryam, priest, wr. **I**:50a, 524b; **II**:465b; **III**:416a; **V**:**408ab**
  - s. also *Annals of ᶜAddi Näᶜammən*
- Maḥśäntä Mikaᵓel (Mahṣ́äntu), *əč̣č̣.* **II**:861b; **III**:87a, 370b, 644b, **662ab**, 722a; **IV**:464b, 489b
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- Maiḍ, pl.n. **II**:639b
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Märḥa (*Yəmrəḥanna*) *Krəstos*: *Gädlä Märḥa* (*Yəmrəḥanna*) *Krəstos*, lit. **II**:300b; **III**:789b, 956a; **IV**:112a; **V**:63a, 81b, 235b
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- Mediterranean, sea **I**:323a, 324a, 397b, 522a, 530b, 563a, 627a, 717b, 737b–38a, 740a, 773a, 774a–75a, 777a, 808a; **II**:121a, 447a, 471a, 579a, 591b, 736ab, 750b, 835b, 965b, 969a, 1009a; **III**:11b, 17a, 19ab, 130b, 131b–32a, 142a, 181a, 210a, 228a, 247a, 486a, 675b, 739b, 852b, 865a, 930b, 937a, 988a, 1202a; **IV**:15a, 212b, 237a, 310b, 401a, 477a, 660a, 674b, 725b–26a, 974b, 998a; **V**:102a, 107b, 153a, 245a, 371a–72a, 394a, 448b, 476a
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- Medjaiu, ethn. **V**:466a
- Mədr, rel. **I**:175a, 522b, 717b; **II**:108a; **III**:661b–62a, **906b–07a**; **IV**:360a–61a
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- Mədrä Käbd, mon. **II**:934a; **III**:904a, 1065b; **IV**:684a; **V**:182a, 266b, **424b–25b**
- Mədrä Käbd, pl.n. **II**:621a; **IV**:438a; **V**:424b–25a
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- Mədrä Käbd Abbo, church **V**:425b
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- Mədrä Wadd Säbära, reg. **IV**:537b
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- Mədri Fälasi, reg. **I**:29a; **II**:21a
- Mədūn, ethn. **IV**:897b
- *mədūn*, idiom **IV**:510a
- *meeḍiča*, soc. **III:907ab**; **IV**:664b
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- Meelbanaa, pl.n. **I**:606a
- *Məʾəllad* (Käbte), lit. **V**:374ab
- Məʾəllad Wäldä Səʾul, *wäyz*. **IV**:837a
- Məᶜem Mäḥaza, jur. **III**:516b–17b, 670b
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- Narga Śəllase (Narga Śəllase Däbrä Ǝsraʾel), church **III:1148b–49b**; **IV**:856b; **V**:23a, 104b
  - ill. **III**:766ab, 1149a
  - architecture **I**:779a; **II**:345a, 844a
  - association with
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    - Bərhan Mogäsa **I**:534b; **II**:58b, 847a, 942b
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    - Wälättä Ǝsraʾel **IV**:1085b
    - Wäldä Ewosṭatewos **IV**:1097a
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  - paintings **II**:192b; **III**:467a, 1023a; **IV**:995b
- Narim, ethn. **IV**:176a
- Narīt, riv. **IV**:1070b
- *Narrative of a Journey through Abyssinia*, lit. **II**:203b
- *Narration of Däbrä Libanos* s. *Zena Däbrä Libanos*
- Narses, king **III**:185b; **V**:371b
- *Nasabuhu š-šarīf*, lit. **III**:92b
- an-Nasāʾī, wr. **III**:47a, 202b
- Našaʾkarib Yuhaʾmin Yuharḥib, king **I**:296b
- Našəḥ, *käntibay* **II**:960b
- Nasi, Guglielmo, mil. **I**:379b, 545a; **III**:232b, **1149b–50a**; **IV**:551a, 1144b
- Näsib s. Onesimos
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- Näsibu Mäsqälo, *afä nəguś* **I**:114a; **II**:391b; **III**:681a, **1150ab**; **IV**:1040b, 1112a; **V**:332a
- Näsibu Zäʾamanuʾel, *däǧǧ.* **I**:82b; **II**:793a; **III**:230b, 232b, **1150b–51b**; **IV**:817a; **V**:211b
  - ill. **III**:1151ab
- *Naṣīḥatayn li-salāmat ad-dārayn*: *Kitāb an-naṣīḥatayn li-salāmat ad-dārayn* (Ḥāmid b. Ṣiddīq al-Hararī), lit. **II**:990b
- an-Nāṣir, *sulṭ.* **III**:106a
- Nasir, town **I**:483a
- Nāṣir ʿAli, eng. **V**:349b
- Nāṣir *bey* **III**:115b; **IV**:863b
- Nāṣir b. Muḥammad, *sulṭ.* **I**:34a; **II**:998a; **III**:715a; **IV**:1017a, 1083ab
- Naṣīr b. ʿUṯmān b. Badlāy, *sulṭ.* **II**:1016b, 1018a; **III**:1051b, **1151b–52a**; **IV**:846b, 1048a
- Nāṣir(allāh), *ḥāǧǧī* s. ʿAbdannāṣir
- Nasiro, ethn. **IV**:979b

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- Orthodox Ethiopian s. Christianity, Ethiopian Orthodox
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- orthodoxy, Christian, rel. **I**:273a, 485b, 506b, 732a; **II**:240b, 336b, 890a; **III**:980b, 1169a; **V**:107b, 292a, 391b, 478ab, 490b, 511b, 514a
  - Chalcedonian/Greek **I**:710a; **IV**:784a; **V**:99a, 369b, 371a, 468a
  - Ethiopian **I**:598b, 700b, 719a, 722ab; **II**:35a, 500a, 657a, 918b; **III**:42b; **V**:69ab, 90a
  - Indian **IV**:1051ab
  - Nicene **I**:392a, 845b; **II**:891b; **III**:1175b–76a; **V**:372a
  - research **III**:26b, 181a
  - s. also Christianity; *Karra*; *Täwaḥədo*
- orthodoxy, Islamic, rel. **I**:399a, 543a; **II**:179b; **IV**:36b, 302b; **V**:450b
  - s. also Islam
- Ortola, firm **V**:354a
- oryx (*Oryx beisa*), zool. **I**:272b; **III**:170b; **IV**:652a
  - ill. **IV**:116ab
- ᶜOṣ, *abba* **I**:194a, 516b; **III**:1188b–90b; **IV:73ab**, 597a; **V**:496a
  - Guba **II**:898a
  - s. also Nine Saints
- *Os cus de Judas* (Lobo Antunes), lit. **V**:391b
- *ᶜOṣ*: *Gädlä ᶜOṣ*, lit. **II**:643a; **IV**:73a
- Osaka, town **III**:268b–69a; **V**:328a
- Osgood, Wilfred Hudson, sch. **IV:73b**
- Osiris, rel. **V**:328b
- Osman s. ᶜUṯmān
- Osman Abdi, inf. von Tiling **II**:598a
- Osmania, script **IV**:694b
  - ill. **IV**:694ab
- Osram, wr. **II**:401b
- Osrhoene, state **III**:261a; **IV**:227b
- Ossola, Giacomo Leone, miss. **IV:74ab**
- OSSREA s. Organization for Social Sience Research in Eastern and Southern Africa
- Ostafrika-Expedition **III**:55a
- *Ostafrikanische Studien* (Munzinger), lit. **III**:1071a
- Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, library **II**:763b
- Ostini, Giuseppe, dipl. **I**:717a
- ostrich, zool. **I**:272b; **II**:68b, 862a; **III**:412a, 1133b; **IV**:400b, 1151a; **V**:218b, 289a, 466a
  - ill. **II**:488b
  - eggs (also in architecture) **I**:589a, 725b; **II**:13a, 808a, 877a; **III**:80a, 81b, 758b; **IV**:579b
  - feathers **II**:257a, 862b, 972b, 974a, 985a; **III**:53a, 903a, 923a, 1050b; **IV**:239a, 560ab, 872a, 1005a
  - s. also animals; birds
- Ostrogoths **V**:370a, 371b
- O’Swald Company **IV**:405a
- *Ot Entoto do reki Baro* (Bulatovitch), lit. **V**:392a
- Ota Mani, ethn. **III**:712b
- *Othello* (Shakespeare), lit. **I**:403b; **IV**:1026b; **V**:265b, 449a
- *Other War*, *The* (ᶜAlämsäggäd Täsfay), lit. **IV**:943a
- *ottava vibrazione*, *L’* (Lucarelli), lit. **V**:395b
- Otto, ethn. **IV**:85a
- Ottoman Empire (until 1923; Turks), country **III**:715b, 951b; **IV:74b–81a**, 417ab; **V**:200b–01a, 250b, 309b, 511b
  - ill. **IV**:15b; **V**:540ab
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  - Abraham Ganibal **IV**:243a
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    - Muḥammad ᶜAbdallāh Ḥasan **III**:1045b
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    - Edessa **II**:227b
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    - Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī **I**:157b, 300a; **II**:418a, 795a
    - Fasilädäs **II**:500b–01b, 847b; **III**:205b
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  - history, 18th to 20th cent. **IV**:417ab; **V**:333b, 449a–50a
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- Ousanas I (Ousanas Bisi Gisene, Ousas), king **I**:511a; **IV:82a–83a**, 486a, 785a; **V**:197a, 474a
  - ill. **IV**:82a
  - coins **I**:175ab, 176b, 767b; **III**:142b; **IV**:785a
  - inscriptions **II**:601a, 939a
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- Ousas, king **I**:175b, 176b, 767b; **V**:474ab, **475ab**
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- Paᵓayti, ethn. **III**:426a; **IV**:1061b
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- *Pachomius*, *Rules of* (monastic order of Pachomius), lit. **I**:228b, 515b; **II**:414b, 737a; **III**:519b, 713b, 990a, 994ab, 996a, 1207a; **IV**:87ab
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- Pindar, Peter, wr. **V**:402b
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- Pinedjem, pharaoh **III**:287a
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- Pinnow, teacher **II**:383a, 771a; **V**:188b
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- Piovanelli, Pierluigi, sch. **I**:488b
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- Pipino, Francesco, wr. **V**:488a
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- Pirenne, Henry, sch. **V**:480b
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- Pirone, Bartolomeo, sch. **III**:1025b
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- Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford **IV**:950a
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  - cattle plague **I**:80a; **III**:591ab, 800a
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  - outbreaks **I**:35b, 155b, 158b, 506a, 735a; **II**:119b, 1016a, 1034a; **III**:1209b; **V**:83b, 371b
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  - s. also farms; fruit; coffee; cotton; sugar
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- *Plantago*, bot. **I**:807b
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    Ḫaylu Täwäldä Mädḫən **I**:8a; **II**:1070b; **III**:774a
    Sälomon Täsfa Ṣəyon **I**:603a; **IV**:499a
    Zärᵓay **V**:150b–51a
  religion
    Orthodox Christianity **IV**:877a
    Protestantism **II**:275a, 409a; **IV**:224b, 774b, 1110ab
  research **II**:558b; **IV**:217a
Ṣäᶜazzäga (Ṣäᶜadzäga, Ṣəᶜazzäga), settl. **IV**:426b; **V**:408a
  ill. **II**:109a; **IV**:426b
Ṣäᶜazzäga Giyorgis, church **II**:618b; **IV**:427a
Sab, ethn. **II**:157a, 166b, 639b; **IV**:703a, 705b
Sab Lālit, ethn. **IV**:471b
  s. also Sāho
Säb mədr, ethn. **I**:550b
Sabaᵓ (Səḇāᵓ) (Yemen), kingdom **I**:163a; **II**:753b–54b;

III:1162b; **IV**:227b, 346a, **427a–29b**, 891b; **V**:50b
- ill. **IV**:428ab
- map **IV**:429b
- archaeology **IV**:346a
  - areas **I**:322a; **III**:1114b; **IV**:1181a
  - inscriptions **I**:427b; **II**:705b, 987b; **III**:34b, 1120ab
  - objects **I**:323a; **III**:858b
- association with
  - Aksum **I**:174ab, 658a; **II**:479b, 719ab, 895a; **III**:331b
  - DᶜMT **I**:207a, 387a; **II**:185a; **III**:891a
  - Ḥabašāt **I**:62a; **II**:948b–49a
  - Ḥawzen **II**:1054a
- economy **I**:294b; **III**:131b
- religion **III**:1013a; **IV**:360ab
  - Almaqah **I**:207a
  - Ḏāt Ḥimyam **II**:107b–08a
  - HWBS **III**:94b–95a
- rulers **II**:719a
  - Abraha **I**:42b
- writing and research **I**:177b, 507b; **II**:815a, 895b, 976b; **III**:54a, 604b, 950a, 1011b–12a, 1067a; **IV**:134a, 216b, 576b; **V**:401b, 454b–55a, 480b, 522b
- s. also Arabia; Epigraphic South Arabian; Ḥaḍramawt; Ḥimyar; HWBS; inscriptions; Makədda; Pre-Aksumite culture; Raydān; Sabaic; Sälḥen; Yemen

Säba (central Ethiopia), pl.n. **II**:1042b
Säbᵓa (Səbᵓa) (Eritrea), pl.n. **I**:650a; **III**:788b
Saba, John s. Arägawi Mänfäsawi
Ṣäba Anya Č̣erqos, church **V**:152a
Säbᵓa Asgäd, son Yagba Ṣəyon **V**:12b
Säbᵓa Nol, king **II**:470b; **III**:1194a; **V**:469a
Säbᵓa sägäl s. Magi
Saba: *Under the Hyena's Foot* (Kurtz), lit. **V**:404a
Šabāb s. *Ḥarakat šabāb al-muǧāhidīn*
Šabadiino, ethn. **IV**:656b
Sabaean s. Sabaic
säbaᶜətu mälᵓəktat s. *Epistles*: *Catholic Epistles*
Säbagadis, lit. **I**:91b
Säbᵓagādis ("House of Säbagadis"), lineage **I**:137b; **III**:187b, 338b, 374a; **IV**:587b–88b, 871b
Säbägadis, *šum ᶜagame* s. Säbagadis Wäldu
Säbagadis (Subagadis) Wäldu, *däǧǧ.*, *šum ᶜagame* **II**:209a, 819a; **IV**:**430a–31b**, 472a, 474b, 680a, 1110a; **V**:125b
- ill. **IV**:430ab
- active in
  - ᶜAgamä **I**:79a, 137b, 282a, 371a, 668a
  - Akkälä Guzay **I**:167b
  - Sänᶜafe **IV**:520b
  - Ṣəraᶜ **IV**:627a
  - Təgray **IV**:892b
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- association with
  - Mädäbay **III**:622b
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  - Däbrä Abbay **II**:194b
  - May Ǝslamay **III**:884b–85a
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  - descendants **II**:106a; **V**:8b
  - direct relatives
    - Arägawi Säbagadis **I**:310a
    - Kaḥsay Säbagadis **IV**:932a
    - Səllas Dəmṣu **V**:73b
    - Tabotu Wäldu **III**:933a
    - Yäwəbdar Gugsa **II**:907a
- funeral **II**:589b
- military **I**:204b
- opposition from/to
  - Goššu Zäwde **II**:861a
  - Kənfu Ḫaylu **III**:386a
  - Marəyye Gugsa **III**:781b
- policies
  - foreign **I**:203b, 275b, 345b, 766a; **III**:933b; **IV**:1022a; **V**:361a
  - legal **I**:95a, 168b; **III**:516b
- relations to
  - Bəṭul Ḫaylä Maryam **I**:561a
  - Gäbrä Mädḫən **V**:8b
  - Wəbe Ḫaylä Maryam **IV**:1170a
- religion
  - church endowment
    - ᶜAddigrat Č̣ərqos **II**:100a; **IV**:775b
    - Ǝnda Gäbrəᵓl **II**:287a
    - Ǝnda Mädḫane ᶜAläm **I**:106b
    - Gundä Gunde **II**:742a, 918b; **IV**:748b
    - May Anbäsa Kidanä Məḥrät **V**:421b
    - Wəq̱ro Č̣ärqos **IV**:1180b
  - foreign missionaries **II**:818b; **III**:447a
  - religious figures
    - Qerəllos **IV**:290b–91a
- writing **IV**:129a

Sabaha, mil. **I**:347b
Sabahar, comp. **IV**:661a
Sabaic, lang. **II**:440b; **III**:949a; **IV**:615a; **V**:427b, 517b
- inscriptions **I**:421a; **II**:107b–08a, 185a, 398a; **III**:34b, 94b–95a, 1120ab; **IV**:360b, 492b, 626b, 1181a; **V**:98b–99b, 197a, 219a
- research and teaching **II**:782a, 895b, 948b–49a, 965a; **III**:54a, 1067a; **IV**:216b, 346a, 576b; **V**:306a, 363a, 481a, 534a, 547a
- script **IV**:580b–82a
- s. also Epigraphic South Arabian; inscriptions; Late Sabaic; Middle Sabaic; Old Sabaic; "Pseudo-Sabaic"; Sabaᵓ

Šäbäl, pl.n., Goǧǧam **II**:826a; **IV**:411b, 833a
Šäbäl, pl.n., Wälläga
- ill. **II**:77b

ṣäbäl (*ṭäbäl*), rel. **III**:3a, 50a, 515b, 636b, 903a; **IV**:152a, 356b, **431b–32a**, 479b, 522b, 822b, 848b, 851b, 909a, 959b, 1117b; **V**:24b, 145b, 148b, 159a, 184a, 219a, 297a, 422a
- s. also water

Ṣäbälä Ewosṭatewos, daugh. Habtä Ǝgziᵓ **II**:614b
Ṣäbälä Maryam, daugh. Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob **V**:149b
Ṣäbälä Maryam, disc. Zena Maryam **V**:179b
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Säbänä Giyorgis, daugh. Ləbnä Dəngəl **II**:547a, 656a–57b; **III**:536b, 969b
Säbänä Giyorgis, moth. ᶜAndä Haymanot **I**:256b; **II**:618b
Säbärat, mil. **I**:347b
Säbarguma, pl.n. **II**:88a, 687b; **IV**:518b; **V**:350a
säbat ᶜamät, rel. **I**:646a
säbat bet, kinship **I**:231b; **II**:190b
Säbat bet Gurage, ethn. **I**:663a, 664a; **II**:79b, 80b, 279b, 294b, 295b–96a, 307b–08a, 477b–78a, 780ab, 914ab, 1042b; **III**:198b, 1064a–65a; **IV**:1081a, 1134b; **V**:15ab, 214a
- s. also *Amməst bet* Gurage; Čaha; Ǝndägäñ; Ǝnor; Ǝža; Geto; Gurage; Muḫər; Mäqorqor

Säbat bet Hadiyya s. Hadiyya
Säbat bet Wällo, pol. **I**:30a; **III**:472b, 473b, 475a; **IV**:1119b, 1148b
Säbat sänga Mäsqän, ethn. **II**:925a
Šäbäta, *agäz* **III**:1064b
Sábata (Šabwa), city **V**:523a
ṣäbate (*śäbati*), eccl. **II**:27b; **III**:990b; **IV**:**432b**
Säbätta (Säbäta, Sabbata), town **I**:24b, 442a; **IV**:911a
Šäbattä Ansäba s. Šäwᶜattä ᶜAnsäba
Säbättä (Säbbättä) Betä Dänagəl, mon. **III**:989a, 1208a
Säbattu kidanat, rel. **II**:249b
Sabawiyan, ethn. **IV**:891b, 909b
Sabaya, pl.n. **II**:106a

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Säbbäta s. Säbätta
Sabbath (*Sänbät*), rel. **I**:726b, 730a; **II**:124a, 252a; **III**:163b, 521a, 546b; **IV**:**432b–34a**, 947a, 957b
  association with
    burials **I**:646b
    circumcision **I**:748b
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  doctrines in favour
    Danəᵓel of Däbrä Maryam **II**:85b
    Ǝsṭifanos **II**:390b–91a; **IV**:747b
    Ǝwosṭateans **I**:50a, 485a, 720a; **II**:16a, 25a, 86a, 466b–68a
      Ewosṭatewos **II**:416a, 469b–70b
      Filəp̣p̣os **II**:540a
      Täwäldä Mädḫən **IV**:875b–76a
    Giyorgis of Sägla **II**:812a; **V**:59a
    Mälkəᵓa Krəstos **III**:707a
    Qäwəsṭos **IV**:266b
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    Apocalypse of Mary **III**:822a
    Ardəᵓət **I**:326b
    Bäqädami Gäbrä Ǝgziᵓabəḥer **I**:471a
    Dərsanä sänbät **II**:141a–42b
    Didəsqəlya **II**:155b
    Ǝgziᵓabəḥer nägśä **II**:248b
    Mäṣḥafä bərhan **I**:534a
    Mäṣḥafä məśṭir **III**:942ab
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    Qalemənṭos **II**:155b; **IV**:252b
    Mäṣḥafä śəllase **IV**:603b
    Ṣomä dəggʷa **IV**:692a
    Təᵓəzazä sänbät **III**:303b; **IV**:885a
  opposition by
    Däbrä Libanos **IV**:488a
      Ǝndrəyas **II**:26b, 300b
    Jesuits **III**:280a
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    ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon I **V**:315a
    Dawit II **II**:16a, 33b, 112b
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    Zädəngəl **I**:700a; **V**:104a
    Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob **II**:26b, 35a, 300b, 467b; **III**:521a; **V**:147b–49a, 444b
  practiced by
    Betä Ǝsraᵓel **I**:326b, 557b–58a, 673a; **II**:381b; **III**:362a
    Christians **I**:720b; **II**:497b; **III**:304b, 306a
      Betä Abrəham **I**:552a
      Ḫamär **I**:143a
      Ḫamta **II**:995a
      Mugär Gädam **III**:1040a
      Oromo **IV**:67a
    Kəmant **III**:382b
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    Däbrä Məṭmaq **II**:632a; **III**:1192a
    Florence **II**:555a
  s. also *Sänbäte*; Sunday
Sábbē s. Makədda
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Ṣabbīya, ethn. **II**:1044b
Sabbo, ethn **I**:13a, 426b, 605b; **II**:858a; **IV**:53b, 502b, 637a
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Šabeit, pl.n. **II**:712a
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Sabellianism, rel. **I**:486a; **II**:454ab, 1072b; **V**:59a
Sabellius, rel. **I**:339b; **III**:942a; **IV**:992a
  s. also Sabellianism
Säbəräd, ethn. **III**:615b
ṣäbḥi, food **I**:623a
Sabi, rel. **II**:658b
Sabi, town. **IV**:112b
Sabine, monk **IV**:596b
Sābir, pl.n. **I**:104b; **IV**:241b
Sabiro, rel. **IV**:225a
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Säblä Dəngəl, name **III**:813a
Säblä Wängel (20th cent.), daugh. Ḫaylu Täklä Haymanot **II**:1069b; **III**:256a, 727b; **V**:41b, 418a
Säblä Wängel (16th cent.), *ətege* **IV**:**434b–35b**; **V**:432a
  active in
    Ayba **I**:408a
    Mängəśtä Sämayat **II**:826a, 983a
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    Mängəśtä Sämayat **IV**:125a
  family **II**:656a; **III**:536b, 969b–70b; **IV**:125a, 545a; **V**:7b
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    Admas Mogäsa **I**:97a
    Gama **II**:664a
Säblä Wängel, lit. **II**:520b
Säblä Wängel (17th cent.), moth. Iyasu I **III**:249b; **IV**:**436ab**, 623a, 667a; **V**:69ab, 70b, 115b, 493a
Säblä Wängel Dästa, wife Kaśa Wäldä Maryam **III**:352a; **IV**:859a
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Šabo (Mikeyir), lang. **III**:417a; **IV**:**436b–37b**; **V**:384a
  map **IV**:436b
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Ṣabr, culture **I**:294b
Sabra (Ṣäbra, Ṣəbra), *abba* **I**:471a; **II**:688a; **III**:60a; **IV**:**438ab**, 455a, 885a; **V**:447a
Ṣabraddīn, name **III**:1125a
Ṣabraddīn I Muḥammad b. Dalḥūy (Ṣabraddīn b. Dalḥūy b. Manṣūr), ruler **II**:208b; **IV**:**438b**
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    Ǝdnägäbṭän **II**:293b
    Fäṭägar **II**:504b
    Tägulät **IV**:819a
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    Amano **I**:217a
    Ḥaydära **II**:110a, 1055a
  opposition to
    ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon **I**:228a; **II**:666b; **III**:119a, 752b; **IV**:493a, 1083b, 1139a
  relatives
    ᶜAlī b. Ṣabraddīn **I**:200b
    Ḥaqqaddīn b. Dalḥūy b. Manṣūr **II**:1007ab
  use of divination **IV**:35b
Ṣabraddīn b. Ādam, ruler **II**:1017a; **III**:901b
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Ṣabraddīn b. Saᶜdaddīn Abū l-Barakāt Muḥammad, mil. **IV**:444b, 1084a
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Ṣ́äbri, *wär.* **IV**:496b, 497b
Sabri Elias s. Ṣabrī Ilyās
Ṣabrī Ilyās (Sabri Elias), rel. **I**:442a
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Sabu s. Šabo
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Šābur II, emp. **V**:530b
Šabwa(t), pl.n. **II**:334b, 965a–66a; **III**:131b; **V**:523a
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    - Capuchins **I**:682b; **III**:27b; **IV**:1044a
    - Franciscans **II**:579a
    - Jesuits **III**:279a
    - Lazarists **III**:526a, 527a
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    - Missioni della Consolata **III**:977b
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    - Bərru Goššu **I**:542b
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    - Borgia **IV**:649a
    - Ṭobiya Giyorgis Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer **IV**:968a–69a
    - Wansleben **IV**:1133a
  - s. also Sacra Congregatio pro Ecclesiis Orientalibus; Pontifical Urbaniana University (Collegio Urbano di Propaganda Fide); Santo Stefano dei Mori
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- Sacra Congregatio pro Ecclesiis Orientalibus (Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Churches), eccl. **II**:713a; **III**:396a; **IV**:280a, 440b, **441a–42a**, 531b, 842a, 966a, 1053b; **V**:501b
  - s. also Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide
- sacraments (*məsṭir*), rel. **I**:433b, 725b, 817a; **II**:212b, 417b, 449a; **III**:3b, 522b–23a; **IV**:198ab, 263a, 946b; **V**:176a
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  - s. also baptism; Canon Law; church buildings; eucharist; matrimony; ordination; penance; unction
- *Sacred City of the Ethiopians*, *The* (Bent), lit. **I**:530b; **III**:1067a
- sacred kingdom s. kingship, divine
- Sacred Scripture s. Bible
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- sacrifice, rel. **II**:398a, 561b, 564a; **IV**:**442a–44a**, 960a
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    - Käfa **III**:323b–24a; **IV**:445b
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    - ancestors **I**:255ab
    - birth **I**:590b–91a
    - burials **I**:646b, 647b, 648b; **II**:876b
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      - Arsi **IV**:720b
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    - missionaries **IV**:749b
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    - Betä Ǝsraʾel **I**:555ab, 557ab, 634b; **II**:498a; **III**:307a, 379a
    - Christianity (*mäśwaʿət*) **I**:489a; **II**:54a; **III**:626b–27a, 652b, 840b, 915a, 916a; **IV**:601a; **V**:356b
    - Greek religion **II**:885a; **III**:1011b
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      - *buttaa* **I**:655b
  - writing and research **I**:446b
  - s. also blood; *buttaa*; circumcision; Eucharist; *ğiila*; martyrdom
- *Sacrifice et divination chez les Hamar du sud de l'Ethiopie* (Strecker), film **V**:325b
- Sacrifice of Abraham s. Abraham
- Saᶜd, name **III**:1124b
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- Šada (Käfa), pl.n. **I**:257a
- Ṣaᶜda N.N. s. Ṣäᶜəda N.N.
- *Sadaassa*, cal. **I**:675b
- Sadača (Sädäča), ethn. **I**:129a, 276a; **II**:294a, 310b; **III**:570a; **IV**:672b
  - s. also Afre
- Saᶜdaddīn, is. **III**:186b
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- *Səbḥatä nägh*, rel. **I**:317b, 357a; **II**:123b, 728a, 899a; **III**:391b, 659b–60a, 701a, 858a, 876a, 877b, 913a, 918a; **IV**:49a, 198b, 534b, **590ab**, 603a; **V**:101a, 163b–64a, 174b
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- Səbḥatu, *däǧǧ.* **I**:472a
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- *Səbkät*, rel. **I**:669b, 671b; **II**:512a; **III**:913a; **IV**:590a
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- Ṣedenya (Saïdnaya), rel. **I**:671b; **II**:512b; **III**:808b
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  - s. also *Bäᵓəntä qəddəsat*; *Wänəbäl kʷəllənä*
- *seera*, soc. **I**:1a, 606b; **II**:225a, 637b, 661a, 904a, 912a, 932a, 962b; **III**:516a; **IV**:64b, 362a, 451a, **592ab**, 684a
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- Šəfaᶜ Säᶜat, pl.n. **III**:899b
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- *Šəfärra*, *fit.* **II**:623a
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Ṣəge Maryam (Yäwəbdar Gäbru), *əmmahoy* **IV**:620b

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- s. also marginalized people; taboo

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- s. also *desa*

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Ṣəḥma (Ṣäḥma), St. **III**:1188b–89a, 1190ab; **IV**:73ab, **596a–97a**
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- s. also geology; volcanoes

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Šek Laḥlaha ᶜAre, ethn. **IV**:473a, 863a

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- s. also Šakačo

Šekačo s. Šakačo

Sēká-k Badoytá-mēlá, ethn. **I**:103b

Šəkäna Amba, mt. **V**:91b

Šekičo s. Šakačo

Šekka, ethn. s. Šakačo, ethn.

Šekka, lang. s. Šakačo, lang.

Šekka, zone s. Šeka, zone

Šəkkäti, pl.n. **III**:593b

Šekki noono s. Šakačo

səkkʷar dənnəč s. sweet potato

Səkla, fortress **V**:112b

Šeko (Moča) s. Šakačo

Šeko (Čako, Dorsa/Dorša, Šäko, Šeka), ethn. **II**:800ab; **IV**:**599b–601a**; **V**:383b
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- areas **IV**:920a
- economy
  - agriculture **II**:316b
  - handicrafts **II**:1000b; **III**:190b
  - slavery **IV**:677b
- material culture **III**:80b, 171a, 190b, 1106a; **IV**:652a
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  - Dizi **II**:176b
  - Mağaŋgir **III**:629a
  - Nayi **III**:1157b
  - Šakačo **IV**:482a
- religion and beliefs **II**:257a, 701a, 800b, 876ab; **III**:549a, 929b; **IV**:37a, 255a, 328a
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Šeko (Čako, Šak, Šakko, Šekko, Şókú), kingdom **III**:575a; **IV**:677b; **V**:443a

Šeko (Čako, Šak, Šakko, Šekko, Şókú), lang. **II**:175ab, 177b–78b; **III**:1156b; **IV**:22a, 481a, **598b–99b**; **V**:383a
- map **IV**:599b

Šeko, town **IV**:598b
Šeko, *wär*. **III**:1158a; **IV**:482b, 598b
Səkodasa (Sokodasa), ethn. **I**:477a, 481b
Sekoûndos s. Secundus
səlä afärsata dänb ᶜawaǧ, jur. **I**:400a
Sela Asfarre, mt. **III**:505b
Səlä Maryam s. *Bäᵓəntä Maryam*
səlä täzäkkərotä mäsqäl, rel. **II**:899b
Ṣelahe, rel. **IV**:85b
Šəlälä, reg. **IV**:1180b
Ṣəlaləš s. Ṣəllaləš
Ṣəlalo, reg. **V:510a**
  map **V**:510b
Ṣəlalo Amanuᵓel, mon. **II**:243b, 654b–55a; **IV**:312b, 545a, 548a; **V:510a–11b**
Šela-Mela, settl. **II**:1038b
Selanž, town **IV**:602a
Śəläši Kätämma, *wäyz.* **III**:350b
Səläši Səmäw, sch. **IV**:106b
səlät, rel. **IV**:479b, **601ab**; **V**:173b
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Seleucia, Synod of **III**:1169b
Seleucids, pol. **II**:227b, 255a; **III**:621a; **IV**:662a
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  s. also *afōča*; *baḥa*; *əddər*; *ᵓəqqub*; Mäč̣č̣a and Tuulama; *maḫbär*
Seligman, Charles Gabriel, sch. **II**:992a; **III**:1078a, 1094b
Selim I Yavuz, *sulṭān* **II**:978a; **IV**:74b
Selim II, *sulṭān* **IV**:75b
Seljan, Mirko, trav. **II**:986b; **IV:601b–02a**
Seljan, Stjepan, trav. **II**:986b; **IV:601b–02a**
Seljanville, town **IV**:602a
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Ṣəllaləš, reg. **II**:447a; **IV**:266b, 514a, 555a, 812a, 833a; **V**:46a
Šəllalo, town **III**:354b
Ṣəlläre, riv. **IV**:823b
Śəllas Abba Simbo, moth. Abraha **V**:212b
Śəllas Č̣äggär, *wäyz.* **V**:8b
Śəllas Dəmṣu, wife Mərč̣a Wäldä Kidan **III**:932b–33a; **V**:73b–74a
Śəllase s. Trinity
Śəllase, cathedral, Addis Abäba s. Qəddəst Śəllase, cathedral
Śəllase, church, Afqära s. Afqära Śəllase
Śəllase, church, Č̣əq s. Č̣əq Śəllase
Śəllase, church, Lalibäla s. Betä Śəllase
Śəllase, church, Mäqdäla **III**:763b
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Śəllase, mt. **III**:763b
śəllase: *Mäṣḥafä śəllase*, lit. **I**:533b; **II**:143a, 738a; **IV:603b–05a**, 947a; **V**:148b
  ill. **III**:250a; **IV**:112ab, 604ab
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Ṣəllatä Kidan, moth. Ḫaylä Maryam Śärabyon **II**:1058b
Ṣəllatä Muse, rel. **III**:1022a
ṣəlle, rel. s. *tabot*
Šelle, settl. **III**:609b
Ṣəlləma, pl.n. **I**:45a, 549b; **II**:95b; **III**:414b, 593b; **IV**:537b
Ṣəllum Bäᶜatti, pl.n. **III**:882a; **IV**:399a, 400a
Śəllus Ḫayle, *ətege* s. Admas Mogäsa
Śəllus ḫayle, mil. **V**:432a
Śəllus Qəddus s. Däbrä Bərhan Śəllase
ṣəlmi, jur. **III**:500b–01a, 514a; **IV:605ab**
səlqa, drink **IV**:848b
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Səlṭähi s. Səlṭi
Śəlṭan Krəstos, mil. unit **V**:433a
Səlṭan Märəd, mil. **I**:596a; **III**:706a
Səlṭan Mogäsa s. Wäld Säᶜala
Səlṭan Sägäd I s. Susənyos
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Səlṭanä Kəssos, moth. Bäšəlo **I**:495b
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Səlṭe, zone **II**:309a, 780a, 930b; **IV**:483a, 552b, 606b–07a, 1179a
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  ill. **IV**:607ab
  areas **I**:655a; **V**:203b
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    Mäsqan **III**:847ab
    Wäläne **IV**:1080b–81a
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    Islam **II**:934b–35a, 1041b, 1078a; **III**:198b, 319a; **IV**:200b, 450b, 566b–67a; **V**:187a, 215b, 548a
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  history **II**:964b
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  research **III**:1000b; **IV**:576a; **V**:306a
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Səmᶜa Piláṭos, lit. **V**:491a
Səmäda, pl.n. **II**:716b–17a; IV:1099b
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  s. also Däbrä Libanos, Ham
Ṣəmbäla (Ṣämbäla), pl.n. **IV**:670ab
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Šəmbərä Kʷəre (Šəmbərä Kure), battle **I**:35a, 156b, 640a; **II**:111a, 418a; **III**:806a, 1209a; **IV**:397ab, **609b–10a**, 670b; **V**:216a
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    climate **I**:755b; **II**:214b
    towns and villages **I**:408a; **II**:282b
  history **I**:98b, 146b–47a, 157b, 228a, 432a, 455b; **II**:75b, 98b, 194b, 664a, 1040; **III**:278a, 332a, 372b–73a, 679a, 789a, 807a, 963b, 1011a, 1134b, 1178a; **IV**:82a, 114a, 141a, 267a, 392a, 451ab, 545b, 547a, 574a, 829a, 837b, 855a, 892b, 1000b, 1072b, 1082b, 1122b, 1170a; **V**:59a, 74ab, 126a, 127a, 539a
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    Ḫaylä Maryam Gäbre **II**:1057a, 1068a; **III**:799a; **IV**:878a, 1169b; **V**:125a
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Tanzania, country **I**:162b, 271b, 296a, 396a, 697a, 801a, 832a, 833a, 834a; **II**:198a, 761a, 1022a; **III**:1a, 1182b, 1185b; **IV**:15b–16a, 67b, 109b, 116b, 160a, 339b, 411a, 1062b; **V**:329b
Taʾodra, daugh. Minas **III**:970b
Täʾofilos s. Theophilus; Tewoflos
tapeworm, zool. **II**:170ab, 201a, 314a, 574b, 881a; **III**:432b–33a, 654b, 902b
Tápharos s. Ẓafār
Täp̣p̣i, town **III**:126a
Taqali, kingdom **IV**:665b
Taqara, reg. **III**:1190b
Täqäṣṣäl ṣəge s. *Gubaʾe qana*, feast
Ṭäqäye, *ləǧ* **II**:279a; **III**:1166b; **IV**:**861b–62a**
Taqīddīṉ al-Muḥibbī s. Ibn Nāẓir al-Ǧayš
ṭäqlay gəzat, adm. **I**:101b–02a; **II**:368b, 680a; **III**:509b
taqlīd, jur. **IV**:449a
Täqqələnna särawitu (Damṭe Assämmähäññ), lit. **I**:242a
Ṭaqussa (Dagus(s)a), reg. **I**:67a, 259b, 545b; **III**:724a, 1195a; **IV**:182b, **862ab**; **V**:69b, 511a
Ṭäqʷe, ethn. **IV**:609a
Ṭäʾqʷər s. Täʾaqʷər
Taqwīm al-Buldān (Abū l-Fidā), lit. **II**:963b; **III**:108b
Ṭära s. Tärra
Tära Ǝmni, reg. **IV**:537a
tarad, meas. **V**:422b
täräf arbaᶜət, rel. **I**:317b
täräfä mäśʷaᶜət, rel. **V**:176a
Täräfä nägär zäbarok zäʾikonä ḫəbuʾa zäʾamä yəṣṣ́ewwäwu Babilon s. *Baruch*, *Book of*
Ṯaʾrān Yuhanᶜim, king **V**:530a
ṭaräsəmbä azzaž, off. **I**:58a, 422b, 457b
tärät, lit. **I**:232a; **II**:556b, 557b
  s. also folktales; proverbs
Tärät tärät yämäśärät (Ḥaddis ᶜAlämayyähu), lit. **II**:960a
Ṭarawd, pl.n. **III**:315b
Tärda Gäbäz s. Tərdaʾ Gäbäz
Tareqa s. Taharqa
Targañ, ruler **V**:155b
Targûm šēnî, lit. **III**:673b
ṭarḥ, lit. **II**:728b
Taribora, Šinašša dial. **IV**:663a
Taʾrīf bil-muṣṭalaḥ aš-šarīf (al-ᶜUmari), lit. **IV**:1017a
Taʾrīḫ (Yaᶜqūbī), lit. **V**:23b
Taʾrīḫ al-Īrītriyā (ᶜUṯmān Ṣāliḥ Sabī), lit. **IV**:373a
Taʾrīḫ al-Islām fī l-Ḥabaša, lit. **I**:37a, 196a
Taʾrīḫ al-kanāʾis wal-adyira (Churches and Monasteries of Egypt; attr. Abū Ṣāliḥ, wr. Abū l-Makārim), lit. **I**:54b; **III**:675b

Taʾrīḫ ar-rusul wal-mulūk (aṭ-Ṭabarī), lit. **II**:262a, 263a, 1047a; **III**:47a, 1041b, 1043b; **IV**:799a
Taʾrīḫ-i-guzīda (Ḥamduʾllāh-i-Qazwīnī), lit. **V**:100a
Tarik, per. **IV**:636a; **V**:358a
Tarik̲ Ityop̣ya (Fəśśəḥa Giyorgis), lit. **I**:241a; **IV**:905b
Tarik zägalla (Aṣmä Giyorgis) s. *Yägalla tarik yäšäwa mängəśt*
Tarik zägalla wäraʾəyä Ləbnä Dəngəl, lit. **II**:140b; **III**:537b
Tarik̲ zähagärä Gamo, lit. **I**:531a
Tarikä nägäśt, lit. **I**:386a; **V**:203a
Tarikä nägäśt (Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase), lit. **V**:8a
Tarik təwləddä mänäkosat, lit. **II**:626b
Tarikä zämän zädagmawi Mənilək, lit. **I**:241a
Tarikənna məssale (Käbbädä Mikaʾel), lit. **III**:315b
Tariku Abärra, son Abärra Kaśa Ḫaylu **III**:318b; **V**:239b
Tarīm, pl.n. **IV**:89a, 449b
Ṭarīq *bey* **III**:1151a
Tariq Aṭqu, moth. Lämma **III**:494b
ṭarīqa s. Islamic brotherhoods
Ṭarma Bärr, mt. **II**:44b; **III**:627b; **IV**:553a, 819a, **862b–63a**; **V**:40ab
taro, bot. **V**:120a
Taroᶜa s. Tarūᶜa
Tarqe, anc. **II**:251a
  s. also Bet Tärqe
Tärqeqʷər, dial. Bilin **I**:139b
Tärqer Fətəh, ethn. **I**:586a
Tärra, reg. **I**:247a; **II**:10b; **IV**:451b
Tarräfä Wäldä Ṣadəq, sch. **III**:301b
Taršîš, land **V**:471a
Tarsos, pl.n. **IV**:945a
Tartars s. Tatars
Tartaruchos, angel **IV**:123a
Taru, desert **IV**:1062b
Tarūᶜa (Taroᶜa, Təroᶜa), ethn. **I**:362b; **II**:597b, 1078b; **III**:115b, 1117a; **IV**:311b, 471a–72a, 473a, 510a, 520a, **863ab**; **V**:201a
  language **III**:975a
  s. also Bet Muše; Bet Sarah
Täsäbkä Mädḫən, abbot **II**:285b
Täsämma Abba Qämmaw, pl.n. **II**:9a
Täsämma Anbässe, *azzaž* **III**:317b
Täsämma Asbärom (Täsämma Aśmärom ᶜUntura, d. 1964), *ras* **I**:94b; **III**:141b, 560b; **IV**:**864ab**, 1096b
  ill. **IV**:864a
  family **I**:43a; **IV**:813b, 871a
Täsämma Bälay, pol. **V**:305a
Täsämma Däbalqe, jur. **IV**:721a
Täsämma Darge, *däğğ.* **II**:102a–03a; **IV**:484a
Täsämma Ǝrgäṭe (d. 1972), *däğğ.* **II**:44b
Täsämma Ǝšäte (d. 1964), pol., wr. **III**:58a; **IV**:299a, 729a, **864b–66a**; **V**:39b, 248b
  ill. **III**:58a; **IV**:865b
  family **III**:688b
Täsämma Goššu, *däğğ*. **II**:861a, 862a; **IV**:837a, 932a
Täsämmä Habtä Mikaʾel (d. 1970), sch. **I**:356a, 440b; **IV**:**866ab**
Täsämma Nadäw (d. 1911), *ras* **I**:81b, 94a, 413a, 809b; **II**:953a, 1045a, 1081a; **III**:548a, 780a, 926b, 958b, 1099b; **IV**:331b, 879a, **866b–68b**, 1099a; **V**:41b
  ill. **IV**:867b
  active in
    Awsa **III**:647b, 969a
    Bakko **II**:986b
    Gibe **II**:505b, 549a, 602a
    Illubabor **II**:799a, 852b; **III**:125a, 833a
    Käfa **II**:653a; **III**:324a, 326a, 983b; **IV**:842a
  burial **II**:590b
  family **III**:318a, 557a, 1094a
  relation to
    Artamonov **IV**:418b
    Iyasu **II**:297a; **III**:254a; **IV**:1100a
    Montandon **III**:1010a
    Mulugeta Yəggäzu **III**:1068a
    Wäldä Giyorgis Abboyye **II**:653a; **IV**:1100b–01b, 1107b
Täsämma Wäldä Mikaʾel (d. 1861), *däğğ.* **I**:215b; **III**:1166a, 1167a; **IV**:861b, **868b–69a**, 932ab; **V**:127a
Täsämma Zärubabel, *ləğ* **V**:73a
Täsänäy, *awr*. **I**:102a; **II**:368b; **III**:1002b
  s. also Gaš-Setit
Täsänäy, town **I**:115a; **IV**:**869ab**; **V**:270a
  dam **II**:222a, 711b
  history **II**:711a; **III**:113a, 124a, 354b, 1187a; **IV**:14b
  infrastructure **I**:476b; **III**:1146a
    railway **IV**:326b–27a
  mosques **III**:210b, 1031a
  population **I**:304a; **II**:518b, 1048b; **III**:453b; **IV**:434a, 897a, 999b
  s. also Tessenei
Ṭasäw Dästa, mil. **III**:1156a
taṣawwuf s. sufism
tasbo s. typhus
Täsəʾəlotä Antəyakos: *Mäṣḥafä Täsəʾəlotä Antəyakos*
täsfa, rel. **III**:546b
Täsfa Ǝgziʾ Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer, wr. **IV**:906b
Täsfa Gäbrä Śəllase, publ., *qäññ*. **I**:279b; **II**:619b; **IV**:199a, **869b–70a**; **V**:502a
Täsfa Gäbrä Śəllase Mattämiya Bet, publ. **IV**:870a
Täsfa Giyorgis, *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* **I**:292b; **II**:24b, 383a; **IV**:410a; **V**:235b
Täsfa Ḥəywät, abbot **II**:29a
Täsfa Iyäsus, *bitw*. **II**:967b
Täsfa Iyäsus, fath. Yəkunno Amlak **IV**:266b; **V**:45b
Täsfa Kokäb Maḫbär, pol. **IV**:798a
Täsfa Kokäb School, acad. **III**:494a
Täsfa Ləᶜul, gov. **I**:27a
Täsfa Maryam, *baḥər nägaš* **IV**:588a
Täsfa Maryam Täkläzgi, priest **III**:396a
Täsfa May, anc. **I**:96a
Täsfa Śəllase Wäldä Gärima, *abba* **I**:435a; **IV**:**870a–71a**
Täsfa Ṣəyon (Täsfaṣen), anc., son Atäššəm **II**:96b–97a
Täsfa Ṣəyon (Täsfaṣen), anc., son Gäbrä Krəstos Habśəllus **II**:618b–19a, 1079a; **IV**:426b
Täsfa Ṣəyon, *ᶜaqqabe säᶜat* **V**:297b
Täsfa Ṣəyon, *baḥri nägaśi*, son Bok̲ru Sälomon **I**:603a
Täsfa Ṣəyon (Petrus Aethiops), monk, sch. **I**:679b; **III**:120a, 164a, 275a; **V**:109b, 377a, **525a–28b**, 546a–47a
  ill. **V**:527ab
  Bible edition **I**:569b, 580b; **II**:859a; **III**:137ab, 1172a, 1192a; **IV**:143b, 384a, 582b
  Modus baptizandi **III**:439a; **IV**:281a
  Santo Stefano dei Mori **IV**:369b, 530b, 1053a
Täsfa Ṣəyon, nobleman **V**:236a
Täsfa Yoḥannəs Bärhe Asmärom, pol. **IV**:**871ab**
Täsfagiyorgis Təğar, Cath. priest **V**:9a
Täsfahun Kəbru, art.**V**:260a
Täsfallase, fath. Hab Śəllus **II**:945a
Täsfanä Ǝgziʾ, ruler **II**:28b; **III**:625a; **V**:5a, 341a
Täsfanä Krəstos s. Krəstos Täsfanä
Täsfanä Mäsqäl, fath. Abäkärazun **I**:5b
Täsfaṣen s. Täsfa Ṣəyon
Täsfaṣəyon Fəśśəḥa, *abba* **II**:630a
Täsfay (Qästä Agam), Wälqayt anc. **IV**:1122b
Täsfay Gäbrä Mikaʾel, wr. **IV**:942b
Täsfay Ḥanṭal, *šum ᶜagame* **II**:972ab; **IV**:871b–72a
Täsfay Mädḫən, wr. **III**:188a
Täsfay Yohannes, inf. **IV**:750a
Täsfayä Däbässay, pol. **II**:433a
Ṭäsfaye Dägaga, pol. **III**:717b
Täsfaye Gäbrä Ǝgziʾ, pol. **IV**:51b
Täsfaye Gäbre, sch. **II**:410b
Täsfaye Gässäsä, wr. **I**:245a; **II**:410b, 522b; **III**:720a; **IV**:941ab
Täsfaye Lämma, mus. **II**:273b–274a; **IV**:43a
Täsfaye Mäkʷännən, producer **I**:245b
Täsfaye Śahlu, art. **III**:720a
Täsfaye Tägäñ, dipl. **III**:603b
Täsfazgi (Täsfa Ǝgziʾ), *ato* **III**:792a
Täsfu, leader **V**:182b
Täsfu, *mäm.* **V**:80a

taskes, soc. **I**:526b
Täšomä ᶜƎrgätu, mil. **III**:374b
Täšomä Ḥaddis, eccl. **II**:655a
Tašrīf al-ayyām wal-ᶜuṣūr fī sīrat al-malik al-Manṣūr (Ibn ᶜAbdaẓẓāhir), lit. **III**:1075b
Tasso, Torquato, poet **V**:393b
Ṭasso Habtä Wäld, art. **I**:452a
Tat ᶜAlī, volcano **V**:223b
Täṭa, ruler **II**:686b
Ṭäṭädəm s. Ṭänṭäwədəm
Täṭämqä Mädhən, *abunä* **III**:1208a; **IV**:513a
Täṭämqo, *aläqa* **III**:494b
Ṭaṭäññaw täwanay (Bərhanu Zäryəhun), lit. **I**:539a
Taṭäq, horse **II**:585a
Taṭäq, per. **IV**:206b, 752ab
Ṭäṭära, pl.n. **IV**:1068b
Tatars, ethn. **II**:168a; **IV**:210a
Taten Kami s. Kaye Šeročo
tati, title **I**:685a
tato, title **II**:346a, 653a; **III**:74b, 323a, 361a, 733a, 1158a; **IV**:445b, 482b, 672a, **872ab**; **V**:20b
  ill. **II**:568b
Tatoh Minh, lit. **I**:313a
tattooing **I**:600b–01b; **II**:207b, 972b; **III**:13a, 1049a; **IV**:807a; **V**:148a, 279b–81a, 282a
  ill. **I**:601a
Ṭaṭus, martyr **V**:496a
Ṭaṭya, pl.n. **I**:549a; **II**:414b
Täwabäčč Ali, *wäyz.* **I**:219a; **II**:306a; **III**:144b, 722a; **IV**:646a, **872b–83b**, 925b, 931a, 932a; **V**:126b
  ill. **IV**:873ab
Täwabäčč Mikaᵓel, *wäyz.* **III**:958a; **IV**:646a
Täwabäčč Wäldä Gäbrəᵓel, *əmmäbet* **IV**:646a
Täwaḥədo (Unionism), rel. **I**:722b, 732a; **II**:415b, 419b, 420b; **III**:348ab; **IV**:808a, **873b–75b**, 947a, 1088a, 1174b
  councils **I**:363a; **II**:1049b; **III**:441b–42b; **IV**:667b; **V**:38b
    Aringo **II**:502a; **V**:227a
    Azäzo **I**:416ab, 515a; **IV**:432b
    Boru Meda **I**:609a
    Kayla Meda **III**:633a
    Yəbaba **I**:147b; **IV**:269a
  debate **I**:506b, 549a; **II**:607b; **III**:281ab, 506b, 1009a; **IV**:268a–69a; **V**:69b–70b, 115b–16a, 123b
  opposition
    church officials **III**:662a; **IV**:844b, 936b
    kings **I**:534b; **IV**:936b–37a
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    church officials **I**:560a; **II**:627b; **III**:723b; **IV**:668ab; **V**:94b, 154b–55a
    holy men **I**:45a, 74a; **III**:707a; **IV**:835a, 836b
    kings **III**:250a; **IV**:436ab
    monasteries **II**:14b; **III**:644ab, 655a, 1034b; **IV**:314b
    nobility **I**:261a; **II**:298a, 495a; **IV**:1071b
  texts **I**:248a, 515b; **II**:1073a; **III**:893a, 1103b
  s. also Christology; Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church; *Karra*
Täwaḥədo Ṭəbäb Factory **I**:24b
Täwäldä Bäyyänä, sch., theol. **I**:683b
Täwäldä Bərhan, sch. **I**:380b
Täwäldä Bərhan Gäbrä Ǝgziᵓabəḥer, sch. **V**:509a
Täwäldä Bərhan Wäldä Maryam, goldsmith
  ill. **II**:836a
Täwäldä Gäbrä Bərhan, art. **III**:724b; **IV**:99a
  ill. **III**:724ab
Täwäldä Mädḫən, abbot, St. **II**:33a, 465b; **III**:875a; **IV**:604a, **875b–76a**
Täwäldä Mädḫən, *aytä* **II**:97a
Täwäldä Mädḫən, *däbtära* **I**:544a; **IV**:**876a–77a**
  ill. **IV**:876b
Täwäldä Mädḫən Gäbrä Mädḫən, *qäsis* **I**:574b, 577b–78a; **II**:114a; **III**:980b; **IV**:**877a–78a**, 905b, 1188b; **V**:64b, 334b, 495a
  ill. **IV**:877ab
Täwäldä Mädḫən Gäbru, sch. **IV**:877b, 1188b; **V**:508a
Täwäldä Mädḫən: *Gädlä Täwäldä Mädḫən*, lit. **IV**:604a, 875b–76a
Täwäldä Rädda, art. **IV**:942b
Tawaltut ᶜAre, ethn. **I**:362b
Täwanäy, *liq* **V**:511a
Täwanäy, mon. **II**:848a
Täwaqəso bähaymanot (Urbino), lit. **IV**:1044a
tawārīḫ, *Kitāb at-* (Ibn ar-Rāhib), lit. **I**:57ab; **II**:813a
Täwaśəᵓo zänəguś Gälawdewos, lit. **III**:893a
Tawəkləya s. Tawkəlya
Tawfīlus, eccl. **II**:120a
Tawfīq (Tevfik), *hāǧǧī bey* **IV**:79a, 265b
Tawfīq (b. Ismāᶜīl), *ḫidīw* **II**:851b; **III**:217a, 657b; **V**:520b
at-Tawfīq, mosque **III**:1029b
Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm, wr. **I**:245b, 385b; **III**:730b
tawḥīd, rel. **II**:230b, 232b; **III**:754b, 1048a, 1057b, 1061b–62a; **IV**:714a
Tawkəlya, moth. Yared **V**:27a
Tawkəlya, St. s. Thecla
Tawkəlya, *wäyz.* **II**:502a
Tawlūd, is. s. Ṭəwalät
Tawhīd inna fiqh (Ṭalḥa b. Ǧaᶜfar Yūsuf), lit. **IV**:847a
Tawklya s. Tawkəlya; Thecla
Täwlämbä, riv. **IV**:497b
taxation s. tributes and taxation
ṭay irāz, dress **I**:761a
Taye Gullillat s. Tayyä Gulälat
Taylor, Raynor, wr. **V**:402b
Taysīr Zabiyān al-Kaylani, sch. **IV**:373a
ṭayta, food **I**:622b
Ṭaytu (Ṣäḥaytu), daugh. Schimper **III**:349b, 401a; **IV**:573b–74ab
Ṭaytu Assäne, *wäyz.* **I**:456a
Ṭaytu Bəṭul (Wälättä Mikaᵓel), *ətege* **I**:435b; **II**:259b, 422a, 627a; **III**:687a, 926b, 1164b; **IV**:613a, **878a–79b**; **V**:77b, 188b, 271a, 454a
  ill. **IV**:586a, 879b
  active in
    Addis Abäba (Finfinnee) **I**:8a, 80a; **II**:545b
    ᶜAdwa **I**:108b
    Holäta **III**:55b
  association with *ṭäǧǧ* **IV**:818a
  church foundation and endowment **III**:275b, 733b; **IV**:1151b
    Däbrä Mäwiᵓ **II**:34a
    Ǝnṭoṭṭo Maryam **II**:321ab
    Ǝtissa Täklä Haymanot **II**:447a
    Maḫdärä Maryam **III**:656a
    Waša Mikaᵓel **IV**:1151b
  coronation **I**:803b; **II**:321a, 392b; **III**:285a, 867a
  death and funeral **II**:874a
  family **I**:123a, 413a; **III**:686a, 729a; **IV**:1115ab; **V**:14b
    Assälläfäč Wände **I**:386ab; **V**:48a
    Aster Mängäša **I**:388a
    Bəṭul Ḫaylä Maryam **I**:561b; **II**:1057a
    Gugsa Wäle **II**:907b; **IV**:1169b
    Wäle **III**:726b, 1094a; **IV**:1115ab
  in art and photography **II**:590b, 690b; **III**:896b; **IV**:1186b
  in literature **I**:242a; **IV**:614b; **V**:404a
  opposition **II**:628b; **III**:958b, 1150a; **IV**:1101ab
    Däməssäw Näsibu **III**:1150a
    Habtä Giyorgis Dinagde **II**:953a
    Ḫaylä Giyorgis Wäldä Mikaᵓel **II**:1056a
    Iyasu **II**:422a; **III**:254a; **IV**:1100a
    Täsämma Nadäw **IV**:867a, 868a
    Wälde Aššagari **IV**:1112a
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    development **IV**:422a
    economic **I**:464ab, 652a
    foreign **III**:235a, 583a; **IV**:413a, 601b, 1024a, 1057b

Ṭaytu Bəṭul (Wälättä Mikaʾel)
  relations to
    Käbbädä Mängäša Atikäm **III**:315a
    Śahle Ṣädalu **IV**:467b
    Wälättä Iyäsus **II**:980a; **IV**:1086b
    Wäldä Giyorgis **IV**:1100a
    Zäʾamanuʾel **III**:723a
    Zäwditu **V**:157b–58a, 159a
  rumours **I**:211b
  sources and reports **I**:746b; **III**:555b; **IV**:144b
Ṭaytu Bəṭul (Mäkʷännən Ǝndalkaččäw), lit. **I**:242a, 244a
Ṭaytu Hotel (Ǝtege Ṭaytu Hotel) **II**:134a, 882b; **III**:73b; **IV**:879a, 973a, 1040b; **V**:336a
Tayyä Asäffa, sch. **III**:302a
Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam, *aläqa* **II**:770a; **III**:44b, 139a; **IV**:224b, **880a–81a**; **V**:81a, 116b, 139b, 291b
  ill. **IV**:880a
  relations to
    Jensen **III**:271b
    Mittwoch **III**:981b; **IV**:309a, 1044a
    Roden **V**:495b
    Rosen **IV**:413b
  works **III**:1154b; **IV**:1044a; **V**:13b
    history **I**:241a, 268a; **II**:670ab; **III**:246b; **IV**:342a, 371b
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Tewodros Täšomä, filmmaker **I**:746a; **V**:327b

Tewofina, martyr **V**:496a

Tewoflos (Aśrar Sägäd), *aṣe* **I**:335a; **II**:113b, 846b; **III**:1123a; **IV**:835a, **936b–37b**, 1077a; **V**:38b, 69b, 97b, 155ab, 304a, 315b
- Christology **I**:723a; **III**:644b; **IV**:269a
- church endowments
  - Däbrä Mäwiᵓ **II**:34a
  - Ḥamärä Noḫ **II**:847a, 987a; **III**:722a, 791b
- coronation **II**:302a; **III**:691a
- relation to
  - Abranyos **I**:45a
  - Akasi **IV**:460b
  - ᶜArse **I**:351b
  - Basəlyos **I**:495b
  - Dəmeṭros **II**:129b, 776a
  - Ḥəzqəyas **III**:28b; **IV**:1088a
  - Sinoda **III**:43a, 250b; **IV**:668b
  - Täklä Haymanot **IV**:836b
  - Tulluu **IV**:1000b

Tewoflos, *əč̣č̣.* (19th cent.) **II**:27a, 627ab; **III**:87b, 671b; **IV:937b–38a**
- ill. **IV**:146b

Tewoflos, eccl., Aks. **II**:343a; **III**:289b

Tewoflos, eccl., Harär s. Tewoflos, Patriarch

Tewoflos, envoy s. Theophilos

Tewoflos (Mälᶜəktu), Patriarch **II**:22a, 423b; **III**:840a; **IV**:114a, **938a–39a**; **V**:30b, 478a
- bishop of Harär **II**:344a
- canonization **IV**:480b
- execution **II**:901b; **III**:804b
- relation to
  - Gorgoryos **II**:856a
  - Habtä Maryam Wärqənäh **IV**:219b
  - Spencer **IV**:722b
  - Täklä Haymanot **IV**:839b
- Revolution of 1974 **II**:426a
- role in
  - Council of Scholars **III**:523b
  - EMML **II**:413a
  - Haymanotä abäw **II**:1076a
  - Holy Trinity Theological College **III**:61b
  - World Council of Churches **II**:424b; **III**:798b
- theology **I**:731b; **IV**:874b

Tewoglos, broth. *əč̣č̣äge* Yoḥannəs **V**:68a

textiles **I**:165b, 757b, 808ab; **II**:18b, 77a, 121b, 174a, 215a, 216a, 222a, 325b–26a, 681a, 725a, 833a, 883b, 1004a, 1012b; **III**:105a, 131b, 181b, 184a, 420a, 466b, 630b, 738a, 742b, 754a, 852b, 936a, 986a, 1034a; **IV**:357b, 405a, 458b, 594a, 660a, 975a, 977b, 1007a, 1027a, 1150b; **V**:52a, 134ab, 203b, 498b
- ill. **III**:991b, 1034a, 1207b
- archaeology **IV**:27b
- exhibitions **I**:354b–55a
- factories **I**:106b, 316b–17a, 378a, 443b; **III**:145a, 763a; **IV**:258a, 1065b, 1163a; **V**:351b, 353a, 354b

  taxation **IV**:988a
  s. also clothing; cotton; *mənṭaf*; silk; weaving; wool
Ṭəya (Ṭiya) arch. site **I**:781b; **III**:888a; **IV**:745a, **939a–40a**, 1191b; **V**:454b
  ill. **IV**:939ab
Təᶜyəntay, officer **I**:228a; **II**:1007b
Teyoda, king **IV**:649b
Teyodoṭos s. Theodotos
Ṭeza (Haile Gerima), film **V**:328a
Ṭeza Amba, pl.n. **II**:556a
Təzzəta (Ḥaddis ᶜAlämayyähu), lit. **II**:960a
Təzzəta (Mängəśtu Lämma), lit. **V**:483b
təzzəta, mus. **I**:437a; **III**:1084b; **IV**:286b–87a; **V**:265b
Thai, lang. **V**:198a
Thailand, country
  ill. **V**:330a
Thamūdic script **IV**:581a
Thapis, pl.n. **V**:277b
Tharaud, Jean, wr. **V**:401a
Tharaud, Jérôme, wr. **V**:401a
theatre **IV**:141a, 187a, **942a–43b**
  ill. **IV**:941b, 942b
  in Eritrea **IV:942a–43b**; **V**:262b–63a
  in Ethiopia **IV:940a–42a**; **V**:337a
    artists
      Asnaqäčč Wärqu **V**:265ab
      Awlaččäw Däğäne **I**:403ab
      Fəqrä Maryam Ayyälä **II**:522ab
      Lämma Gäbrä Ḥəywät **III**:494a
      Wägayyähu Nəgatu **IV**:1074a
    facilities **I**:375a
      Ḫaylä Śəllase I Theatre **I**:24b
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      Abbäbä Käbbädä **I**:24b
      Mäkʷännən Habtäwäld **III**:684b
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    media **I**:93a; **II**:402a, 410b; **III**:720a
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      Bäšah Täklä Maryam **I**:493a
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      Oromo **IV**:72a
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      Wälaytta **IV**:1091b
    playwrights
      Abbe Gubäñña **I**:30a–31a
      Afäwärq Yoḥannəs **I**:124b–25a
      Aššäbbər Gäbrä Ḥəywät **I**:385b
      Awlaččäw Däğäne **I**:403ab
      Bərhanu Dənqe **I**:538a
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      Gäbrä Iyäsus Ḫaylu **II**:631a
      Gərmaččäw Täklä Ḥawaryat **II**:767ab
      Ḥaddis ᶜAlämayyähu **II**:959b
      Ḥassan *šayḫ* Mumin **II**:641b
      Käbbädä Mikaᵓel **III**:316a
      Mälaku Aššagəre **III**:692a
      Mälᵓaku Bäggosäw **III**:692ab
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      Ṣäggaye Gäbrä Mädḫən **IV**:457a–58a
      Sənəddu Gäbru **IV**:620a
      Täklä Ḥawaryat Täklä Maryam **IV**:830b
      Yoftaḥe Nəguśe **V**:66b–67a
    role of
      Jesuit mission **II**:854b; **III**:280b
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  s. also Amharic literature: drama; cinema; film; folktales; Hagär Fəqər Tiyatər; National Theatre; Oromo literature
Theatre Antoine, Paris **V**:400b
Thebais, pl.n. **IV**:648b; **V**:277b
Thebes, pl.n. **II**:240a; **III**:247a, 459a, 1024a, 1136a, 1137a; **IV**:673a; **V**:130a, 448b, 466b
Thecla, St. **II**:645ab; **IV**:234b, 488b
  ill. **III**:740ab
Thembu Church **II**:439a
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Theocritus the Lector, martyr **V**:496a
Theodóchos, theol. **III**:809a, 1169a
Theodora, empress **III**:261a, 296b, 1008b; **IV**:943b; **V**:371a, 372b, 467b
Theodore, bishop of Alexandria **III**:290b; **V**:468a
Theodore, bishop of Arabia **III**:260a, 1008b
Theodore, bishop of Bostra **III**:261a
Theodore, bishop of Philae **III**:296b
Theodore, painter **II**:693a
Theodore I of Rome, St. **II**:349a; **V**:4a
Theodore Balsamon, theol. **I**:842b
Theodore bar Koni, eccl. **IV**:921b
Theodore Stratelates, St. **II**:349a
Theodore "the Interpreter", bishop of Mopsuestia **I**:812b, 844b; **III**:295a, 1169a; **IV**:921b
Theodore "the Oriental" (Tewodros), St. **II**:43a, 46b, 348a–50a, 645a; **III**:301a, 613a, 650a, 819b
  ill. **II**:85b, 192ab, 348ab
Theodore the Oriental, *Martyrium of* (Mikaᵓel), lit. **IV**:650a
Theodoret (Theodoretus) of Cyrrhus, hist. **II**:886a; **III**:950a; **IV**:111a, 485a, 596b, 921b; **V**:372b
Theodoric, king **V**:370a
Théodoros: *Drame en 5 actes* (Barrières), lit. **V**:400b
Theodorus of Mopsuestia, theol. **V**:372b
Theodosians, rel. **III**:1007a
Theodosios I of Alexandria, patriarch **II**:353a; **III**:261a, 296a, 309b, 942a, 1008ab; **IV**:639b, **943b–44a**, 961b; **V**:467b
  s. also Theodosians
Theodosios of Antioch (Romanos), patriarch **II**:464b; **IV:944ab**
Theodosius I, emp. **II**:141a, 893a
Theodosius II, emp. **I**:329b–30a, 844b; **II**:329b–30a, 615b; **III**:947b; **IV**:123a, 287b, 944b, 948b; **V**:467b
Theodotos of Ankyra, eccl. **II**:764a, 765a; **III**:956a; **IV**:287b, **944b–45b**
Theodotus of Laodicea, eccl. **II**:454b
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      Theological College of St. Paul (St. Paul's Theological School) **III**:688a; **IV**:945b–46a
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  - painters and painting **IV**:93a–94a, 100b
    - Əsṭäzya **II**:388a
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    - Bachmann **I**:429a
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    - Mittwoch **III**:981b
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    - Fəśśəḥa Giyorgis ʿAbiyä Əgziʾ **II**:532a
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  - theologians, non-Ethiopian
    - Ankäriṭos **I**:273a
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    - Cyriacus of Antioch **I**:843ab
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  - works **I**:302a; **II**:480a, 738b; **III**:738a, 740a, 748b; **IV**:732a, 783b–84a
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- s. also anaphoras; *andəmta*; Bible; Chalcedon, Council of; Coptic Church; Christianity; Christology; councils; *dərsan*; ecumenical dialogue;

eschatology; Ethiopian Orthodox Täwahədo Church; Ewosṭateans; exegesis; *gädl*; Gospel(s); *Hulätt lədät*; hymns; Julianism; *Karra*; Mariology; Mary; Monophysitism; Old Testament; *Qəbat*; *Täwḥədo*; *tərgʷame*; *Trinity*
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Theophilos of Alexandria (Tewoflos), eccl. **II**:139a, 645b; **IV**:**947b–48b**
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  s. also Mary
Theotókos toû Rhoïdíou, mon. **II**:1052b
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- s. also ᶜAdwa, Battle of; army; cavalry; *čawa*; colonialism; Egyptian–Ethiopian war; *fanno*; fire-arms; forts; *ğihād*; guerrilla; Harär Military Academy; Holäta Military Academy; Imperial Bodyguard; infantry; Italian war 1895–96; Italian war 1935–36; *kätäma*; *Mäläsay*; Mamlūks; military units; *näfṭäñña*; navy; Ottomans; police; Provincial Military Administrative Council; resistance; Revolution of 1974; *šəfta*; shields; swords; war; War of Liberation; *Wäyyanä*; World War I; World War II

- Warğəh (Wargar, Wargeh, Warğih, Wegar), ethn. **I**:228ab, 230b, 415b; **III**:664b, 888a; **IV**:**1145b–46a**; **V**:383b, 385a
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- Warğəh (Wargar, Wargeh, Warğih, Wegar), pl.n. **I**:195b
- Wärğii Tuulama, ethn. **IV**:911a
- *wärḫa*, cal. **III**:661a
- Wärᵓi, riv. **I**:221a, 386b; **II**:286a, 527a; **IV**:49b, 458b, 823b, 854ab, 889b, 1181b
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- Wärᵓi Läḵä, *wär.* **IV**:458b, 854a
- Wariga s. Wärräyega
- Waring and Gillow, comp. **II**:691a
- *wärka*, bot. **IV**:856a, 859b
  - s. also sycamore
- Warka, wife Ḫaylu Täwäldä Mädḫən
  - ill. **II**:1070b
- *wärk^w^ä*, mus. **II**:477b
- Wärota, settl. **II**:98a
- Wärq, *abba* **I**:723a
- *wärq*, coin **I**:770a; **IV**:46b
- *Wärq*, mil. unit **V**:433b
- *wärq*, min. s. gold; *Sämənnä wärq*
- Wärq Amba, pl.n. **IV**:321a; **V**:91a
- Wärq Lädḥo, mon. **III**:899b
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- Wärqa, town **IV**:**1146ab**
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- Wärqafärrahu Käbbädä, wr. **I**:93a
- Wärqämədər, pl.n. **IV**:415b
- *Wärqe* s. *Ḥatäta Zärᵓa Yaᶜəqob*
- Wärqe, *liq.m.* (19th cent.) s. Mərč̣a Wärqe
- Wärqe, *ras*, *afa nəguś* (19th cent.) **I**:511b; **III**:831b
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- Wärqe Karapet (Käräbet), *aytä* **I**:345b; **III**:933b; **V**:361a
- *Wärqəha* (Musa Aron), lit. **IV**:907a
- Wärqənäš, daugh. Nəguśä Yəmär Kätäma s. M ayer, Sara
- Wärqənäh Ǝšäte (Charles Martin), *azzaž*, *ḥakim* **III**:144b; **IV**:921a, 1023a, **1146b–47a**; **V**:329a, 500a
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    - *Bərhanənna sälam* **I**:537a
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    - Aggədäw Wäldä Maryam **I**:147b
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- Wärqənäh Gäbäyyähu, mil. **I**:810a; **II**:708a, 866a, 1081b; **IV**:219ab, **1147ab**
- Wärqənäš Asfaw, daugh. Asfaw Yəlma **I**:368a; **III**:386b
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- Wärqitu Nägaśi, daugh. Nägaśi Tägäññ **III**:1111b
- Wärqitu Wädağo s. Wärqitu, *wäyz.*
- Wärqu, *abba* (18th cent.) **III**:259b
- Wärqu, *liq.m.* (19th cent.) **III**:580b
- Wärqu, moth. Marqos **III**:792a
- Wärqu Ǝnquśəllase, *däğğ.* **IV**:463a; **V**:203b
- Wärqu Färrädä, off. **III**:667a
- Wärqu Gobäna, student **III**:691b; **V**:98b
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- Wärra Babbo, reg. **II**:998b, 1076b; **III**:716a; **IV**:60a, 845a; **V**:75a
- Wärrä Badesso, pl.n. **III**:474b
- Warra Bakaree s. Leeqaa Naqamtee
- *warra bokkuu*, soc. **I**:602a
- Wärrä Daya (Dayya), ethn. **I**:161a, 426b–27a; **III**:426a, 1053a
- Wärrä Gibbu, pl.n. **III**:474b
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- Wärrä Himäno, reg. **I**:30a; **IV**:60a, 861a, **1148b–49b**; **V**:72b, 234a, 238b, 548b
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    - Amäde Bäšir **I**:190a, 215b
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- Wärrä Illu (Wärrayəllu), reg. **I**:682a; **II**:775ab; **III**:473a, 475a, 646a, 672a, 858b; **IV**:60a, 913a, 1149a, **1149b–50a**; **V**:234a, 238b
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- Wärrä Illu, town **I**:435b; **III**:473a; **IV**:861a; **V**:234a
- Wärra Leeqaa s. Leeqaa
- Wärra Nonno s. Nonno
- Warra Qaallu (Wärrä Qallu), ethn. **II**:776a; **IV**:257b, 1119b
- Wärrä Qallu, reg. s. Qallu
- Wärrä Šeh s. Yäǧǧu dynasty
- Wärrä Ṭayyä, ethn. **IV**:845b
- Wärrä Wayyu, ethn. **IV**:845b
- Warrāba, area **III**:1053b
- Wärräbabbo s. Wärra Babbo
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- Wärräyega (Wariga), moth. Darge Šahlä Śəllase **II**:102a; **IV**:466b
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- Warraysa Dagad, pl.n. **IV**:324a
- *Warrior King* (Śahlä Śəllase Bərhanä Maryam), lit. **II**:305a
- Warsangali (Warsangeeli), ethn. **II**:1a, 1034b; **III**:632b; **IV**:439a
- Warsaw University, acad. **I**:633a; **II**:436b, 528b; **IV**:165a, 751b; **V**:292b, 410b
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- Warya, ethn. **IV**:510a
- Waša, town, Kullo Konta **III**:449b
- Waša Ǝndrəyas, cave **V**:179b
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- Waša Mikaʾel, church, Wällo **I**:495b; **IV:1150b–51b**
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- Waša Zena Maryam, church **V**:179b
- Wäšäba Gəmb, Gondär **II**:201a, 741a
- Wasäl, *amba* **I**:224b; **IV**:555b; **V**:237b–38a
  - s. also Ambassal
- Wäsäl, town **II**:681b
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- Wäsän Ḫaylu (20th cent.), *wag šum* **IV**:561a, **1151b–52a**
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- Wäsän Sägäd, *mär.az.* (16th cent.) **I**:394a; **III**:1134b; **IV:1152b–53b**; **V**:510a
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- Wäsän Yälläš Bäzarde, *wäyz.* **III**:687b
- Wäsäne Wärqe Kosrof, art. **V**:257a, 261b
- Wašär Gumhe Wäldä Maryam, inerpreter **V**:361b
- Wašära (Wašära Maryam), mon. **I**:232a; **II**:848a; **III**:807b; **IV**:140a, 284b, 286a; **V**:415b
- Wašaye, town **III**:449b
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- *wašənt*, mus. **I**:361a, 462b; **II**:273b; **III**:170a; **IV**:286b, 1154ab
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- Washington, DC, town **II**:384a, 433b, 959b; **IV**:814b, 1036a; **V**:46b, 121b
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- Wäsif, pl.n. **IV**:447b
- Wasihun Bälay, wr. **V**:484b
- Wāṣil, battle **I**:157ab; **II**:936b; **III**:1209a; **IV**:411b
- Wāṣil (Wäsil), reg. **IV**:1098a; **V**:238a
- Waṣilu, settl. **III**:109a
- Wašlu, pl.n. **II**:963b; **IV**:674a
- Wasmaᶜ Ǧabara s. Walašma
- *waššа*, cave church **IV**:402a
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- Wassmann, Dietrich Heinrich, miss. **III**:16a, 1152a; **V**:226b, 324b
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- *wäṭ*, dish **I**:474b, 590b, 623a; **II**:551a, 561b, 562b, 563b, 565a; **III**:1201b; **IV**:724b, 725b
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- *waṭa*, caste **I**:749a; **II**:238b, 551a; **V**:385a
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- Wataro, anc. **II**:114b
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- *Waṭāwīṭ*, lineages **I**:381b, 529b, 548a; **III**:94a, 422b; **IV**:34b, 666a, 677ab, **1155a**; **V**:309b–10a, 443a
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- *Watchers*: *The Book of the Watchers*, lit. **II**:311b–12a
  - s. also *Enoch*, *Book of*
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- Waᶜungé, *imām* **I**:406a
- Wavell, Archibald Graham, mil. **IV**:1159a, 1187a
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- *Yämäññəta ənnat* (Ayyalnäh Mulatu) **I**:245b
- Yämano, *lämbade* **V**:22a
- *Yamarəñña qalat* (Aṣmä Giyorgis Gäbrä Mäsiḥ), lit. **I**:373a
- Yamaričo, ethn. **III**:405b
- Yämaru Qämmäs s. Maru Qämmäs
- Yämaryam Barya, *däǧǧ.* **I**:387b, 661b; **II**:860b; **III**:259b; **IV**:1069b, 1128b–29a; **V:22b–23a**
- Yämaryam Barya, wr. **II**:778b
- *yämäsqäl wäf* s. finch
- *Yämayč̣äw zämäčanna yäguzow tarik* (Gäbrä Wäld Ǝngəda Wärq), lit. **I**:241b; **II**:629b
- Yambo s. Añwaa
- Yäməssərač Ǝmməru, daugh. Ǝmməru Ḫaylä Śəllase **III**:599a
- Yämgar, reg. **III**:1004a
- Yaminan, battle **II**:1042b
- yams, bot. **II**:789a, 823b; **III**:629a, 711b
- Yämsa, lang. s. Yäm
- *yamsa aläqa* (*amsa aläqa*, *ḥamsa aläqa*), title **III**:149b, 317b; **IV**:491b
  - s. also *amməst aläqa*
- *Yämʷarär*, rel. **II**:934a; **IV**:1134b
- Yanaase, ethn. **IV**:656b; **V**:57b
- *yänägarit agär*, adm. **II**:62b
- *yänägäśtat ləǧočč*, tit. **III**:544a
- Yänäǧǧa, pl.n. **I**:411a
- *Yänəgəśtä azeb tarikawi guzo* (Aššäbbər Gäbrä Ḥəywät), lit. **I**:385b, 403b; **II**:522b
- *Yänəgəśtä Saba nišan* s. Order of the Queen of Sheba
- *yänəguś märet*, adm. **II**:756a
- *yänəguś qʷənna*, meas. **IV**:307b
- *yänəguś ṭəbbäqa* s. Imperial Bodyguard
- Yanər, anc. **III**:381a
- *yänəssəḥa abbat* s. *näfs abbat*
- *yänəssəḥa ləǧ*, rel. **IV**:131b
- *Yänǧäri sera*, jur. **IV**:684a
- Yangudi Rassa National Park **I**:272b
- Yangzhou, reg. **V**:486a
- *yäniqəya gubaʾe* s. Nicaea, Council of
- *Yäpatris Lumumba asazzañ ammʷammʷat* (Abbe Gubäñña), lit. **I**:30b, 245a
- *yäqäbäle šəmagəlle*, tit. **III**:515a
- *Yäqädamawi Ḫaylä Śəllase ṭor təmhərt bet* s. Harär Military Academy
- *yäqal təmhərt*, mus. **IV**:306b
- *yäqäññ asallafi*, tit. **I**:360b
- *Yäqatbäre banda*, mil. **IV**:265b
- *Yäqäyy kokäb ṭərri* (Bäᶜalu Gərma), lit. **I**:426a
- Yaqdumʾil, name **III**:156b
- *yäqəbat əhəl* s. oil seeds
- *Yäqəddus Ṗawlos mäṣḥaf* s. *Epistles*: *Pauline Epistles*
- *Yäqəne käwakəbt* (Bälay Mäkonnən), lit. **V**:484b
- *Yäqesar mängəśt mäləktäñña*, per. **I**:123b
- *Yäqəṭat maᶜbäl* (Käbbädä Mikaʾel), lit. **I**:244b
- Yaqob Beyene, sch. **IV**:338b
- Yäqotəb, ethn. **II**:934b
- Yaᶜqūb, anc. **II**:1044b
- Yaᶜqūb (Yaᶜəqob), monk **V**:389a
- Yaᶜqūb al-Bardaᶜānī s. Jacob Baradaeus
- Yaᶜqūbī, al- (Abū l-ᶜAbbās Aḥmad b. Abī Yaᶜqūb b. Ǧaᶜfar b. Wahb b. Wāḍiḥ al-Yaᶜqūbī), wr. **I**:298b, 471a, 517b; **II**:84b; **III**:47b, 347a, 445a, 454a; **V**:23a–24b, 164b, 364a
- Yaᶜqubto, ethn. **II**:1045a
- Yaqula, ethn. **II**:1034a
- Yäqumbäl, ethn. **II**:652b
- *yaqumtäzkar*, soc. **IV**:1125b
- Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, wr. **I**:427b; **III**:674a, 935b; **IV**:348a; **V**:437a
- *yäquṭər gäbbar agär*, adm. **I**:100a
- Yara, comp. **V**:464a
- *yaräb suq*, shop **V**:52a
- Yärär (Yärär tärära), reg., mt. **I**:79b; **III**:119b, 314b, 860a; **IV**:555a; **V:24b–26b**, 181b, 307a
  - ill. **V**:25b, 26ab
  - map **V**:25a
- Yärär Arbaʾətu Ǝnsəsa, church **V**:25a
- Yärär Gäbrəʾel, church **V**:25a
- Yärär Kerubim **V**:25a
- Yärär Mikaʾel, church **V**:25a
- Yärär National Forest Priority Area **V**:24b
- Yärär Śəllase, church **V**:26a
- Yärär Surafel, church **V**:25b
- Yärär–Käräyyu, reg. **I**:70b; **III**:314b, 860a; **V**:181a
- *yäras gäz akkababi*, Šäwa **I**:102a
- *Yäras Gobäna tarik*, lit. **V**:217b
- Yared, eccl. s. Märḥa Krəstos **V**:415b
- Yared (*maḫletawi*, *maḫletay*), St. **II**:414b; **III**:1189a; **V:26b–28b**
  - ill. **II**:624a; **V**:27ab
  - association with
    - Cyriacus **II**:332a
    - Gäbrä Mäsqäl **II**:624a
    - Gedewon **II**:730a
    - Mädäbay **III**:623a
    - May Kerwah **III**:886a
    - Täklä Haymanot **II**:472b
  - church music and poetry **I**:279a; **II**:123a–24a, 480b, 529b, 735b; **III**:99a, 877a, 911a, 1083a; **IV**:278b, 691b; **V**:176a
    - *araray* **I**:312a
    - *aryam* **I**:357a
    - *mäqqʷamiya* **III**:768b
    - *mələkkət* **III**:917a
    - *qəddase bet* **IV**:282a
    - *qəne* **IV**:284a
    - *zäyənäggəś* **III**:584b
    - *zema* **V**:174a, 175b

  churches **IV**:858b; **V**:182a
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  theology **II**:61a; **IV**:991b
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    anaphoras **II**:737a
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Yared Gäbrä Mikaʾel, *qäññ*. **V**:28b–29b, 482a
Yared: *Gädlä Yared*, lit. **I**:792a; **II**:125a; **IV**:787b, 1173a; **V**:26b–27b, 110b
Yared Marässa, mus. **II**:273b
Yared Music School Annual, per. **IV**:457a; **V**:29b
Yared School of Music **I**:361a; **II**:83a; **III**:1085a; **IV**:456b; **V:29b–30b**
Yared Šəfärraw, *liq.l.* **V**:511a
yärəst agär, adm. **I**:98a, 100a
Yarīm, Yemen **III**:162b
Yarīm Ayman II, ruler **I**:296a; **II**:719a
Yaringe, reg. **IV**:305a
yaro, rel. **IV**:186a
Yärom awwädadäq (Abbe Gubäñña), lit. **I**:30b
Yäroma Bərhan, per. **IV**:206a
Yaruna Gošte, *šayḫ* **II**:934b–35a
Yäsäbäkä mänfäsawi gubaʾe s. parish council
Yäsäffiw ḥəzb dəmṣ, per. **II**:432b; **III**:667b; **IV**:206b
Yäṣägga ləǧ s. *Ṣägga*
Yäšašäwärq Yəlma, *ləᶜəlt* **II**:905b; **III**:682a, 683b; **V**:48b
Yasay, Roman St. **V:31b**, 496a
Yasay, St. (Mändabba) **III**:625a, 723b; **V**:31b, **32ab**
  ill. **III**:724a; **V**:32ab
Yasay: *Gädlä Yasay*, lit. **V**:31b–32a
Yaṣe Täklä Giyorgis yaṣe Yoḥannəs tarik (Lämläm), lit. **III**:493a
Yäṣəḥuf ṭəbäb mämmäriya (Daññaččäw Wärqu), lit. **II**:91b
yäsər daññа, court **I**:706a; **III**:509b
Yäsetwan fätäna (Mammo Wəddənäh), lit. **V**:410a
Yäši (Täsfaye Gässäsä), lit. **I**:245a
Yäšiharäg Gäbrä Maryam, moth. Taddäsä Yaᶜəqob **IV**:810a
Yäšimmäbet Ali, moth. Ḫaylä Śəllase I **III**:686a
Yäšimmäbet Bəṭul, wife Wäldä Giyorgis Abboyye **III**:656a
Yäšimmäbet Dästa, daugh. Schimper **I**:527b; **IV**:573b–74a
Yäšimmäbet Ǝmaññu, student **II**:1075b
Yäšimmäbet Guumaa Aagaa (Lilluu Guumaa Aagaa), *wäyz.* **V**:32b–34a
  ill. **V**:33ab
Yāsīn, *šayḫ* **V**:548b
Yāsīn al-Gade, pol. **II**:372b
Yasin Ḥaysama (Yasin Caysama), *sulṭ.* **V**:34a
Yasin Maḥammoda, *fit.*, *derder* **III**:516a; **V:34a–35b**
  ill. **V**:34b
Yasin Maḥmoda s. Yasin Maḥammoda
Yāsir Yuhanᶜim, king **I**:296ba
Yāsirum Yuhanᶜim, king **III**:33a
Yäšiwärq, moth. Gugsa Wäle **II**:907b
Yäšoḵ aklil (Ṣäggaye Gäbrä Mädḫən), lit. **I**:244b
Yäsubli, Gafat **II**:652b
Yäṭäbon, pl.n. **III**:847b
Yätangut məsṭir (Bərhanu Zäryəhun), lit. **I**:539a; **III**:533b
Yäṭäqar, pl.n. **III**:847b
Yätarik mastawäša (Käbbädä Täsämma), lit. **I**:242b; **III**:318a
Yätäsfa əgər bərät (Säyfu Mättafäriya), lit. **V**:484a
Yätäybar, pl.n. **II**:295b
yaṭe gämäd, meas. **V**:424a
Yätəmhərtənna yätämaribet tərgwəm (Ḥaddis ᶜAlämayyähu), lit. **II**:960a
Yätənbit qäṭäro (Käbbädä Mikaʾel) **I**:242a, 244b; **III**:316a; **V**:482b, 493a
yäṭənt sərrit, jur. **I**:100a
Yäṭəntawit Ityop̣ya ǧägənočč maḫbär (Ethiopian Patriots' Association), assoc. **I**:22a; **IV**:463a; **V**:33b, **35b–36a**
Yätəwləde mäzmur (Bäfäqadu Moräda), lit. **V**:484b
Yätewodros ᶜənba (Bərhanu Zäryəhun), lit. **I**:539a
Yätewodros tarik (Zännäb), lit. **I**:240b
Yätnora, pl.n. Däğän **V:36ab**
  map **V**:36a
Yätnora, pl.n., Ǝnsaro **II**:316a; **V**:36a
Yätnora, *qäbäle* **V**:36a
Yätnora Agricultural Producers' Cooperative **V**:36b
yäṭor abägaz, title **I**:5a
yäṭor särawit, mil. **I**:348a
Yäṭor wäre, per. **II**:145a; **IV**:205b
Yäwädi, reg. **V**:549b
yäwäf qʷanqʷa, ling. **II**:328a
Yäwändwässän T. Marqos, editor **II**:400b
Yäwängel tərgʷame, lit. **IV**:923b
  s. also *tərgʷame wängel*
Yawaqamʷeʸät, rel. **IV**:1135a
Yäwärq Wəha, *wäyz.* **III**:807a; **IV**:1171b; **V**:23a
Yäwärqmaru, *wäyz.* **IV**:1171b
Yäwäy dämam, off. **II**:80ab
Yäwäyzazərt Kidanä Məḥrät s. Wäyzazər Kidanä Məḥrät
Yäwəbdar, daugh. Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥer Dästa **IV**:619b
Yäwəbdar, daugh. Ḫaylu Yosedeq **II**:1072a
Yäwəbdar, wife Bəṭul Ḫaylä Maryam **I**:561b; **IV**:878a
Yäwəbdar, wife Wänd Bäwäsän **IV**:1129a
Yäwəbdar Bell, Susan, moth. Asfa Yəlma **I**:368a; **IV**:1114a
Yäwəbdar Ḫaylä Maryam, wife Säbagadis **I**:561a; **II**:907a
Yäwəš, pl.n. **I**:512b
Yäwəš Mikaʾel, church **V**:338b
yäwəsṭ arbäññočč s. resistance
Yawm al-ᶜArafa s. *ᶜArafa*
Yäwnätu, *mäm.* **III**:399a
Yäyoḥannes wängel mägbiya, lit **IV**:918b
Yäyya Gulale, *wär.* **II**:910b
Yāyyó Ḥámmadu, *fit.* **III**:649ab, 927b; **V**:229b
Yāyyó Muḥammad Illálta Ḥanfaḍé, *sulṭ.* **I**:407a; **II**:817b; **III**:255b, 648b; **V**:36b–37b, 229b
Yäzämbäl, Gafat **II**:652b
Yazʾanides, dynasty **V**:517b
Yäzareyitu Ityop̣ya, per. **I**:479b; **IV**:206b; **V:37b–38a**
Yazäw, *ras* **III**:350b
Yazdegard, king **IV**:593a
Yazedjian, Levon, art. **I**:346b; **IV**:147ab
yäzənǧero wänbär s. *Polyscias fulva*
Yazīd II b. ᶜAbdalmalik, caliph **II**:65a
Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, gov. **I**:298b; **II**:65a
Yaʾzil Bayyin, king **I**:296b; **III**:155a
Ydlibi s. Ḥaṣīb al-Idlibī
Ydre Missions Bygning, org. **II**:89a
Yəbaba, battle **IV**:937a
Yəbaba, council **I**:147b; **IV**:269a, 667a, 668a; **V**:145a, 511a
Yəbaba, pl.n. **I**:722b; **II**:315a, 827a, 846a; **IV**:183a, 436a, 498b, 860b; **V:38a–39a**, 49a, 97b, 227b, 549b
  map **V**:38b
Yəbaba Ǝgziʾənä Iyäsus, church **V**:39a
Yəbaba-Qäbäro Meda, reg. **V**:39a
Yəbara, pl.n. **I**:5b
Yəbarəkännä Krəstos, monk **II**:464b, 539b; **V**:83b
Yəbarəkəwwo, rel. **II**:123b
Yəbärt, riv. **V**:510b
Yədla, *abba* **II**:447a
Yədnäqaččäw Täsämma, pol. **IV**:729a, 865a, 1084b–85a; **V:39a–40a**
  ill. **V**:59b
Yədräs lä-wändəmme lämmalawqəh (Ṣäggaye Gäbrä Mädḫən), lit. **V**:483b
Yəfat (Yəfag), *awr.* **I**:32a, 230b, 332a, 344a, 400a, 410a, 412a, 477b; **II**:44b–45a, 193a, 491b, 729b,

1044b; **III**:119b, 648a, 1048a; **IV**:265a, 309a, 503b, 863a; **V**:13a, **40a–41a**, 408a
  map **V**:40b
  s. also Ifat
Yəfat, sultanate s. Ifat
Yəfat-Ṭəmmugga (Ǧarra), *awr.* **I**:332a; **II**:45a, 708b, 729b; **V**:40a
Yəfrata, reg. **IV**:714b
Yəfru Däǧän, *ato* **III**:359a
Yəftaḥ Länä Ǝgziᵓ, fath. Samuᵓel of Däbrä Halleluya **IV**:512b
Yəgända Täklä Haymanot, church **IV**:856b; **V**:104b–05a
Yəgardu Bälay, moth. Abbe Gubäñña **I**:30a
Yəgbaᵓ Ṣəyon s. Yagba Ṣəyon
Yəggäbawwal, *fit.* **III**:415b
Yəggäzu Bähabte, *däǧǧ.* **II**:611b, 1045a; **IV**:797b; **V:41ab**
  ill. **V**:41ab
Yəggäzu Bəśrat, sch. **III**:720a
Yəggäzu Yämanä, mil. **IV**:229a
Yəggəzaw Ạbärra, *fit*. **III**:882b
Yəggəzaw Č̣ufaa, gov. **IV**:305a
Yəh mäṣaf yämmiṭäqqəm mädḫanit yämminägər näw, lit. **I**:239a
Yəḥa (Yäḥa), arch.site **I**:295a, 323b–24a; **II**:215a, 753b; **IV**:187b, 201b–02a, 203b–04b, 428b, 781a; **V:42a–43b**, 442a, 444a, 453a, 517a
  ill. **III**:1013ab; **V**:42a, 43ab
  map **V**:42b
  association with
    Ark of the Covenant **I**:341a
    Ḏ.H. **II**:108a
    D̄ᶜMT **I**:174b
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  exploration and research **I**:320ab, 325b, 530b, 679b, 737b; **II**:146a, 782a; **III**:1067a; **IV**:504a; **V**:295a, 358a
  findings **IV**:203ab
    graves **II**:872a
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    inscriptions **II**:334b; **III**:156a–57a; **IV**:580b
    jewellery **II**:835a
    metal-works **II**:835a; **III**:188b–89a
    paintings **I**:781b
    pottery **II**:999b; **III**:937b
    stealae **IV**:742b
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    Dəgum **II**:127b
    Ǝnda Maryam **II**:290a
    Ǧawf **IV**:428b
    Ḥawəlti **II**:1051b
    ᶜOna Nägäśt **IV**:227b
  role of
    Afṣe **I**:136a
Yəḥa (Yäḥa), area **IV**:889a, 909b, 916a
  ill. **II**:344b
  association with **III**:558b
  churches **I**:737b; **II**:127b, 290a; **III**:988b, 1190b; **IV**:188a; **V**:43a
  history **II**:239a, 319ab
  s. also Ǝnda Abba Afṣe
Yəḥannəs, son Kəflä Waḥəd **III**:373b
Yəhdägga Gäbrä Ḥawaryat, wife Gäbrä Krəstos Täklä Haymanot **V**:332a
Yəḫeyyəs Wärqe, *mäm.* **III**:523b
Yeh-lü Da-shih, *hān* **IV**:210a
Yehya, lord **II**:185b
Yeki, settl. **IV**:599b
Yeki, *wär*. pl.n. **IV**:598b
yekka, jur. **IV**:684b
Yəkunno Amlak, *aläqa* **III**:301b
Yəkunno Amlak (Yəkʷənat), *aṣe* **I**:227b, 230b, 720a, 734b; **II**:208ab, 394a, 745b, 755b, 934a; **III**:38b–39a, 299b, 1161b; **IV**:425a, 479a, 554a, 620b, 669b, 687a, 688b, 762a, 805b, 831b; **V**:11b–12b, **43b–46b**, 53b, 66a, 107a, 108b, 110a, 112ab, 115a, 133b, 154b, 179a, 235a, 236b, 296a, 341a, 431a, 441b, 492b
  ill. **V**:44ab
  active in
    Damot **II**:78b
    Yärär **V**:25b
  association with
    Amba Gəšän **I**:220a
    Ankobär **I**:273b
    ᶜaqqabe säᶜat **I**:292b
    Atronsö Maryam **I**:395a
    Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos **II**:212b
    Daga Ǝsṭifanos **II**:873a
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  family **V**:236a, 529b
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    Aksum **I**:177a
    Däbrä Ḥayq Ǝsṭifanos **II**:24b
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    Gännätä Maryam **I**:738b; **II**:692a, 693a; **III**:163b, 482b, 558b; **IV**:403b
  literature on **III**:43b; **V**:5b, 377a, 378a
    Bəᶜəlä nägäśt **I**:514b–15b
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    Ṣähart **IV**:461b
    Zagʷe **II**:415a
  relation with
    Alaniqos **I**:191a
    Dəlnaᵓod **II**:129a
    Dilmārrah **III**:664b; **IV**:553b
    Ǝngəda Ǝgziᵓ **II**:297b
    Ḫirutä Amlak **III**:38a
    Iyäsus Moᵓa **I**:357a; **II**:24a; **III**:257ab
    Lami **II**:310b
    Mäḥari Amlak **IV**:1151a
    Mamlūks **III**:715a
    Qäwəsṭos **IV**:266b
    Wədəm Räᶜad **IV**:1177a
    Yagbəᵓa Ṣəyon **II**:981a; **III**:625a
    Täklä Haymanot **II**:15a, 212a; **III**:250a, 991b; **IV**:832b, 1071a; **V**:538b
  s. also Solomonic dynasty
Yəkunno Amlak; *Gädlä Yəkunno Amlak*, lit. **V**:46a
Yellow Nile s. Wadi Howar
Yellow-fronted parrot, zool. **I**:589a
Yellow-throated serin, zool. **I**:589a
Yəlma, *däǧǧ.* **I**:525a
Yəlma, *graz.* **III**:494b
Yəlma Asfaw, husb. Wəšän Kənfu **III**:386b
Yəlma Därässa, pol. **II**:959b; **III**:692b; **IV**:846a, 920b, 1185a; **V:46b–48a**, 508b
  ill. **V**:47b
Yəlma Kənfu, son Kənfu Ḫaylu **II**:697b; **III**:386b
Yəlma Mäkʷännən, *däǧǧ.* **I**:386b; **III**:683b, 686a, 687a, 728a; **IV**:614b; **V:48ab**
  ill. **V**:48a
Yəlma Šibeši, mil. **IV**:167b
Yəlma Yəmänbərhan, acad. **V**:234b
Yəlmana, ethn. **IV**:1097a
Yəlmana Dänsa, reg. **II**:34a, 826a; **V:48b–49a**, 510a
Yəlmana Dänsa, unit **V**:48b
yəma, mus. **II**:273b
Yema Yela, jour. **III**:710a
Yəmam, name **III**:127a
Yəmam, son Mänän Libän Amäde **III**:722a
Yəmam Gugsa, *ras* **III**:127a; **V**:14a, **49ab**, 233a
  association with
    Däbrä Tabor **II**:49a
  campaigns **II**:861a; **III**:385a; **IV**:930b
  opposition from/to
    Maru **III**:807ab
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- *Zäyoḥannəs*: *Gädlä Zäyoḥannəs*, lit. **II**:320a; **III**:368b; **V**:168b–69a
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- Zayse (Zaysse), lang. **II**:55a, 680b, 1037b; **III**:1025b, 1027a; **IV**:17b–18b, 21b, 578a; **V:169b–71b**, 383a
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- Zebsher, pl.n. **III**:461b
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- Zəga, pl.n. **I**:228a; **II**:1007b; **III**:752b
- Zega Wädäb (Zega Wädäm, Zega Däm, Zegawadəm) riv. **I**:417ab; **II**:25b, 315b, 675b; **III**:1039a
- Zega Wädäm s. Zega Wädäb
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- *zəgba*, bot. **I**:704b; **II**:567b, 751b
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- Zəgna, broth. Motälämi **III**:1036b
- Zəgranaqʷe s. Yoḥannəs of Bänkʷäl
- *Zəḥaläfä nəbrät Ertəra* (Bärḥe Mäsgun), lit. **IV**:942b
- *zəhon* s. elephants
- *Zeit – es ist noch weit*: *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, *Die* (Gläser), lit. **V**:399a
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- *Zəkrä nägär* (Maẖtämä Śəllase Wäldä Mäsqäl), lit. **I**:242b; **III**:44b, 663a
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- Zela Rəᶜəd, anc. **V**:236a
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- Zellaᶜ ᶜAre, ethn. **III**:974b
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  - schools **V**:62a, 66b, 80a, 478a, 506a
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- Zəmal, *śəyyum* **I**:640a
- *zəmdənna*, soc. **III**:403b
- *Zemeča* (Kit'jan), lit. **V**:392a
- *zəmmame*, rel. **III**:769a; **IV**:279a, 307a, 521b; **V**:**175ab**
- *Zəmmare*, lit. **II**:123b, 228b, 449b; **III**:99b, 101b, 290b, 363a, 539a, 817b, 910a; **IV**:73a, 198b, 272a, 278a, 487a, 691b; **V**:50a, 86a, 174b–75a, **175b–76b**, 191b, 221a
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- Zemute, settl. **II**:702a
- Zemzem, reg. **I**:715a
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- *Zena abäw qəddusan* (*Apophthegmata Patrum*), lit. **I**:282b; **II**:737b; **III**:581b, 994a–95b, 1025a
- *Zena Ayhud* s. *Yosippon*
- *Zena bəᵓəsit zäᶜəfrät*, lit. **I**:238b
- *Zena Betä Krəstiyan*, per. **II**:430a; **IV**:206b, 918a
- *Zena Däbrä Libanos*, lit. **II**:26b; **III**:42b, 655b; **IV**:410a; **V**:81b, 154a
- *Zena Däbrä Sina*, lit. **II**:45b, 139a, 143b
- *Zena ᶜərgäta*, lit. **II**:354b
- *Zena Əskəndər* (Christian Romance of Alexander the Great), lit. **I**:195a, 229a; **II**:381a, 737b, 885b; **III**:843b, 946a; **IV**:1186a
  - s. also Alexander the Great
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- Zena Gäbrəᵓel, wr., hagiography **II**:620b
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- *Zena kidanomu läṣadəqan*, lit. **IV**:447a
- Zena Krəstos, fath. Hallo Amlakənä **IV**:460a
- *Zena Lalibäla*, lit. **III**:479a, 623a, 844b; **V**:111b
- *Zena lämaryam wäfəlsäta*, lit. **II**:355a
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- *Zena Marqos*: *Gädlä Zena Marqos*, lit. **I**:507a; **II**:15ab, 469b, 621b; **III**:660b; **V**:11a, 178a
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